6 d. 15

A LARGE

COLLECTION

OF ANCIENT

Jewish and Heathen Testimonies

To the TRUTH of the

CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

VOL. IV.

Containing the TESTIMONIES of HEATHEN WRITERS of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Centuries.

To which is added

The State of GENTILISM under CHRISTIAN EMPEROURS.

By NATHANIEL LARDNER. *D. D.*

LONDON: M.DCC.LXVII.

Sold by J. BUCKLAND, and T. LONGMAN, in Pater Noster Rowe, and A. MILLAR, and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

CONTENTS

Chalcidius 3

CONTENTS

OF THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

Heathen Teſtimonies.

CHAP. XLII. Page

CHALCIDIUS. 3

CHAP. XLIII.

Alexander of Lycopolis in Egypt. 8

CHAP. XLIV.

Praxagoras. 15

Page

CHAP. XLV.

Eunapius. 147

CHAP. XLVI.

The Emperour Julian. 181

CHAP. XLVII.

Himerius. 111

CHAP. XLVIII.

Themistius. 115

CHAP. XLIX.

Libanius. 127

CHAP. L.

Eutropius. 164

CHAP. LI.

Ammianus Marcellinus. 169

CHAP. LII.

Vegetius. 190

CHAP. LIII.

Eunapius. 196

CHAP. LIV.

Claudian. 212

CHAP. LV.

Macrobius. 222

CHAP.

Page

CHAP. LVI.

Rutilius. 228

CHAP. LVII.

Olympiodorus. 232

CHAP. LVIII.

Zosimus. 236

CHAP. LIX.

Hierocles, of Alexandria, 282

CHAP. LX.

Proclus. 286

CHAP LXI.

Marinus. 289

CHAP. LXII.

Damascius. 297

CHAP. LXIII.

Simplicius. 312

CHAP. LXIV.

A Review of the Jewish and Heathen Testimonies in the several volumes of this work. 320

The

The State of Gentilism under Christian Emperours.

Page

SECT. I. Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their Worship. 332

SECT. II. A Consultation, and Divination of Heathen People, in the time of Valens, about the year 373. 353

SECT. III. The Petition of the Roman Senate to Valentinian the Younger, in 384. that the Altar of Victorie, which had been removed by Gratian, might be restored. 372

SECT. IV. The Correspondence between Maximus a Magistrate of Madaura and Augustin in 390. 399

SECT. V. The Demolition of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other Temples in Egypt, and some other Temples elsewhere, in 391. 404

SECT. VI. A pretended Heathen Oracle in 398. foretelling the Period of the Christian Religion. 419

SECT. VII. The Demolition of the Temple of the Goddesse Coelestis at Carthage, in 399. 421

SECT. VIII. An Image of Hercules destroyed by the Christians at Suffecta in Africa, in the year 399. 423

SECT. IX. A Disturbance at Calama, in Numidia, in 408. 424

SECT. X. The Overthrow of Rhadagaisus the Goth, in 405. 427

SECT.

Page

SECT. XI. Rome beſieged, taken, and ſacked by Alarich the Goth, in 410. 430

SECT. XII. The Correſpondence between Auguſtin and Volusian, in 412. 434

SECT. XIII. The Correſpondence between the People of Madaura and Auguſtin. *Time uncertain.* 449

SECT. XIV. The Correſpondence between Auguſtin and Lenginian. *Time uncertain.* 453

SECT. XV. Obſervations of Oroſius and Auguſtin upon the Treatment given to the Gentils by Chriſtian Magiſtrates. 456

SECT. XVI. Concluding Obſervations upon the State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours. 459

An alphabetical Table of Principal Matters in the fourth Volume. 476

To be corrected.

P. 42. l. 2. from the bottom, r. mention.
P. 43. l. 12. r. *Misopogon*
P. 58. l. 6. after work, put a comma
P. 90. l. 8. after damache dele one
P. 95. l. 7. from the bottom, for forsake, r. neglected
P. 96. l. 7. for thar r. that
P. 138. l. 4. r. indignation
P. 184. l. 9. from the bottom, r. Bishops
P. 257. l. 13. instead of poysoning r. magical practises
P. 445. l. 11. r. language

In the Notes.

P. 32. l. 2. from the bottom, l. triumphatores.
P. 471. note (*b*) r. p. 395. 396.

N. B. I have not been able to procure the volume of Mr. *Bullett*, mentioned by me in an Advertisement, prefixed to the third volume of this work: though I have used my best endeavours to procure it. Inquiries for it have been made, at my desire, in Holland, and at Paris, but without success.

Testimonies

TESTIMONIES

OF

HEATHEN WRITERS

OF THE

Fourth, Fifth and Sixth CENTURIES.

TESTIMONIES

OF

HEATHEN WRITERS

OF THE

Fourth, Fifth and Sixth CENTURIES.

Teſtimonies of ancient Heathen Authors to the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP. XLII.

CHALCIDIUS.

I. *His Time, Work, and Character:* II. *His Teſtimonie to the Appearance of an extraordinarie ſtar at the time of our Saviour's nativity, with Remarks.*

I. CHALCIDIUS tranſlated into Latin the former part of the Timaeus of Plato, and added a prolix commentarie of his own upon it; in which he ſhews a great deal of learning, and good ſkill in the ſentiments of the ancient Philoſophers. This work is inſcribed to *Oſius*, or *Heſius*, ſuppoſed to be the Biſhop of Corduba in Spain, and a principal member of the Council of Nice in the year 325. but without any intimation of his character, as Biſhop, or Eccleſiaſtick, or Chriſtian. A. D. 330.

And the time and character of this Author are uncertain. By ſome he has been ſuppoſed to be Deacon or Arch-deacon in the

AD DA 350?

church of Carthage. Others think, he was an Heathen. According to Humphry Hody (c) he was a Gentil, well acquainted with Christian writings. Beausobre (d) calls him a Christian Philosopher, and intimate friend of Hosius. And, as he says, he (e) joyned Christianity with Platonism. Cave (f) is at an absolute uncertainty about his real character. He knows not, whether he was a Gentil, or a Christian. Fabricius, the last editor of Chalcidius, publisheth him as (g) a Christian, who wrote near the begining of the fourth centurie. And has (h) endeavored to answer objections. Nevertheless Mosheim (i) still hesitates.

I shall, after others, take notice of some difficulties. For (k) Chalcidius seems to approve of the divinations of Gentilism, and to allow them to be of use for discovering futurities. He (l) quotes Moses,

(a) Chalcidius, Commentator in Timaeum Platonis, ipse quidem Gentilis, sed in libris Christianorum versatus .... *Hod. De Bibl. Textib. Origin. L. 3. P. i. cap. iv. p.* 299. *Vid. et cap. vii. p.* 310.

(b) Chalcidius donc, Philosophe Chrêtien, et intime Ami d' Osius, n' admettoit pas seulement l' eternité de matiére, mais ... *Hist. de Manich. Tom.* 2. *p.* 238.

(c) Chalcidius, qui ajoutoit le Christianisme au Platonisme, &c. *Ib. p.* 469. *Conf. Tom. i. p.* 478. 479.

(d) De hac re pridem me monuit Sellerus noster. Et cum in hanc quidem sententiam viros quosdam non indoctos propendere video, locum ei inter scriptores ecclesiasticos non denegavimus. Me certè ἀπρίτως fateor; neque enim satis constat, philosophus solum Platonicus fuerit-ne, an etiam Christianus. &c. *Cav. H. L. p.* 199.

(e) Chalcidii Christiani scriptoris, qui sub quarti seculi initia vixit. *Fabric. p.* 225. *ad calcem Operum S. Hippolyti. Hamburg.* 1716.

(f) *Vid. Fabric. Annot. in Chalcidii Prolog. p.* 226. *et Bib. Lat. lib.* 3. *cap. vii. Tom i. p.* 554.

(g) *Vid. De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiâ. §. xxxi. p.* 165. *&c. et Institution. Hist. Ecc. Sec.* 4. *P. i. cap.* 1. *p.* 149. 150.

(h) Quae cuncta observatione, scientiâ, artificiosâ quoque solertiâ colliguntur. Aut enim alitum volatu, aut extis, aut oraculis, homines praemonentur: praedicente aliquo propitio daemone, qui sit eorum omnium, quae deinceps sequuntur, scius. *Chalcid. in Tim. cap. vii. §.* 183. *p.* 346. *al. p.* 275.

(i) Hebraei sylvam generatam, esse confitentur. Quorum sapientissimus Moyses non humanâ facundiâ, sed divinâ, ut ferunt, inspiratione vegetatus, in eo libro, qui De Genesi mundi censetur, ab exordio.

Moses, as a wise man, and as *said* to have divine inspiration, as well as human knowledge. However, that expression *as said, ut ferunt*, Fabricius (*k*) thinks need not to be understood to denote any uncertainty in the author's mind. A. D. 330.

It ought to be observed by us likewise, that he (*l*) has quoted Solomon's Book of Proverbs once or twice, and also the words of Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxix. 25.

I think, it must be allowed, that there is some difficulty in determining this writer's true character. Fabricius (*m*) himself has acknowledged as much, and that he may be compared to another Author mentioned by Photius, whose character was doubtful; his manner of writing not clearly shewing, what was his religion, whether Christianity, or Gentilism.

I dare not be positive. But to me it seems, that he was a polite Platonic Philosopher, who was willing to be upon good terms with Christians, whose religion prevailed at that time. And I place him, with (*n*) Cave, as flourishing about the year 330.

II.

ordio sic est praefatus, juxta interpretationem septuaginta prudentum. *Ib. cap xiii.* §. 274. *p.* 380. *al. p.* 372.

(*k*) Verba, *ut ferunt*, non dubitantis sunt, sed Hebraeorum sententiam exponentis. *Fabric. not.* (*d*) *p.* 380.

(*l*) Tum initii multas esse significationes, ut *Initium sapientiae timorem Domini esse*, Salomon dixit. [Prov. i. 7.] . . . Atque etiam in praeconio sapientiae coelestis auctor: *Initium vitae panis et aquâ, et tunica*, inquit, *et domus idonea velandis pudendis.* [Sirach. xxix. 21.] . . . Est tamen unum rerum omnium initium, de quo Salomo in Proverbiis. *Creavit me*, inquit, *Deus progressionis suae semitam.* . . . [Prov. viii. 22. . . . . 25.] *Chalcid. cap. xiii.* §. 274. *p.* 380. *al. p.* 373.

(*m*) Chalcidius V. C. et gnavissimus veteris philosophiae, dubium reliquit lectoribus suis, utrum Christo nomen dederit, fueritne Hebraeus, an Ethnicam probaverit superstitionem. Possis de eo uti verbis, quae Photius [Cod. 180. p 211. al. p. 405.] de Joanne Laurentio Philadelphensi Lydo scripta reliquit, . . . Τὸν δὲ θεοσεβείας ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔοικε ζηλωτὴν ὄναρ εἶδέναι μὲν τὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ θαυμάζειν θαυμάζει δὲ καὶ ἡμέτερα, καὶ δηλῶν τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ῥητῶν συμβαλεῖν, πότερον ἕνα τιμᾷ καὶ θαυμάζει, ἢ ἐκ ἐνὸς πλείους. *Fabric. Bib. Lat. l.* 3. *cap. vii. Tom. i p.* 554.

(*n*) Claruit forsan circa annum 330. certe

A. D. 330.

His Teſtimony to the appearance of an extraordinary Star. Matt. ii.

II. I now proceed to quote the paſſage of this commentarie of Chalcidius, for the ſake of which I produce him among other authors in this work. "There (o) is likewiſe, ſays he, another more "ſacred, and more venerable hiſtorie, which relates, that the ap-"pearance of a certain ſtar declared not diſeaſes and deaths, but the "deſcent of a venerable God, for the ſalvation of mankind, and the "good of the world. When this ſtar had been ſeen upon a jour-"ney in the night-time, by ſome truly wiſe men of the Chaldeans, "who were well verſed in the contemplation of the heavenly bo-"dies, they are ſaid to have made inquirie concerning the late birth "of a God: and when they had found the young majeſty, they "paid him the worſhip and homage, which was worthie of ſo great "a God. But to none are theſe things ſo well known as to your-"ſelf."

It is manifeſt, that the Author here refers to the hiſtorie in St. Matthew ch. ii. 1. *Now when Jeſus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the King, behold, there came wiſe men from the Eaſt to Jeruſalem*, ver. 2. *Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews. For we have ſeen his ſtar in the Eaſt, and are come to worſhip him.* ver. 9. *When they had heard the King* [Herod] *they departed, and loe the ſtar, which they ſaw in the Eaſt, went before them, till it came, and ſtood over where the young child was.* 10. *And when they had ſeen the ſtar, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.* 11. *And when they were come into the houſe, they ſaw the young child, with Ma-*

rie

certe Hoſio aetate par, ſi modo Hoſius Cordubenſis erat, quo ſuadente, Chalcidius Platonis Timaeum Latine interpretatus eſt, et erudito commentario explicavit. *Cav. H. L. p.* 199.

(o) Eſt quoque alia ſanctior, et venerabilior, hiſtoria, quae perhibet, ortu ſtellae cujuſdam, non morbos mortesque denuncintas, ſed deſcenſum Dei venerabilis ad humanae conſervationis, rerumque mortalium gratiam. Quam ſtellam, cum nocturno itinere ſuſpexiſſent Chaldaeorum profecto ſapientes viri, et conſideratione rerum coeleſtium ſatis exercitati, quaeſiſſe dicuntur recentem ortum Dei: repertâque illâ majeſtate puerili veneratos eſſe, et vota, Deo tantum convenientia, nuncupaſſe, quae tibi multo melius ſunt comperta, quam ceteris. *Cap. vii. §. 125. p. 325. al.* 219.

rie his mother, and they fell down, and worshiped him. And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrhe. Comp. Matt. i. 21. , 23. A. D. 330.

Fabricius (p) thinks this paragraph to be a good proof of the writer's Christianity. And from the compliment at the end made by him to the person, to whom the work is inscribed, we may be induced to allow his episcopal character.

Whether this writer was a Christian, or a Heathen, this passage is a valuable testimonie to St. Matthew's Gospel, and to this remarkable historie. And if this Commentarie upon Plato's Timaeus be reckoned the work of a gentil Philosopher, the several quotations of the Old Testament, which we before saw, and now this of the New, afford proof, that the sacred Scriptures were then well known in the world. To me it seems, that the stile of the paragraph, just cited, is the stile of a Gentil, not of a Christian writer. Cave (q) seems to have made the same judgement upon it.

(p) Hoc loco satis perspicue Christianum se prodit Chalcidius. *Fabric. p.* 325. *not.* (c).

(q) Semel meminit scilicet, Christum recens natum praemonstrantis, cujus in historia evangelica fit mentio: de quibus nihilominus, haud satis pro Christiani scriptoris more loquitur. *Cav. H. L. p.* 199.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS in Egypt.

I. *His Work, Time, and Character.* II. *Extracts out of his Work, containing many references to the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and to the Chriſtian Doctrine.*

A. D. 350. *His Time and Character.*

I. ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS *in Egypt*, was mentioned by me long agoe in the hiſtorie of the Manicheans, among thoſe Authors (*a*) who had writ againſt them. But learned men are not agreed about his character, as was alſo obſerved formerly. Some think, he was a Chriſtian. Others ſuppoſe him to have been a Heathen. If this laſt be his character, he comes in properly to be mentioned here among ſuch writers. We muſt therefore now more diſtinctly conſider that point.

Fabricius (*b*) thinks, he was at firſt a Heathen, then a Manichean, and afterwards a good Catholic Chriſtian, when he wrote this work. And he placeth him in the fourth centurie.

All

(*a*) *See Credib. P.* 2. *ch.* 63. *Vol. vi. p.* 40.

(*b*) Alexandri Lycopolitae, ex Ethnico Manichaei, atque inde ad Eccleſiam reducti, liber ... Videtur ſcripſiſſe ſeculo quarto. *Bib. Gr. lib. v. c. i. Tom.* 5 *p.* 290.

A. D. 350.

All which is agreeable to the ſentiments of our (c) Cave: who alſo ſuppoſeth him to have been acquainted with ſome of the firſt followers and diſciples of *Mani* himſelf. If ſo, he muſt have lived not far from the begining of the fourth centurie.

Photius (d) in his work againſt the Manicheans, calls Alexander Archbiſhop of Nicopolis.

Tillemont (e) ſays, "that by his book he appears to have been a "Pagan Philoſopher. Who obſerving, that ſome of his fellow-diſ"ciples embraced the opinion of the Manicheans, and thinking it "to be very abſurd, compoſed that book to confute it by natural and "philoſophical reaſons. He ſpeaks with reſpect of Jeſus Chriſt, and "prefers the doctrine of the (*) Churches (thoſe are his terms) to "that of Mani. But we can perceive from thoſe very places, that "he was not at all a Chriſtian. Combefis, his editor, thinks him to "be very ancient, becauſe he had learned the doctrine of the Ma"nicheans from the diſciples of the author of the ſect. But the "place, upon which he relyes, may denote no more than that E"gypt knew Mani by his diſciples, without neceſſarily implying, "that Alexander himſelf knew any of them."

Beauſobre (f) is of the ſame opinion. He calls Alexander a Pagan

(c) Alexander Lycopolita, natione Aegyptius, Lyco urbe Thebaidos oriundus. . . . Erat quidem primum cultu Gentilis, deinde ad Manichaeos, in Aegyptum recens delatos ſe contulit. Tandem ejurata haereſi ad Catholicorum caſtra tranſiit. Et cum ex eorum grege fuerat, opiniones probe novit, ſcripſitque librum πρὸς τὰ Μανιχαίων δόγματα. . . . Aetas auctoris etſi certo definiri nequit, antiquiſſimum tamen eſſe, et quarti ſeculi ſcriptorem, nec forſan ab ipſius Manetis temporibus longe remotum, ſuſpicere fas eſt. Ait ſe relationem hujuſce opinionis ἀπὸ γνωρίμων τῶν ἀνδρὸς, ab iis qui cum homine familiariter converſati fuerint accepiſſe. *Cave Diſſ. de Scriptor. incertae aetatis p.* 2.

(d) Ὅτι τῆς πόλεως Λύκου Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς ἀρχηγικωτάτους ἐμπεσόντας λόγους. *Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.*

(e) *Mem. Ec. T.* 4. *Les Manichéens. art. xvi.*

(*) *See p.* 18. *to be cited by and by at note* (r).

(f) *Hiſt. de Manichéens. Vol. i. p.* 236. 237.

A. D. 350. gan Philosopher. He argues after this manner. "First, he never "alledges the Scriptures in his dispute with the Manicheans, which "a Christian would not have failed to do, since the Manicheans ad- "mitted the authority of the books of the New Testament. 2. He "speaks of the souls of Nymphs, which is not the stile of a Chri- "stian. 3. He (g) speaks of the deluge of Deucalion, and Phoro- "neus, without mentioning that of Noah. 4. He expresseth him- "self altogether like a Pagan, saying, that (b) of all the Gods, the "Manicheans honoured only the Sun and the Moon. 5. He ma- "nifestly placeth himself in the number of Pagans. For, after hav- "ing observed, that the Manicheans endeavored to confirm their er- "rour by the historie, or fable of Bacchus, and the attempt of the "Giants, he adds: The (i) more learned among them, says he, "who have some knowledge of the Greek literature, remind us of "our own ceremonies, and our own mysteries." These arguments Beausobre thinks decisive. And Mosheim (k) has declared his ap- probation of them.

I shall presently make large extracts out of this writer. Whereby all my readers will be qualified to judge for themselves concerning his character.

The time, when he lived, is uncertain. There is nothing in his work to shew clearly, that he wrote near the begining of the fourth centurie. But it seems to me not improbable, that he wrote soon af- ter

(g) P. 19. B. C.

(b) . . . ὡς ἕνα τῶν θεῶν, τὸν μόνον θεῶν ἀναπεπλασμένοι φασὶν. *Alex. Lycop. contr. Manich. p.* 5. C.

But it should be observed, that Alexander disowns, that the Manicheans did not worship the Sun and Moon, as Gods: but only as the way, by which they attain to God. Τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην, οὐχ' ὡς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁδὸν, δι' ἧς ἐστι πρὸς Θεὸν ἐρωτᾶσθαι. *Ibid. p.* 5. D.

(i) Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτοις φρονιμώτεροι, καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσπουδακότες παιδείαν, ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τὰ ἐν τοῖς τελεταῖς, κ. λ. *Alex. p.* 6. A.

(k) Hujus philosophandi ratione exstat Graece contra Manichaeos . . . Dissertatio, quam Beausobrius . . . acquestu egit laudis. *Mosheim. Institut. H. E. p.* 335.

ter the principles of Manicheism had gained some footing in Egypt. A. D. 350.
He might therefore compose this work about the midle of the fourth
centurie, or even before it. I therefore place him at the year of
Christ 350.

II. The work of Alexander begins in this manner: "The (l) *Extracts from his work.*
"Philosophie of the Christians is called simple. For it's principal
"concern is to regulate the manners of men, having first intimated
"the right doctrine concerning the Deity, as the one efficient
"cause of all things. It forbears obscure questions and nice argu-
"ments about the reason of things. Nor does it labour to describe
"particularly the grounds and nature of every virtue. But holdeth
"forth in a general way the precepts of all virtue. By attending to
"which, as experience shews, the common people are much influ-
"enced, and gradually allured to the love and practise of piety."

"But (m) this simplicity being disliked, some have moved difficult
"and abstruse questions: and delighting in contention, have formed
"sects. Such an one was MANICHEE, who was of the countrey of
"Persia. One *Papus*, and after him *Thomas*, teachers of that doc-
"trine, brought it in among us. He lived, as it is said, in the time
"of Valerian: and accompanying *Sapor* in his wars, he offended
"him, and so lost his life. Such (n) is said to have been the origin
"of this doctrine, which has been brought in among us by his dis-

 "ciples.

(l) Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφία ἁπλῆ καλεῖται. Αὕτη γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κατασκευὴν τὴν πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖται, ἀνιστορήσασα περὶ τοῦ ἀκριβεστέρου λόγου περὶ Θεοῦ ὡς τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῶν ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἄπασιν ἀποδέξασθαι, ἵνα τὸ φυσικὸν ἄτιον τιμιώτατον νοῆται καὶ πρεσβύτατον, καὶ πάντων ἄτιον τῶν ὄντων. παραγγέλματα δὲ παχύτερα ὡς ἐπὶ τυγχάνειν ἐπισφαλοῦντες. ὧν ὁ πολὺς δῆμος ἀλλοῖος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἔστι μαθεῖν, σφόδρα ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας χαρακτῆρι ἐπιζάνει αὐτῶν τοῖς ἤθεσι, ἀναζωγραφῶν τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης συνηθείας συναπτόμενον ἦθος, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀσπασμὸν ἐπάγων. *Alex. Lycop. adv. Manich. p. 3. ap. Combefis. Auctarium Patr. Græc. novissimum. Paris.* 1672.

(m) *Ibid. p.* 3. 4.

(n) Τέως δὲ ὁ τις μὴν τῆς ἐκείνου δόξης, ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δείκνυτο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ἀρχὰς ἐτίθετο, Θεὸν καὶ Ὕλην. *P. 4. B.*

A. D. 350

"ciples. They hold two principles, God and matter," and what follows, giving an account of the Manichean notions.

I have transcribed below a large part of the introduction, of which I have made only a loose translation. But Alexander here gives a very honorable character of the genuine Christian Philosophie, as *simple, and intended by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate reasonings, to promote virtue among all sorts of men, and even among the lower ranks, and common people*, which indeed are the bulk of mankind. We shall see this character of the Christian Religion repeated again by and by. But let me proceed to take other passages, as they lye in the book itself.

2. For, soon afterwards, in his representation of the Manichean doctrine, he says: "They (*p*) suppose man to be an image of the "divine power, and that Christ is Mind. And that having descend-"ed from above, he sent back to God a large part of this power. "At length he was crucified, and by that means afforded know-"ledge." And what follows.

I do not stay to explain these Manichean absurdities. I only produce this passage to shew, that Alexander was not silent about Christ. We go on.

3. "But (*q*) it would be much better for them to say, that wis-"dom had been given to men by God, that by the exercise of rea-"son they might be gradually delivered from the love of pleasure, "and

(*p*) Ὑπάρχειν γὰρ αὐτῶν θεὸς δυνάμεως εἰκόνα τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν νοῦν εἶναι. Νεῦσαι δὲ ἡ ἀφικόμενον ἄνωθεν τὰ πολλὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Ἐσχάτως τε καὶ τελευταῖον ἀνασκολοπισθέντα παραχώσαι γνῶσιν τοιαύτην τρόπῳ. καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν θείαν ἐπερμίσθαι, ἐνεσαρκῶσθαι τῇ Ὕλῃ. p. 5. C.

(*q*) Πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον ἦν τὴν σοφίαν ὅπλον φάναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδόσθαι, ἵν' ὃ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀσθενεστέρους εἶναι ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδονῆς, τοῦτο κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ περιάγωσι, τὸ ἐπόμενον ἄτοπον ἐξ ἀνυτῶν ἀνέλῃ. Οὕτως γὰρ δοῦναί τε ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι διδάσκειν, ζηλωταὶ ἂν εἶεν τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τῷ βίῳ πολλὰ τὰ ὠφέλιμα τύχοιεν, ὅτι ποτὲ παύσεται τὰ κακὰ, πάντων γεγονότων σοφῶν. Ὃ δ' ἐκεῖ μοι κατανοῆσαι ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀπειλημμένοι ὦσι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ γεωργοὶ τοῦ καὶ τέκτονες καὶ οἰκοδομοῦσι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν, κοινὸν συνέδριον καθίσαι σφίσιν ὅμως καὶ διὰ ἁπλοῦ καὶ συνόλου διαλέξεως, καὶ ὡς Θεὸς ἔννοιαν αὐτοῖς ἀπεμηχανήσατο, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐλθεῖν ποιῆσαι. p. 13. C. D.

"and other vicious affections. And they who profeſs to be teach- A. D. 350.
"ers of virtue, might be examples of it to others. In this way, it
"might be hoped, that evil might ceaſe, when all were become
"wiſe. This ſeems to me to have been the deſign of JESUS.
"And that huſbandmen, and carpenters, and maſons, and other ar-
"tificers, might not want this help to goodneſſe, he appointed a
"common council of all together: and by plain and eaſy diſcourſes,
"he aimed to bring them both to the knowledge of God, and the
"love of virtue."

This appears very honourable to our Saviour. Alexander, I think, muſt have read the books of the New Teſtament, the Goſpels at leſt. What he means by the *common council of all together*, may be doubtfull. But it ſeems to me not unlikely, that he intends the college of Chriſt's Apoſtles, among whom were a publican, and ſeveral fiſhermen, and if we take in Paul, a tentmaker.

4. "They (*r*) ſpeak of Chriſt, though they do not know him.
"And they call him Mind. And they would appear to ſpeak agree-
"ably to the doctrine of the churches. But if ſo, why do they re-
"ject that which is called the ancient hiſtorie?"

It is hence evident, that Alexander had ſome knowledge of the received doctrine of the churches, or the reputed orthodox Chriſtians. Accordingly, he here ſeems to blame the Manicheans, for not receiving the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament.

5. Preſently afterwards, (*s*) in an obſcure manner, he argues againſt their opinion, that Chriſt was Mind.

6. Again, a little lower, he argues againſt their notion, that Chriſt was crucified, but without ſuffering. "But (*t*) ſays he, it would be more
"reaſonable

(*r*) Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν οὐδὲ γινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύοντες .... Νοῦν ἔτι φασίν. .... Εἰ μὲν τὸ γνωστὸν, καὶ τὸ γινωσκον, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὁμόφωνα, ὥστε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ αὐτῷ λέγουσι διατάτομοι, ἵνα γε ἀλώσοντας τῶν τὸν λεγομένην παλαιὰν ἄνωθεν ἱστορίαν ἐκβάλλωσιν; *p.* 18. *D.*

(*s*) *P.* 19. *A.*

(*t*) Τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν λόγον ἀνεῖν,

A. D. 350. "reasonable to say, agreeably to the ecclesiastical doctrine, that he "gave himself for the remission of sins. And it is agreeable to the "sentiments of others, and even of the Greek histories, which speak "of some, who gave themselves for the welfare of their countreys. "Of which also the Jewish Historie has an example. For it tells "us, that Abram prepared his son for a sacrifice to God."

7. He seems to refer to the historie of Cain's killing his brother (u) Abel. Gen. ch. iv.

8. He plainly refers to Gen. vi. 1. 2. and says, that (x) the Jewish Historie speaks allegorically, when it says, that angels fell in love with the daughters of men.

9. This I think to be all, which is needfull to be taken from this writer. I am not able to determine with certainty, whether he was a Christian, or a Gentil. But I am rather inclined to think, he was a Gentil. He must have had good knowledge of the Manicheans, and other Christians. And he appears to be not unacquainted with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. He evidently was a learned and rational man.

His observations concerning the Christian Philosophie, *as plain and simple, and designed to reform the manners of men of all ranks,* deserve particular notice. To me this work of Alexander appears very curious.

ἀνωθεν, ἐκ λόγου ἁμαρτιῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδόναι, ἔχει τινὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολλὰς, καὶ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν καθ' Ἕλληνας, ὅτ' ἂν φανῇ, τινὰς ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας πόλεων ἑαυτὰς ἐκδεδωκόσας. Καὶ παράδειγμα τῷ λόγῳ ἔχει ἡ παρ' Ἰουδαίοις ἱστορία, τὸν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ παῖδα εἰς θυσίαν τῷ Θεῷ παρασκευάζουσα. P. 19. C. D.

(u) P. 11. B. C.

(x) Οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τούτου διαπίπτουσι, ἐν ἀλληγορίαις τὰ τοιαῦτα προφέροντες, τὸ σαφὲς τῷ λόγῳ ἀνεμφόρητον σώζειν τῇ τοῦ μύθου ἐλπίδι. Οἷον ὅτι ἐν ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱστορία φῇ, τοὺς ἀγγέλους τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρασθῆναι συγκαλυβίναι μίξεσι. p. 20. A.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIV.

PRAXAGORAS.

"PRAXAGORAS (*a*) of Athens, ſays Photius, wrote the hi- A. D. 350.
"ſtorie of Conſtantin the Great in two Books."

Having made an abridgement of the work (*b*) "containing an ac-
"count of Conſtantin's early life, his ſucceding to his Father, his
"wars in Gaul and Germanie, and then his wars with Maxentius,
"and Lycinius, of both which he gives a bad character, as vicious
"and tyrannical," he adds: "Praxagoras, (*c*) though he was of the
"Gentil religion, ſays, that the Emperour Conſtantin had ſurpaſſed
"all the preceding Emperours in every virtue, and in every kind of
"felicity. And ſo concludes his hiſtorie." That muſt be reckoned honourable to Conſtantin.

Photius adds: "Praxagoras, as he ſays, was of the age of two
"and twenty years, when he wrote that hiſtorie. He alſo wrote
"two other books of the hiſtorie of the Kings of Athens, when he
"was nineteen years of age. He likewiſe compoſed ſix other books,
"containing the hiſtorie of Alexander, King of the Macedonians,
"when he was one and thirty years of age. His ſtile, ſays Photius,
"is

(*a*) Ανεγνώσθη Πραξαγόρα τοῦ Αθηναίου τῆς κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον ἱστορίας βιβλία δύο. *Phot. Cod.* 6. *p.* 64.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Φησὶν ὧν ὁ Πραξάγορας, καίτοι τὴν θρησκείαν ἕλλην ὤν, ὅτι πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ, καὶ παντὶ εὐτυχήματι, πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντας ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ὑπερέβαλε. κ. λ. *Ibid. p.* 65. *in.*

A. D. 350. "is clear, and agreeable, but somewhat unequal. He wrote in the "Ionic dialect."

Praxagoras *(d)* is supposed to have flourished in the time of Constantius. I place him therefore at the year 350. though the exact time of his writing cannot be known.

(d) Vid. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. 17. Tillemont, L'Emp. Constantin. art. 90.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

BEMARCHIUS.

IN the next place I take BEMARCHIUS, who alſo follows next after *Praxagoras* in Voſſius's work of the Greek Hiſtorians. A. D. 350.

"Bemarchius (*a*) of Ceſarea in Cappadocia, Sophiſt, ſays Suidas, "wrote the hiſtorie of the Emperour Conſtantin in ten books. He "alſo wrote ſeveral declamations and orations."

He alſo is ſuppoſed to have writ in the time of Conſtantius. And Tillemont *(b)* therefore, beſide what is in Voſſius, obſerves, "that "(*c*) Libanius ſpeaks of one Bemarchius, a Pagan Sophiſt, who was "much in favour with Conſtantius." There is nothing of him remaining. Nevertheleſs, I cannot forbear to wiſh, that his hiſtorie of Conſtantin was in being. His work was in ten books, and therefore muſt have been large and copious. And, as may be ſuppoſed, it was favourable to Conſtantin. This may be argued from Libanius. Whoſe words imply, that Bemarchius had a great reſpect for Conſtantius, and was his admirer.

Tillemont obſerves in the ſame place, "that Eunapius *(d)* alſo "wrote the hiſtorie of Conſtantin: but undoubtedly, as he ſays, it "was in the body of his Univerſal Hiſtorie, which he had made of "the Emperours from the death of Severus." This alſo, if exſtant, I believe would be very curious. And I heartily wiſh, that *Univerſal Hiſtorie* of Eunapius may be found in ſome Librarie.

(*a*) Βημάρχιος, Καισαρεὺς, ἐκ Καππαδοκίας, σοφιστής. Οὗτος ἔγραψε τὰς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως πράξεις ἐν βίβλοις δέκα, μετὰ τῆς ἐν λόγοις διαφόρου. *Suidas.*

(*b*) *L'Emp. Conſtantin. art.* 90.

(*c*) Ὁμιλοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἄνω πεπραγμένοις ἄρχουσι Βημάρχιος σύμμαχος μὲν ἐβούλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ Κωνσταντίου ἡμιλλᾶτο ἀνήρ. *Liban. Vit. p.* 15. 16.

(*d*) *Eunap. de Vit. Sophiſt. cap.* 4. *p.* 40.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Emperour JULIAN.

I. *His Time, Hiſtorie, and Character, and his behaviour toward the Chriſtians.* II. *His Works, particularly, his Work againſt the Chriſtians.* III. *His Regard to the Jewiſh People, and his Deſign to rebuild the Temple at Jeruſalem.* IV. *Extracts out of his Work againſt the Chriſtians.* V. *Extracts out of his Orations and Epiſtles.*

A. D. 361. *His Time and Character.*

I. JULIUS CONSTANTIUS, brother of Conſtantin the Great, had two wives. *Galla*, by whom he had Gallus, and ſeveral other children: and *Baſilina*, a Lady of an illuſtrious familie, by whom he had FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS, or JULIAN, who was her only child, ſhe dying ſoon after his (a) birth.

Julian (b) was born at Conſtantinople on the ſixth day of November,

(a) . . . epoti gelidâ aquâ quam periit, medio noctis horrore vitâ facilius eſt abſolutus, anno ætatis altero et triceſimo: natus apud Conſtantinopolim: à puerilibus uſque parentis oblitu deſtitutus Conſtantii, quem poſt fratris Conſtantini exceſſum inter complures alios turba conſumpſit Imperii ſucceſſorum, et Baſilinâ matre, jam inde a majoribus nobili. *Am. M. l.* 25. *cap. iii. fin.*

(b) *Vid. Pagi in Baron. ann.* 337. *num. ix. et* 363. *iv. v.*

ber, in the year of Chriſt 331. and died the 26. day of June in the year of our Lord 363. in the 32. year of his age, which was not compleat. A. D. 361.

As I have not room to write the hiſtorie of Julian at length, I refer to ſeveral learned moderns, (c) where more particulars may be found, and my miſtakes, if I ſhould make any, may be corrected.

Julian was about ſix years of age, when Conſtantin died in 337. Soon after which, in the year 339. when (d) Julian was in the eighth year of his age, ſeveral (e) of Conſtantin's familie were put to death, and among them the father of Julian, and his eldeſt brother. The infirmities and weak conſtitution of *Gallus*, another brother of Julian, ſaved his life, it being thence concluded, that he could not live long. And Julian's tender age was a ſecurity to him.

Conſtantius took care, that they ſhould be educated by Chriſtian maſters. When Julian was about 14 or 15 years of age, he and his brother *Gallus* were ſent to a palace in Cappadocia, where they lived at eaſe, but were well guarded: ſo that, as (f) Julian ſays, they were ſhut up as in a priſon. Here they ſpent about ſix years, till the year 351. when Gallus was made Ceſar. At that time Julian was permitted to come to Conſtantinople. But his fine parts making him to be much taken notice of, he was ſent away to Nicomedia, where Libanius then taught rhetorick. But Julian had been particularly charged, not to converſe with him, nor learn any thing of him. However, he had here a good deal of liberty, and was acquainted with divers Heathen Philoſophers: ſome of whom came hither on purpoſe to pay their reſpects to him. Here Julian, at about

(c) *Pagi, ubi ſupra, et paſſim. Baſnag. ann.* 363. *et alibi. Cav. H. L. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap.* 8. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 76. *&c. Tillemont Hiſt. Emp. Tom. iv. Vie de l'Emp. Julien par Blotrii. See likewiſe Tillemont's long article of Julian's Perſecution, in the ſeventh Tome of his Memoirs.*

(d) *Pagi ann.* 337. *num.* 12.

(e) *Vide Julian. ad Athenienſes, p.* 270. *C. D. Ammian. ut ſupra. Socrat. l.* 3. *cap.* 1. *Liban. Or. x. p.* 262. *C. D.*

(f) *Ad Athenienſes. p.* 271. *B. C.*

A. D. 361. the age of twenty, took a liking to Hellenism. And it is ſaid, that ſome of theſe Philoſophers did then give him hopes of being Emperour. Conſtantius had informations concerning him. And Julian, for preventing diſagreeable ſuſpicions, as (g) Socrates ſays, was ſhaved, and made profeſſion of being a monk. He privatly ſtudied philoſophie, and publickly read the Scriptures. And he was ordained Reader in the church of Nicomedia.

In 354. Gallus was killed, and Julian was ſuſpected of diſaffection. He was ſent for therefore to come to Milan, where the Emperour then was, and a guard was ſet upon him. In this danger Julian's life was ſaved by the interceſſion of the Empreſſe *Euſebia*, who alſo obtained leave for him to travel into Greece. Which was very agreeable to Julian, who wanted nothing more than to compleat his ſtudies at Athens. And the Emperour likewiſe was willing he ſhould employ his time in matters of literature, rather than politicks. In the year 355. Julian arrived at Athens. Where alſo *Baſil* and *Gregorie Nazianzen* were ſtudying eloquence, and other parts of polite literature. But Julian made no long ſtay there. For in the ſame year he was ſent for by Conſtantius to Milan, and (h) on the ſixth day of November 355. he was declared Ceſar, that he might go into Gaul, and take the command of the armie there. And Britain and Spain were alſo put under his government. A few days after that Conſtantius gave him in marriage his ſiſter *Helena*.

Julian left Milan on the firſt day of December, and before the end of the year came to Vienne in Gaul. In the wars with the Franks and Germans, who had made incurſions into the country, he was very ſucceſsfull, and gained a great deal of honour and reputation there, and all over the Empire.

In the year 360. about (i) the month of March or April, in the

29.

(g) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. 1. p. 166. A. Conf. Theod. H. E. l. 3. cap. 2. Gregor. Naz. Invectiv. i. ſeu Or. 3. p. 58. D.*

(h) *Pagi ann. 355. num. iv.*

(i) *See Tillemont L'Emp. Conſtance. art. iv. Hiſtorie Vie de Julien. liv. 2. p. 170.*

29. year of his age, he was againſt his will declared *Auguſtus* by the ſoldiers at Paris. Who in a manner compelled him to accept the title, and to take upon him the government, no longer in the quality of Ceſar, but of Emperour. A. D. 361.

Julian thereupon ſent ſome of his officers with a letter to Conſtantius, who was then in the Eaſt, preparing for the war with the Perſians, giving him an account of what had been done, deſiring him to yield to him the title of *Auguſtus*, and promiſing all the ſubmiſſion that could be expected from a ſecond and a partner in the Empire. Julian's officers found Conſtantius at Ceſarea in Cappadocia. Who reſented the conduct of Julian, and ſent him a letter, requiring him to be content with the title of Ceſar. That letter was received by Julian at Paris, and was read in the preſence of the people, and the ſoldiers. Julian offered to ſubmit to the propoſal of Conſtantius, if the ſoldiers approved of it. But with loud acclamations they confirmed to him the title of *Auguſtus*. Of this likewiſe Julian ſent an account to Conſtantius. And afterwards ſeveral letters paſſed between them.

Julian came to Vienne, near the end of the year 360. About which time *(k)* he loſt his wife *Helena*. He was ſtill at Vienne on the ſixth day of January *(l)* in 361. Soon after which, he went forward into Illyricum, and took poſſeſſion of Sirmium the chief city. Conſtantius died in Cilicia, the third day of November (*m*) 361. On the (*n*) eleventh day of December following Julian (*o*) made his entrance into Conſtantinople, with the general acclamations of the people, attended by the Senate, by whom he was proclaimed Emperour.

Here he ſtayed about eight months. And *(p)* having ſettled matters,

(*k*) *Ammian. l.* 21. *cap.* 2.
(*l*) *Id. ib. cap.* 2.
(*m*) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 361. *num. iv. Baſnag. ann.* 361. *n. iv.*
(*n*) *Pagi* 361. *num. vi.*
(*o*) *Ammian. l.* 22. *cap. ii.*
(*p*) Omnibus igitur, quae res diverſae poſcebant et tempora, perpenſa deliberationes

A. D. 361. ters, and conferred many favours upon that city, the place of his nativity, he ſet out for Antioch in Syria, where he arrived in July 362. And having compleated his preparations for the War with the Perſians, he ſet out with his armie from Antioch in the beginning of March 363. In an action with the Perſians he received a wound with a dart, on the 26. day of June. And being carried to his tent, he expired there in the night of the 26. day of June 363. in a calm and compoſed manner, entertaining his friends with philoſophical (q) diſcourſes.

Thus died Julian, in the 32. year of his age, having been Ceſar about ſeven years and a half, Auguſtus, after his proclamation by the ſoldiers, in Gaul, about three years, and ſole Emperour, after the death of Conſtantius, a year and almoſt eight months.

From whom that dart came, was always (r) uncertain: whether from the Perſians, or from ſome of Julian's own men. His death was charged upon the Chriſtians by Libanius, becauſe, as he argued, they were the only men who had an intereſt in it. And no Perſian was rewarded for it. Nor did any of them claim any honour upon that account. But there never was any proof brought of that charge. Nor have other Heathen writers joyned with Libanius in it: but rather ſuppoſe, that (s) the dart came from the enemies.

There are reported ſome blaſphemous expreſſions to have been ſpoken by him at that time, of which Theodoret writes in this manner: "It (t) is ſaid, that when he was wounded, he took a handfull

tione diſpoſitis, . . cunctorum favore ſublimis, Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Conſtantinopolim incrementis multis fultam. Natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam, et colebat. *Amm. l.* 22. *cap.* ix. *p.* 346.

(q) *Ammian. l.* 25. *cap.* 3. *Liban. Or. Parent. T.* 2. *p.* 303. *B. C. D. et apud Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom.* 7. §. 14. *p.* 362. *Vid. et Sozom. l.* 6. *cap.* 1. *et* 2. *Zoſ. l.* 3. *p.* 198.

(r) *Vid. Socrat. l.* 3. *cap.* 21. *Sozom. l.* 6. *cap.* 2. *Theod. l.* 3. *cap.* 25.

(s) . . dum ſe inconſultius praeliis inſerit, hoſtili manu interfectus eſt. *Eutrop. l.* x. *cap.* 16. *Et Conf. Ammian. l.* 25. *cap.* 3.

(t) Ἐκεῖνον δέ φασι πατάξαι, λαβόντα τὴν πλη-

γὴν,

"full of his bloud, and threw it up into the air, ſaying at the ſame "time: O thou Galilean, thou haſt got the better of me." Sozomen (u) tells the ſame ſtorie a little differently, and then adds: "But ſome ſay, he was diſpleaſed with the ſun, who had ſided with "the Perſians, and deſerted him: and that, holding up his hand, "and ſhewing his bloud to the ſun, he threw it up into the air." The ſame is alſo related by (x) Philoſtorge. A. D. 361.

Theodoret ſays, "that (y) a man of good underſtanding, who "taught children at Antioch, was in companie with Libanius the "celebrated Sophiſt, who aſked that perſon, what the carpenter's "ſon was doing. He replied: The maker of the world, whom "you jeeringly call the carpenter's ſon, is making a coffin. And in "a few days after tidings came of Julian's death."

If Libanius was pleaſed to talk in that rude manner: I think, ſuch an anſwer might be made without a ſpirit of prophecie. Some other like things may be found in our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, which I forbear to take notice of.

Nevertheleſs I think it not improper to obſerve a ſhort ſtorie told by Jerome, in his comment upon the third chapter of the prophet Habakkuk. Who ſays: "When (z) he was yet very young, and "at a grammar-ſchool, when all the cities were polluted with the "bloud of victims, on a ſudden, in the heat of the perſecution, "came news of the death of Julian. Whereupon one of the Hea-"then people ſaid not much amiſs: How comes it, ſays he, that "the

γὰρ, ἰοῦδε πηδῶν τὴν χεῖρα αἵματος, καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐπιδείξας, εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ φάσκων Νενίκηκάς με Γαλιλαῖε. *Theod. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *p.* 147.

(u) *Soz. l.* 6. *cap.* 2. *p.* 638. *C. D.*

(x) *L.* 7. *cap.* 15.

(y) *Theod. l.* 3. *cap.* 23.

(z) Dum adhuc eſſem puer, et in grammaticae ludo exercerer, omneſque urbes victimarum ſanguine polluerentur, ac ſubito in ipſo perſecutionis ardore, Juliani nunciatus eſt interitus, eleganter unus de Ethnicis: Quomodo, inquit, Chriſtiani dicunt Deum ſuum eſſe patientem, et ἀνεξίκακον? Nihil iracundius, nihil hoc furore praeſentius: ne modico quidem ſpacio indignationem ſuam differre potuit. Hoc ille ludens dixerit. Coterum Eccleſia Chriſti cum exultatione cantavit: Divi, filii cum ſtupore capita potentium. *Hieron. in Hab. T.* 3. *p.* 1636.

A. D. 361. "the Chriſtians ſtile their God patient and long-ſuffering. For none "can be more haſtie, and paſſionate. He was not able to defer his "indignation for the ſhorteſt ſpace. So ſaid that perſon in a jeſting "way. But the Church of Chriſt ſang with exultation: *Thou didſt "ſtrike through the heads of the powerfull with aſtoniſhment.*" Habakkuk iii. 14. according to the reading of the Seventy.

It is not needfull, that I ſhould draw the character of Julian at full length. But I ſhall obſerve ſome things. Ammianus Marcellinus was well acquainted with him, and was his great admirer, and was preſent with him in the Perſian expedition. He has twice touched upon the lines of his character: Firſt, entering upon the hiſtorie of his conduct in Gaul, after Julian had been declared Ceſar, where he ſays, in the way of Panegyrick, "that (*a*) he might be compared "to Titus ſon of Veſpaſian for prudence, to Trajan for valour, to "Titus Antonin for clemence, and, for ſtrong reaſoning, to Mark "Antonin, whom he took for his great model of imitation in all his "actions."

Again, after Julian's death he draws his character more at length, deſcribing *(b)* his perſon, his temper, and manners. "He (*c*) was extremely temperate, in eating and drinking, and ſlept little. His chaſtity is repreſented *(d)* as exemplarie and inviolate. His ſkill in every branch of ſcience was very great for his age." His genius

(*a*) Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi foriſque colluxit, ut prudentiâ Veſpaſiani filius Titus alter aeſtimaretur, bellorum glorioſis curſibus Trajani ſimillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectae perfectaeque rationis indagine congruens Marco, ad cujus aemulationem actus ſuos effingebat et mores. &c. &c. *Ammian. l.* 16. *cap. i. Vid. et cap. v.*

(*b*) Mediocris erat ſtaturae, capillis tanquam pexiſſet mollibus, hirſuta barba in acutum definente veſtitus . . &c. *Id. l.* 25. *cap. iv. p.* 463. 464.

(*c*) Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis. . . . Cum enim ſint, ut ſapientes definiunt, virtutes quatuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, juſtitia, fortitudo, . . . intento ſtudio coluit omnes ut ſingulas. Et primum ita inviolata caſtitate enituit, &c. *Ammian. l.* 25. *cap. iv. ſub in.*

(*d*) Νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα ἐτίθηνον, ἐτίμας δὲ ὑπὲρ πρότερον, οὐθ' ὕστερον ἤλαττο. *Liban. Or. Parental.* §. 88. *p.* 313. *ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii.*

nius for learning, is highly applauded by Heathen Authors. Nor is it disowned by (k) Christians. And his remaining works are proofs of it. His great ability, and his facility in writing appear in the several works composed by him in the space of those twenty months, in which he was sole Emperour, and that amidst the hurries of a joyfull accession, and the diligent administration of justice, beside all the ordinarie affairs of so vast an empire, and the preparations for a hazardous war with the Persians. As Libanius says, "he (m) has "left behind him works in all kinds of writing, in all of them ex-"celling all other men, and in his Epistles himself." His valour likewise is undisputed: though his prudence, especially in the Persian expedition, has been often called in question: Which (n) as has been said, was rashly undertaken, resolutly pursued against many discouragements, and carried on, attended with several instances of mismanagement and bad conduct.

A. D. 361.

After all, he (o) had his faults, as is acknowledged by his best friends.

(l) Επεὶ δὲ περὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα ὀλίγα διαξελθεῖν προύκειτο. *Socr. l. 3. cap. i. in.*

Ἔχων τοίνυν ἐυφυᾶ τὴν γλῶτταν ὁ κράτιστος Ἰουλιανός. *Cyril. contr. Jul. l. i. p. 3. D.*

(m) Ὁ δὲ πολεμῶν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πλάττων λόγους, πάσας μορφὰς καταλέλοιπεν, ἁπάσαις μὲν ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς, τὰ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν. *Or. Parent. §. 154. p. 375. ap. Fabric aliter. Or. x. p. 330. C.*

(n) Sed in hoc bello, parum prudenter coepto, et gesto, A. 363. telo in praeliis percussus interibat. *Mosheim. Instit. H. E. p. 147.*

(o) Digestis bonis, quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explicanda ejus vitia veniemus, licet dicta sint carptim. Levioris ingenii. Verum hoc instituto rectissimo temperabat, emendari se, cum deviaret a fruge bona, permittens. Linguae fusioris, et admodum raro silentis: praesagiorum scisscitationi nimiae deditus: ut aequiparare videretur in hac re principem Hadrianum. Superstitiosus, magis quam sacrorum legitimorum observator, innumeras, sine parcimonia, pecudes mactans: ut aestimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis, in quem id accepimus dictum: Οἱ λευκοὶ βόες, Μάρκε τῷ Καίσαρι· Αν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἀπολούμεθα. Vulgi plausibus laetus, laudum etiam ex minimis rebus intemperans appetitor, popularitatis cupiditate cum indignis loqui saepe adfectans. *Ammian. l. 25. cap. iv. p. 462. 463.*

A. D. 361. friends. He had a certain levity of mind, was a great talker, and very fond of fame: ſuperſtitious, rather than properly religious: ſo addicted to ſacrificing, that it was ſaid, the race of bulls would be deſtroyed, if he returned victorious from Perſia. And (o) ſuch was the multitude of his victims, that his ſoldiers, who partook of them, were often much diſordered by exceſs in eating and drinking. So Ammianus. It would be tedious to rehearſe all the inſtances of exceſſive, and even ridiculous ſuperſtition, which may be found in Heathen writers. Says Libanius: "He (p) received the riſing ſun with blood, and attended him again with blood at his ſetting." "And (q) becauſe he could not go abroad ſo often as he would, he made "a temple of his palace, and placed altars in his garden, which was "purer than moſt chapels." "By (r) frequent devotions he en-"gaged the Gods to be his auxiliaries in war, worſhiping Mer-"curie, Ceres, Mars, Calliope, Apollo, and Jove: whom he wor-"ſhiped in his temple upon the hill, and in the city," meaning An-"tioch. . . And complaining of the Gods, who had deſerted him. "Whom, (s) ſhall we blame, ſays Libanius? not one, but all. For "none were neglected by him, neither Gods, nor Goddeſſes. And "is this the return, ſays he, for all his victims, for all his vows, "for all the incenſe, and all the blood offered up to them, by day "and

(o) Inter haec expeditionem parans in Perſas . . . Hoſtiarum tamen ſanguine plurimo aras crebritate nimia perfundebat, tauros aliquoties immolando centenos, et innumeras varii pecoris greges, avesque candidas terra quaeſitas et mari: adeo ut in dies pene ſingulos milites carnis diſtentiore ſagina victitantes incultius, potuſque aviditate corrupti, humeris impoſiti tranſeuntium per plateas ex publicis aedibus . . ad ſua diverſoria portarentur. &c. &c. *Id. l. 22. cap. xii.*

(p) Αἱματι μὲν δεχόμενος ἀνίσχοντα τὸν θεὸν αἵματι δὲ παραπέμπων τὸν δύοντα. *Liban. Or. 8. p. 245. D.*

(q) Ἐπεὶ μὲ τρέχειν ὅς ἐφιλει παρ' ἑκάστους ἦν, ἐφιλοτεχνήσατο βασιλικὰ, ἢ τῶν ναῶν καθαρώτερα τὰ παρ' ἐκείνῳ ἀφώτια. &c. *Ibid.*

(r) *Liban. Legat. ad Julian. p. 170.*

(s) *Liban. Or. 9. in Julian. necem. p. 252. A. B.*

"and by night?" Again, says the same writer: "Wherever (*t*) A. D. 361.
"there was a temple, whether in the city, or on the hill, or on the "tops of the mountains: No place so rough, or so difficult of ac-"cesse, but he ran to it, as if the way had been smooth and plea-"sant, if it had a temple, or ever had one."

But though Julian was so devout and religious in his way, when disappointed, he could be displeased, and even angrie with his Gods, like (*u*) other Heathen people, especially the vulgar among them. In (*w*) the Persian war, having had some advantages, and expecting more, he prepared a grand sacrifice for Mars. But the omens not being favorable, he was exceedingly moved, and called Jupiter to witnesse, that he would never more offer a sacrifice to Mars.

This excesse of superstition, it seems to me, is an argument of want of judgement. Which defect appeared upon divers occasions, and in many actions, not altogether becoming the dignity of an (*y*) Emperour.

Ammianus Marcellinus, though very favorable to Julian, makes no scruple to blame him upon some occasions.

(*t*) Δρόμοις δὲ τοιούτοις τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ ἐν ὄρεσι ἦσαν. Καὶ οὐδὲν ἄντικρυς χαλεπὸν, οὐδὲ βάραθρον, ἢ μὴ λεῶν ὑφεῖλκεν, ἢ ἀφετηρίαν ἔκτισε. *Or.* 9. *p.* 255. *A.*

(*u*) Tamen longe majora et firmiora de eo [*Germanico*] judicia in morte ac post mortem exstitere. Quo defuncto et die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae Deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abjecti, partus conjugum expositi. *Sueton. Calig. cap.* 5.

(*w*) Abunde ratus post haec prosperitates similes adventare, complures hostias Marti parabat Ultori. Et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis, nondum aris admoti voluntate sua novem procubuere tristissimi. Decimus vero, qui distractis vinculis lapsus, aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis exclamavit, indignatus acriter Julianus, Jovemque testatus est, nulla Marti jam sacra facturum. Nec rerum vit, celeri morte praereptus. *Ammian. l.* 24. *cap.* vi. *fin.*

(*y*) Et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti, venisse nuntiatus esset ex Asia philosophus Maximus, exiliit indecore: et qui esset oblitus, effuso cursu a vestibulo longe progressus, exosculatum susceptumque reverenter secum induxit, per ostentationem intempestivam nimius captator inanis gloriae visus. .. *Ammian. l.* 22. *cap.* 7. *p.* 330.

A. D. 361. After he had been declared Auguſtus, and when he was in the way to the Eaſt, to meet Conſtantius, he ſent a letter, or oration, to the Senate of Rome, in which were many reflexions upon Conſtantius. "When (r) Tertullus, who was then Prefect of the City, read "the letter in the Senate, they manifeſted their generoſity and grati- "tude. For with one voice, and directing themſelves as to Julian "himſelf, they cried out aloud: *We beſeech you, Sir, ſhew more re-* "*ſpect to him, to whom you are indebted for what you are.*"

Conſtantin, in the neceſſity of his affairs, had advanced ſome men of low rank to high poſts in the Republick. With that Julian reproached Conſtantin in the juſt mentioned letter, or oration, to the Senate. And yet he himſelf made *Nevita* a man of mean original, Conſul in the year 362. But, ſays Ammianus, a (s) man ſhould not do what he had blamed in others.

He moreover cenſures ſome of the executions made at the begining of his reign, ſoon after the death of Conſtantius. He ſays, "It "(t) ſeems to him, that Juſtice itſelf wept for the death of Urſulus, "ſu-

(r) Jamque altius ſe extollens, et numquam credens ad concordiam provocare poſſe Conſtantium, orationem acrem et invectivam, probra quaedam in eum explanantem et vitia, ſcripſerat ad Senatum. Quae cum Tertullo adminiſtrante adhuc Praefecturam, recitarentur in Curia, enituit Nobilitatis cum ſpecioſa fiducia benignitas grata. Exclamatum eſt enim, in unum cunctorum ſententia congruente, Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus. *Ammian. l. 21. cap. 1.*

(s) Tunc et memoriam Conſtantini, ut novatoris turbatoriſque priſcarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit, cum aperte incuſans, quod barbaros omnium primus adulſque faſces auxerat, et trabeas Conſulares: inſulſe nimirum et leviter: qui cum vitare deberet id quod infeſtius objurgavit, brevi poſtea Mamertino in Conſulatu junxit Nevitam, nec ſplendore nec gloria horum ſimilem, quibus Magiſtratum ampliſſimum detulerat Conſtantinus: contra inconſummatum, et ſubagreſtem, et quod minus ferendum, celſa in poteſtate crudelem. *Ammian. Ibid.*

(t) Urſuli vero necem Largitionum Comitis ipſa mihi videtur fleſſe Juſtitia, Imperatorem arguens ut ingratum. . . . Quo extincto cum maledictis execrationibuſque multorum ſe Julianus ſentiret expoſitum, impurgabile crimen excuſari poſſe exiſtimans, abſque conſcientia ſua hominem affirmabat occiſum, praetendens, quod

"superintendent of the treasurie, to whom Julian was under many "obligations. And when many were offended with the Emperour "upon that account, he pretended, that it was done without his "knowledge, and was entirely owing to the resentments of the sol-"diery." So Ammianus. A. D. 361.

I need not enlarge any farther here. These several particulars, now mentioned, may be sufficient to satisfy us, that in the conduct of Julian, there might be many things liable to exception. And, that like other great men, he was upon some occasions guilty of indiscretion, and even of injustice. And if the friends of Constantin were so disposed, they might make reprisals upon the Panegyrists of Julian.

Before we pass on to other things, it may be requisite to take notice of some exceptions, that have been made to Julian's virtue.

The *first* relates to his chastity. Mamertinus, in his Panegyrick, says, "That (*u*) Julian's bed was as pure as that of any Vestal." Libanius (*x*) likewise ascribes to Julian compleat purity. But no one has so enlarged upon this point, as the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, whose testimonie must be allowed to be as satisfactorie, as that of any man. He (*y*) not only ascribes to Julian inviolate chastity after the

quod eum militaris ira delevit, memor quae dixerat, ut ante retulimus, cum Amidam vidisset excisam. *Ammian. l.* 22. *cap. iii.*

(*u*) ... lectus, ... Vestalium toris purior. *Mamert. cap.* 13. *p.* 292.

(*x*) Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκφεύγει τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν παίδων γεννόων ἀκέραιον. *Liban. Or.* x. *p.* 292. *B.*

Οὐ σωφρονίστερος μὲν Ἱππολύτου; *Ibid. p.* 225. *C.*

(*y*) Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam conjugem nihil unquam venereum agitaret: illud adversens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragoediarum scriptorem aetate grandaevum interrogatum, ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem id adjecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem, ut rabiosum effugisse dominum et crudelem. Item ut hoc propositum validius confirmaret, recolebat saepe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat jucunde, id asserentem, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius consurgentem vitam exornat. Quam labem in adulto robore juventutis ita caute vitavit, ut ne suspicione

A. D. 361. the death of his wife, but alſo ſays, that this virtue was always in high eſteem with him. He likewiſe mentions ſome conſiderations, by which Julian ſupported his reſolution, and ſays, that none of thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, ever ſuſpected him of liberties contrarie to that branch of temperance in any time of his life.

Nevertheleſs exceptions have been made to this part of Julian's character, by ſome of late times, who ſay: "As (x) to his chaſtity, "we are not fully convinced, that it deſerved thoſe mighty encomiums, which Mamertinus, Libanius, and Ammianus Marcellinus have been pleaſed to beſtow upon it. For on one ſide it is "certain, that by Helena, his only wife, he had but one ſon, whom "the midwife, bribed by the Empreſs Euſebia, deſtroyed as ſoon "as born. On the other ſide, Julian himſelf, in a letter, which "he wrote in 363. that is, three years after the death of Helena, "mentions his children, and the perſon, who was charged with the "care of their (a) education."

1. To which I anſwer, That the teſtimonie of the forementioned writers ought to be relied upon. The truth of what they ſay, ought not to be conteſted. If Julian's chaſtity had not been real, and well known, Heathen Hiſtorians and Panegyriſts might and would have been ſilent, and have ſaid nothing about it.

2. There is a remarkable inſtance of his ſelf-government in this reſpect recorded in the Perſian expedition, and which ought to be mentioned to his honour. The city Maogamalcha was taken after a difficult ſiege. When (b) they came to divide the ſpoil, the Perſian

picione, quidem tenus libidinis ullius vel citeriorjs vitae miniſtris incuſaretur, ut ſaepe contingit. Hoc autem temperantiae genus creſcebat in majus, juvante parcimonia ciborum et ſomni, quibus domi foriſque tenacius utebatur. *Ammian. l. 25. cap. iv. p. 458.*

(x) *Tillemont L'Emp. Julien, art. xxv. p. 1031. and the Writers of univerſal ancient Hiſtory. Vol. 16. p. 269. 270.*

(a) Πάλιν ἐπανέρετο, ὅπως τὰ τρόφιμα τῶν ἐμοῦ παίδων, ἵνα μὴ λέγω περὶ ὧν γράμμασιν *Ep. 40. p. 417. Spanh.*

(b) Diviſa itaque perpenſis meritis et labo-

A. D. 361.

ſian women being then renowned for beauty, it was propoſed that ſome of thoſe beautifull captives ſhould be allotted to the Emperour and General. But Julian would not ſo much as ſee any of them. Which ſhews, that he was upon his guard againſt every thing that ſhould endanger the ſteadineſſe of his reſolution.

3. When Julian ſpeaks of *the tutor of his children*, who is not named, the expreſſion muſt be underſtood figuratively. For Julian had no children, legitimate or illegitimate. Hiſtorians are quite ſilent about them, excepting that one, which he had by his wife Helena, above mentioned, who was not ſuffered to live. If Julian had any children, out of lawfull marriage, and therefore illegitimate, can it be ſuppoſed, that Chriſtian writers would have been ſilent about it? By no means. Eumenius, in his Panegyrick recommends (*c*) to Conſtantin not only his five children, of whom he was the parent, but his other children likewiſe, as he calls them, whom he had educated for the Bar, or the Court. In ſome ſuch figurative ſenſe Julian muſt be underſtood. He intends ſome young perſons under his ſpecial care.

4. Upon the whole therefore, the accounts of Julian's inviolate chaſtity ought not to be reckoned unlikely. Ammianus has mentioned divers conſiderations, by which Julian ſupported his reſolution... And he adds, that he was aſſiſted therein by his great and conſtant

laboribus praeda, ipſe, ut erat parvo contentus, mutum puerum oblatum ſibi ſuſcepit geſticularium, multa quae callebat nutibus venuſtiſſimis explicantem, et tribus aureis nummis partae victoriae praemium jucundum ut exiſtimabat et gratum. Ex virginibus autem quae ſpecioſae ſunt captae, ut in Perſide, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquem voluit, nec videre: Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui haec declinabant, ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui ſe invictos a laboribus ubique praeſtiterunt. *Ammian. l.* 24. *cap. iv. p.* 436.

(*c*) Tibique, quod ſupereſt, commendo liberos meos... Ceterum quod de omnibus liberis dixi, lata eſt, Imperator, ambitio. Praeter illos enim quinque quos genui, etiam illos quaſi meos numero, quos provexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. *Eumen. Paneg. cap. xviii. p.* 237.

A. D. 361. conſtant temperance in food and ſleep. Moreover Julian's ardent thirſt of fame may have been another preſervative of this virtue. When Mamertinus ſays, that Julian was free from every vice incident to human nature, it is not improbable, that he has a regard to incontinence. His expreſſions are to this purpoſe: "To (d) ſome, "ſays he, your juſtice, your moderation, your humanity, your free- "dom from every vice incident to human nature, may appear won- "derfull, and even incredible. But not to me, who know, that "you aim at immortality: and that in all your deſigns and actions "you have an eye to the impartial judgement of poſterity. He can "do nothing mean and abject, who expects to be in the mouths of "all men in all time."

Secondly, it is objected from (e) Chryſoſtom, "that on feſtivals to the honour of Venus, or on ſome other like occaſions, Julian walked in proceſſion with lewd women, and others of the worſt characters, followed by his horſe, and guards." Which is too true, though very ſtrange. Ammianus (f) acknowledgeth it, and intimates, that he was ridiculed by ſome upon that account.

Still, it ſhould be obſerved, that Chryſoſtom, and (g) other eccleſiaſtical writers, who mentioned theſe, and the like things, do not charge him with being guilty of debauch. In the ſtile and language of

(d) Sed ſint, ſanctiſſime Imperator, ea quae tu juſte, moderate, civiliter facis, aliis fortaſſe miraculo, mihi eſſe non poſſunt: qui te omnibus humanis vitiis abſolutum et liberum, ſciam ſolo immortalitatis amore flagrare, dirigere omnes opes et cogitationes tuas ad memoriam poſteritatis aeternam, atque his maxime ſervire judicibus, qui de rebus geſtis tuis ſine odio et gratia venturis ſeculis judicabunt. Non poteſt quidquam abjectum et humile cogitare, qui ſcit de ſe ſemper loquendum. *Mamert. cap. xxxi. p.* 303.

(e) *Vide de S. Babyla. contr. Jud. et Gentil. T.* 2. *p.* 559. 560. *Bened.*

(f) . . . et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum oſtentationis gratia vehens licenter pro ſacerdotibus ſacra, ſtipatuſque mulierculis laetabatur. *Amm. l.* 22. *cap. xiv. p.* 359.

(g) Τὰς δὲ πρωΐους τε καὶ ὀλοσυχνίους, καὶ ἀμφὶ ταῖς αὐλαῖς σφαδασμοὺς τε καὶ ἀστασίους, ἐπιλέλησται τὰ δαιμόνια μυστήρια προχέοντες. *Greg. Naz. Or.* 4. *p.* 121. C.

A. D. 361.

of *(b)* Bleterie: "All this was done in publick, and from a prin-"ciple of religion. Thus making a monſtrous mixture of folly and "wiſdom, he honoured the debauch as a Pagan, and abſtained him-"ſelf as a Philoſopher." Indeed, I am of opinion, that though Julian, in the exceſſe of his zeal for Helleniſm, was willing to bear a part in all it's rites and ſolemnities, yet he ſcorned all debauch, and was entirely above it.

Once more, *thirdly*, it is ſaid, that *(i)* he practiſed necromancie, and ript up the bellies of women and children, and ſearched their entrails for diſcovering future events.

But I muſt confeſs, that I do not think theſe ſtories ſufficiently atteſted. They are to be found in Chriſtian writers only, who were his enemies, and therefore their teſtimonie may be ſuſpected. I might add, that *(k)* Gregorie Nazianzen's accounts are extravagant, and improbable, and incredible. For he affirms, "that the courſe of the river Orontes was choaked by the heaps of dead bodies thrown into it in the night-time, ſome of them children, and virgins, ſacrificed in the way of divination, beſide all the reſt, that were hid in pits, and caverns, and other private places, in and near the palace." A man, who talks in that manner, minds not what he ſays, and cannot be ſuppoſed to regard truth in his words. Or, as Bleterie ſays, more reſpectfully, "St. *(l)* Gregorie is not to be underſtood li-"terally."

Theodoret

(*b*) *Vie de L'Emp. Julien. p.* 348.

(*i*) Τί ἂν τις λέγοι τὰς νεκυομαντείας, τὰς τῶν παίδων σφαγάς; *Chryſ. adv. Gent. T.* 2. *p.* 560. *B. Vid. et Theodoret. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 26.

(*k*) Σιωπήσομαι τὸν Ὀρόντην, ᾧ τὰς νυκτερινὰς νεκρὰς, ὧν τῷ βασιλεῖ συνήρπαστο ὄχλος σεσωμένος τελεσσι, καὶ κτόνων ἀδήλων· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντων ἀπορώτερον συμπεραίνεται καὶ τῶν βασιλείων τὰ κοῖλα καὶ ἀνώτατον, ὅσα τε ἐν λάκκοις, καὶ ὀρύγμασι, καὶ δυσὶν, καλῶν γέμοντα θησαυρῶν τε καὶ μυστηρίων· οὐ μόνον τῶν διατεμνομένων παίδων τε καὶ παρθένων ἐπὶ ψυχαγωγίᾳ καὶ μαντείᾳ, καὶ θυσίαις οὐ νενομισμέναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας κατορυττόντων. *Gr. Naz. Or.* 3. *p.* 91.

(*l*) Ce qu'on ne doit pas ſans doute prendre à la lettre. *Vie de Julien. p.* 349.

A. D. 361. Theodoret ſays, "that (*m*) when Julian in his march into Perſia, "came to Carrhæ, where was a celebrated temple of the Moon, he "performed ſacrifices privately, unknown to almoſt every body. And "having done ſo, he had the temple cloſely ſhut up and ſealed, for-"bidding it to be opened till he returned, and leaving alſo a guard "of ſoldiers to ſecure it. But upon the news of his death, the tem-"ple being opened, they found there a woman hanging by the hair "of her head, her arms ſtretched out, with her belly diſſected."

But the circumſtances of this relation are ſo improbable, as to leſſen the credibility of it. For it is altogether unlikely, that ſo horrible a ſacrifice, if it had been performed, ſhould be left in that ſhamefull poſture, and hanging by the hair of the head: or that Julian ſhould leave ſoldiers to guard it, when he had none to ſpare. It is much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſome perſon invented this ſtorie, and others received it, at a time, when Julian's memorie was infamous, and his enemies were at liberty to ſay of him what they pleaſed.

We have briefly gone over the hiſtorie of Julian, from his birth to his death. And thereby have been led to take in alſo his character. But it will be fit, that we ſhould enlarge upon ſome tranſactions and events.

The two Conſuls in the year 362. were *Claudius Mamertinus and Flavius Nevitta.* And on the firſt day of Januarie Mamertinus pronounced in the Senate at Conſtantinople a Panegyrick upon the Emperour, by way of thanks for the honour of the Conſulſhip beſtowed upon him. Early (*n*) in the morning of that day, when they entered

(*m*) *Theod. Hiſt. l. 3. cap. 26.*

(*n*) "Ego et collega meus, ne quid maximus Imperator propenſius humanitatis ſtudio faceret, verebamur. Itaque matutino crepuſculo palatium petimus. Adventare nos Principi, forte tum danti operam ſalutatoribus, nunciatur. Statim a ſolio tanquam praeceptus exiluit, vultu trepido atque ſatagente, qualis mens mea eſſe potuiſſet, ſi principi ſerus occurrerem. Aegre remotis populi qui nos praegrediebatur agminibus, ut quam longiſſime nobis obviam procederet, laboravit. *Mamertin. Paneg. cap.* 28. *p.* 301.

entered on their office, the two Conſuls went out to wait on the Emperour at his palace, fearing he ſhould be before-hand with them. As ſoon as Julian knew they were coming, he roſe up ſuddenly, and went out to meet them, with tokens of concern in his countenance, as if he had been wanting in reſpect, and came forward, and ſaluted them with the greateſt poſſible regard. And (o) when the Conſuls were carried to the Senate in their chairs, he attended them on foot with their friends in the croud. Theſe things are in the Panegyrick itſelf, where they may have been inſerted, after it was pronounced. The ſame is in Ammianus, who ſays, that (p) ſome applauded this humble behaviour of Julian, whilſt others diſliked it, as mean, affected, and below his dignity. It was cuſtomarie for the Emperour to accompany the new Conſuls, when they entred on their office: but, as it ſeems, not on foot, or in the croud. A. D. 361.

A few days after, as we alſo learn from Ammianus (q), when Mamertin exhibited the ſports of the Circus, a number of ſlaves were brought forth, according to cuſtom, to be manumitted by him. And Julian being preſent, and not minding what he did, or unacquainted with the prerogative of the ſeveral magiſtrates, declared them free himſelf. And being put in mind, that he therein intrenched

(o) Pene intra ipſas palatinae domus valvas, lecticas Conſulares juſſit inferri; et cum honori ejus venerationique cedentes, ſedile illud dignitatis ampliſſimae recuſaremus, ſuis prope manibus impoſitos mixtus agmini togatorum praeire coepit pedes, gradum moderans pene ad lictoris nutum, et viatoris impetum. *Ib. n. xxx. p.* 302.

(p) Allapſo itaque Calendarum Januariarum die, cum Mamertini et Nevittae nomina ſuſcepiſſent Paginae Conſulares, humilior Princeps viſus eſt, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis: quod laudabant alii, quidam ut affectatum et vile carpebant. *Amm. l.* 22. *cap. viii. p.* 329.

(q) Dein Mamertino ludos edente Circenſes, manumittendis ex more inductis per admiſſionum Proximum, ipſe lege agi dixerat, ut ſolebat: ſtatimque admonitus, juriſdictionem eo die ad alterum pertinere, ut errato obnoxium decem libris auri ſemetipſe multavit. *Ibid.*

A. D. 361. trenched upon the jurisdiction of the Consuls, he condemned himself in a fine of ten pounds weight of Gold.

Julian appears to have renounced Christianity, and to have embraced Hellenism, about the twentieth year of his age. But it was kept very secret, and was known to a very few only, who were his intimate friends, untill after he was declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul. And even after that he was upon the reserve. For, as Ammianus has observed, "when (x) he was at Vienne, in his way "to Constantinople, he still pretended to follow the Christian rite, "from which he had departed a good while before: and privatly, "with his friends he practised augurie and divination, and all other "things oustomarie with the Greeks. And in the month of Janu- "arie [in the year 361.] on the festival called Epiphanie he went to "the church of the Christians."

But upon his being declared sole Emperour, all reserve was laid aside. As the same historian says: "Though (y) he had long dis- "sembled his respect for the Gods, to which he had been inclined "from his youth, now finding himself at liberty to act as he saw "good, he made expres edicts for opening the temples, erecting al- "tars, and performing sacrifices."

And I think, it appears from (z) Libanius, that the temples had been

(x) Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte defiverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinae auguriisque intentus, et ceteris quae Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut haec interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. *Ammian. l. 21. cap. ii.*

(y) Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiae primis inclinatior erat erga numinum cultum paullatimque adulescens desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quaedam ad id pertinentia quantum fieri poterat occultissime. Ubi vero abolitis quae verebatur, adesse liberum tempus faciendi quae vellet, advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana: et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque hostias admoveri ad Deorum statuit cultum. *Amm. l. 22. cap. v.*

(z) *Liban. Or. x p. 288. C.*

A. D. 361.

been opened at Athens, before the death of Conſtantius. Socrates (*a*) evidently ſuppoſeth, that the temples were opened, and ſacrifices performed by Julian's authority in ſeveral cities, whilſt Conſtantius was ſtill living. And in a letter to the philoſopher *Maximus*, writ after he had been proclaimed Emperour by the ſoldiers, but, as I apprehend, before (*b*) the end of the year 361. and whilſt he was in Illyricum, he tells him: "You (*c*) will be glad to hear what I am going to ſay: "we worſhip the Gods publickly. The ſoldiers with me are be-"come pious. We ſacrifice bulls openly, and have given thanks to "the Gods in many hecatombs." However, as juſt ſeen, there were no edicts to this purpoſe, till after Julian was ſole Emperour.

And now he gave orders for the return of the Biſhops, who had been baniſhed by Conſtantius, and for reſtoring their eſtates, which had been (*) confiſcated. Jerome (††) has taken notice of this indulgence, and mentions the names of ſeveral catholic Biſhops, who now returned to their Sees. This order, and the edict for opening the temples, according (‖) to Socrates, were of the ſame date, ſoon after Julian's coming to Conſtantinople. Ammianus (**) likewiſe joyns

(*a*) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. i. p. 167. C. D.*

(*b*) *Bleterie allows, that this letter was writ in the year 361. whilſt Julian was yet in Illyricum: as indeed I think, the letter itſelf ſhews. See his Lettres Choiſies de L'Emp. Julien. p. 200. & 205. So likewiſe Tillemont. L'Emp. Julien art. x. et note iv. et la perſecution par Julien, art. i.*

(*c*) *Julian. Ep. 38. p. 415.*

(*) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. i. p. 168. C. D.*

(††) Omnes epiſcopi, qui de propriis ſedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam principis ad eccleſias redeunt. Tunc triumphatorem ſuum Athanaſium Aegyptus excepit: tunc Hilarium de proelio revertentem, Galliarum eccleſia complexa eſt. &c. *Hieron. adv. Luciferian. T. 4. P. 2. p. 301. in.*

(‖) *Loc. cit.*

(**) Utque diſpoſitorum roboraret effectum, diſſidentes Chriſtianorum antiſtites cum plebe diſciſſa in palatium intromiſſos monebat, ut civilibus diſcordiis conſopitis quiſque nullo vetante religioni ſuae ſerviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obſtinate, ut diſſenſiones augente licentia non timeret unanimantem poſtea plebem: nullas infeſtis hominibus beſtias, ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtianorum, expertus. *Ammian. l. 22. cap. v.*

A. D. 361. joyns these things together. But he supposeth, that the liberty given to the Bishops to return home, was not done with any good intention: But with a view of encreasing divisions and contentions among them. As (§) Sozomen also expressly says. The Donatists had their share in this indulgence. But it seems not to have been pleasing to (a) Augustin, and some other Catholics. At this time, undoubtedly, Julian openly declared, that they might all worship God in their own way, without molestation from him. As Ammianus says in the place just cited: Ut quisque nullo vetante religioni suae serviret intrepidus.

Having given orders for restoring all the Bishops in general, he wrote a letter to (b) *Aëtius*, a learned Arian writer, inviting him to come to Court. The (c) letter is still extant. "Julian to the Bi-"shop Aëtius. I have restored all others, who were banished by "the Emperour Constantius, upon account of the madness of the "Galileans. I not only forgive you, but in regard to our friendship "and acquaintance, I desire you to come to me. I allow you the "use of a public chariot, and a horseman for your journey."

And it is reasonable to believe, that at this time Hellenism was established by some edict, or edicts. Among Julian's letters there is one to *Artabius*. Who he was, is not certainly known. Nor is the letter entire. But it may be considered as an edict, published at the commencement of Julian's sole empire. "By (d) the Gods, says "he, I will not have the Galileans put to death, nor beaten unjust-"ly, nor suffer any evil. But I am by all means for preferring the "worshipers of the Gods before them. For by the madness of the "Ga-

(§) Ἐδόκουν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Δονάτου αἱρέσεως τοῦτο συγχωρεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιτρεπόμενον τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ διοικεῖσθαι. *Soz. l. 5. cap. 12. p. 601. A. Conf. Theod. l. 3. cap. 10.*

(a) Denique tunc reddidit basilicas haereticis, quando templa daemoniis. *Aug. ep. 105. num. 9. al. ep. 166. Tom. 2. Conf. Optat. l. 2. cap. 16.*

(b) *See Gradii. vol. viii. p. 892.*

(c) *Ep. 31. p. 404.*

(d) *Ep. 7. p. 376.*

"Gallicans all things were brought to the brink of ruin, and now A. D. 361.
"we are all ſafe by the goodneſſe of the Gods. Therefore we ought
"to honour the Gods, and thoſe pious men and cities, that worſhip
"them."

That edict ſufficiently indicates, what treatment the Chriſtians were to expect under his reign. Socrates ſays, "that (e) he ordered, "that none ſhould have any military offices at court, who would "not renounce Chriſtianity, and offer ſacrifices to images. Nor "would he give the government of provinces to Chriſtians, becauſe, "as he ſaid, their law forbids the uſe of the ſword for the puniſh-"ment of ſuch as deſerved death. Many he gained by flatteries and "preſents. Others reſigned their offices, being willing to part with "the honours of this world, rather than deny Chriſt. Among whom "were *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who afterwards were Em-"perours." Sozomen (f) not only confirms this account, but likewiſe ſays, "Julian not only deprived the Chriſtians of magiſtracies, and "all honours and dignities, but likewiſe of equal rights of citizen-"ſhip." Which may have been true in ſome inſtances. But I do not ſuppoſe, that there were any edicts, depriving all Chriſtians, who would not ſacrifice to the Gods, of the privileges of citizens in the places, where they lived.

However, Libanius ſays: "He (g) beheld with pleaſure, and fa-"vored thoſe cities, which had preſerved the temples of the Gods. "But other cities, in which they had been all or moſt of them de-"ſtroyed, he looked upon as abominable. And though he allowed "them the privileges of ſubjects, it was not without ſome indigna-"tion

(e) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. 13.*

(f) ... παραπαμπτους ἐᾶσαι, ἰσοτελεῖς ἐᾶσαι, ξυλλόγων ἢ ἀγορᾶς μετέχειν. Καὶ τὸ ξιφίζειν, ἢ ἄρχειν, ἢ ἀξιωμάτων τινῶν ἢ μετεῖναι. *Soz. l. 5. cap. 18. p. 623. B.*

(g) Οἱ γὰρ, τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἧττον μὲν ἤρεσκον μᾶλλον, ἢ πρόσθεν ἦσαν, ἢ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πόλεων ἀξιῶν ἐνόμιζε. Τὰς δὲ ἀνατραπείσας, ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα, μισεῖν τε ἐνόμιζε, ἢ τῶν ἀρίστων μετεῖναι μὲν ἐᾶν ἔφασκεν, ἢ μὴ ἄσμενος τὸ ἀνεχόμενον. *Orat. Parent. in Julian. ap. Fabr. T. 7. §. 61. p. 288. Fid. et §. 59. et 60.*

A. D. 361. "tion and ill-will." And Ammianus acknowledgeth, "that (b) "sometimes, when he was hearing causes, he would very unsea-"sonably inquire into the religion of the parties. But he affirms, "that Julian never passed an unjust or partial sentence upon account "of religion, or any other account whatever."

I need not enlarge upon this subject. Some (i) of those who suffered in this reign, and have been called Martyrs, may not deserve that title. Socrates says, "that (k) Julian avoided the excessive cru-"elty of Diocletian's persecution. Nevertheless he did not forbear to "persecute, for I call that persecution, says he, when men who live "peaceably are molested. He molested the Christians in this manner. "He forbid, that they should partake of human literature, least, as "he said, when they have whet their tongue, they should be more "ready in answering the Greek disputants." Sozomen says, he "(l) would not allow the children of the Christians to be instructed "in the Greek Poets, or Orators, nor to frequent the schools of such "as explained those writers." To the like purpose (m) Theodoret. Augustin says, that (n) Julian forbid the Christians both to teach and learn polite literature. Gregorie Nazianzen (o) has not failed to take notice of this restraint, and to ridicule Julian for it.

Ammianus (p) has twice mentioned it, and always with dislike, as

(b) Et quamquam in disceptando aliquoties erat intempestivus, quid quisque jugantium coleret, tempore alieno interrogans: tamen nulla ejus definitio litis a vero dissonans reperitur: nec argui unquam potuit, ob religionem, vel quodcunque aliud ab aequitatis recto tramite deviasse. *Amm. l. 22. cap. x. in.*

(i) *Vide Basnag. ann. 362. num. xi.*

(k) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. xii.*

(l) *Soz. l. 5 cap. 18.*

(m) *Theod. l. 3. cap. viii.*

(n) An ipse non est Ecclesiam persecutus, qui Christianos liberales literas docere ac discere vetuit? *De Civit. Dei, l. 18. cap. 52.*

(o) *Greg. Or. 3. p. 51.*

(p) Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores. *Ammian. l. 22. cap. x.*

Namque et jura condidit non molesta ... praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum. *Id. l. 25. cap. iv. p. 463.*

as a great hardſhip. Julian's edict is ſtill exſtant (q). If it had not been long, I ſhould have alleged it here. But I ſhall remember it hereafter. Oroſius ſays, that (r) when Julian publiſhed his edict, forbidding the Chriſtian Profeſſors of Rhetorick, to teach the liberal arts, they all in general choſe rather to reſign their chairs, than deny the faith. And Jerome, in his Chronicle, aſſures us, that (s) when Julian publiſhed his law, that no Chriſtian ſhould teach the liberal arts; *Proaereſius*, the Athenian Sophiſt, ſhut up his ſchool, though the Emperour had granted him a ſpecial licence to teach. Auguſtin (t) records the like ſteadineſſe of *Victorinus*, who had long taught rhetorick with great applauſe at Rome. But *Ecebolius* a Chriſtian Sophiſt at Conſtantinople, who (u) had been Julian's maſter in rhetorick, was overcome by the temptations of the times, and (x) openly profeſſed Helleniſm. However, when Julian was dead, he recovered himſelf, and with great humiliations entreated to be reconciled to the Church. A. D. 361.

It was his fanſie to call the Chriſtians *Galilæans*. It is taken notice of by divers eccleſiaſtical writers (y) who have made good remarks

(q) *Ep.* 42. *p.* 422.

(r) Aperto tamen praecepit edicto, ne quis Chriſtianus docendorum liberalium ſtudiorum profeſſor eſſet. Sed tamen, ſicut a majoribus compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum praecepti conditiones amplexati, officium quam fidem deſerere maluerunt. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 30.

(s) Proaereſius, Sophiſta Athenienſis, lege lata, ne Chriſtiani liberalium artium doctores eſſent, et ſibi ſpecialiter Julianus concederet, ut Chriſtianos doceret, ſcholam ſponte deſeruit. *Chr. p.* 185.

(t) . . . et illud addidit, [Simplicianus] quod Imperatoris Juliani temporibus lege data prohibiti ſunt Chriſtiani docere literaturam, et oratoriam: quam legem ille amplexus loquacem ſcholam deſerere maluit, quam verbum tuum, quo linguas infantum facis deſertas. *Aug. Confeſſ. l.* 8. *cap.* v. *num.* 10. *And ſee the Credib. Vol ix. p.* 57. 58.

(u) *Socr. l.* 3. *cap.* i. *p.* 165. *A. B.*

(x) . . ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰουλιανοῦ γοητικὸς ἄλλα ἐφάντα. κ. λ. *Socr. l.* 3. *cap.* 13. *p.* 184. *D.*

(y) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 3. *p.* 81. *A. B. Theod. l.* 3. *cap.* 21. *Chryſ. Or.* 2. *de S. Bab. T. i. p.* 783. *A. et alibi. Socrat. l.* 3. *cap. xii. p.* 183. *D.*

A. D. 361. marks upon it. And some of them say, that he ordered by edicts, that they should be so called. In this appellation there was no reason, nor argument. But it might answer Julian's purpose, to make the Christians appear contemptible in the esteem of weak people.

That was no late thought of Julian. We find him using this stile, at the begining of his sole empire, before he left Constantinople. He there offered sacrifices to the Genius of that city. After which, as Socrates says, *Maris*, the Arian Bishop of Chalcedon, was brought to him, who was an old man, and had lost his sight. He (x) reproached Julian, calling him impious, apostate, and atheist. Who returning reproach for reproach, called Maris blind. Nor, says he, is your Galilean God able to cure you. For he was wont to call Christ the Galilean, and the Christians Galileans. Maris replied: I thank God, who has made me blind, that I might not see the face of a man, who has so fallen into impiety, as you have done. To which Julian made no farther answer. Sozomen, who tells the same story, adds: "For (a) he thought, he should better advance the cause of Hellenism, by shewing himself, beyond expectation, mild and patient, toward the Christians." And I also think, that the Christians would have acted more agreeably to the doctrine of the gospel, and more for it's honour, if they had avoided abusive and indecent reproaches of an Emperour (*).

It cannot be denied, that Julian was a persecutor. Ammianus thought

(x) Πολλὰ τὸν βασιλέα προσελθὼν παρῄνουν, τὸν ἀσεβῆ καλῶν, τὸν ἀποστάτην, καὶ ἄθεον. Ὁ δὲ λέγειν τὰς ὕβρεις ἀμύνετο, τυφλὸν καλέσας. Καὶ ἐπ' ἐκ, φησὶν, ὁ Γαλιλαῖος σὲ ὠφελήσει σὲ Γαλιλαῖον γὰρ ἐκάλει ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς πολλάκις τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς Γαλιλαίους. *Socrat. l. 3. c. xii. p. 183. D.*

(a) Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς μᾶλλον ἀνοχερώτερος παρεῖχεν. ἔδοξε γὰρ τοῦτῳ μᾶλλον Ἑλληνισμὸν προκόψαι, ἐπιεικίαν καὶ πρᾳότητα ἐνδειξάμενος τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπιδοκιμάσας. *Soz. l. 5. cap. 4. p. 599. D.*

(*) I am not singular in that judgement. Sueur, Hist. de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, at the year 362. T. 3. p. 235. thus delivers the last part of that discourse. Maris repondit vigoreusement, ou plutôt insolemment. Je rends graces à mon Dieu, de ce qu'il m'a osté la veue, afin qu'elle ne fût souillée de voir un si mechant homme que toy.

thought his probibiting the Chriſtians to have a liberal education, a rigorous proceeding. Eutropius alſo, another Heathen, and contemporarie, ſays, that *(b)* Julian bore hard upon the Chriſtians, though without putting them to death. Socrates, as we have already ſeen, ſays he avoided the exceſſive cruelty of Diocletian's perſecution. And other Chriſtian writers ſay, that he *(c)* envied Chriſtians the honour of martyrdom. Jerome, in *(d)* his Chronicle, gives this character of Julian's perſecution, that it was mild and enticing, rather than compelling men to ſacrifice. But he acknowledgeth, that many were drawn aſide. Oroſius *(e)* ſpeaks to the like purpoſe. Gregorie Nazianzen, near the end of his ſecond invective againſt Julian, remarking upon his *Miſopogen*, or Satyr againſt the people of Antioch, expreſſeth himſelf after this manner. "You *(f)* boaſt mighty of your never eating to exceſs, as a wonderful thing: but ſay not, how you have oppreſſed the Chriſtians, an innocent and a numerous body of men. Not conſidering, that whether ſome particular perſon is troubled with crudities, or not, it is a thing of little conſequence to the publick. Whereas by the perſecution, which you have raiſed, the whole Roman Empire has been diſturbed."

A. D. 361.

No ancient Chriſtian writer, perhaps, has drawn Julian's character to greater advantage, than *Prudentius*, "who *(g)* aſcribes to him great

(b) Nimius religionis Chriſtianæ infectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abſtinuerit. *Eutrop. l. x. cap.* 16.

(c) *Vide Gr. Naz. Or.* 3. *p.* 72. *&c.*

(d) Juliano ad idolorum cultum converſo, blanda perſecutio fuit, illiciens magis, quam impellens ad ſacrificandum: in quâ multi ex noſtris voluntate propriâ corruerunt. *Chr. p.* 185.

(e) . . . Chriſtianam religionem arte potius quam poteſtate infectatus eſt, ut negaretur fides Chriſti, et idolorum cultus ſuſciperetur, hominibus potius provocans, quam tormentis cogens ſtuduit. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 30.

(f) *Gregor. Or.* 4. *p.* 133. 134.

(g) Principibus tamen e ſanctis non defuit unus,
Me puero, ut memini, ductor ſuperbus armis.

A. D. 361. great fortitude. And not only says, that he was a fine speaker, and writer, but also, that he made good laws, and was a good Emperour. But he was an enemie to the true religion. He was faithfull to the interests of the State. But was unfaithfull to God, and worshiped innumerable deities, which he shews largely.

And I would take this opportunity, to refer curious, and inquisitive readers to (b) several learned moderns, who have made remarks upon Julian's writings, and upon his conduct, as an Emperour, and are not unfavourable in their judgements concerning him.

And it has been observed, that (i) there was such a mixture of good and bad qualities in this Prince, that it is easie to praise and blame him at the same time, without deviating from the truth. (* *)

His Works. II. It cannot be necessarie, that I should take notice of all Julian's works. But there is one which cannot be omitted. For at length, in the great zeal, in the midst of his preparations for the Persian war,

Conditor et legum, celeberrimus ore manuque,
Consultor patriæ, sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis, amans ter centum millia divûm.
Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi.

Prudent. Apoth. ver. 450. &c.

(b) *Vide Petri Cunæi Præf. in Juliani Cæsares. Locumclavii Apologia pro Zosimo. p. 629. &c. Gundling. Præf. in Baldwin. de Legib. Constantini M. sub in. &c. Libruisse Bn. Spanheim's French version of Julian's Cæsars; and Montaigne's Essays, Book 2. Chap. 19.*

(i) *Fleury's Ecc. Hist. Vol. 2. A. 361.*

(* *) It may not be improper to insert here a part of *Julian's* character, as given by *Cave*, in his Introduction, p. xvii. "A Prince truly of great virtues, prudent, considerative, impartial, strictly "just, chast, and temperate, patient of "hardships, unwearied in his labours, va-"lorous in his attempts, even to rashness "and precipitancy. . . . In short, to give "him his due, had not his memory been "stained with an apostacy from the best "religion that ever was, and to bitter "and incurable a spleen against the Chri-"stians, he might have passed for one of "the best Princes that ever managed the "Roman Empire."

war, and when he was almoſt ready to ſet out upon that expedition, he was at the pains to compoſe an argument againſt the Chriſtian Religion. Jerome (*k*) ſays, it conſiſted of ſeven books. And (*l*) in another place he has quoted the ſeventh book of that work. But Cyril of Alexandria, in the preface to his confutation of it, mentions (*m*) only three books, writ by Julian againſt the holy Goſpels, and the venerable religion of the Chriſtians. Cyril, who dedicates this defenſe of our Religion in ten books, to Theodoſius the Younger, did not write, as is ſuppoſed, before the year 432. Whether any part of Julian's work was loſt between the time of Jerome and Cyril; or whether it was differently divided, I cannot ſay. But that Cyril mentions three books only, becauſe he intended to anſwer a part only of the work, I cannot believe. When he ſays, that Julian had writ three books againſt the Chriſtian Religion, I ſuppoſe, he intends the whole of the work, which he had before him. A. D. 361.

Philip Sidetes, who flouriſhed about the year 418, publiſhed a confutation of Julian's work, as we learn from (*n*) Socrates. But it was never much valued, and has been long ſince loſt. We therefore can have no information from him.

Jerome ſeems to ſay, that Julian's work was compoſed in the Perſian expedition, *in expeditione Parthica*. But I do not think it needfull to ſuppoſe, as ſome have done, that he intended to ſay, it was writ after Julian was ſet out from Antioch, in his march toward Perſia. I think, we may relye upon Libanius for the time of this work: who, as cited by Socrates, ſays: "In (*o*) the winter ſeaſon,

(*k*) Julianus Auguſtus ſeptem libros in expeditione Parthica, adverſus Chriſtum vomuit; et juxta fabulas poëtarum, ſuo ſe enſe laceravit. *Hieron. ep.* 83. T. 4. p. 655.

(*l*) *In Oſee. cap.* xi. T. 3. p. 1311. *fin.*

(*m*) Καὶ ἦν τρία συγγράμματα βιβλία κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, καὶ κατὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας. *Cyril. contr. Julian. l.* 1. p. 3. D.

(*n*) *L.* 7. *cap.* 27.

(*o*) Τὸ χειμῶνος, φησὶ, τὰς νύκτας ἐκτείνων, ἐπιθύων ἐ βασιλεὺς τοῖς βίβλοις, ἐν

A. D. 361. "ſon, during the long nights, the Emperour ſet himſelf to confute "thoſe books, which make the man of Paleſtine a God, and the "Son of God: and in a long and unanſwerable argument he ſhew-"ed, how trifling and abſurd thoſe things are, which are admired "by them. In which work he excelled the Tyrian old man. Let "the Tyrian forgive me, that I ſay, he was exceeded by his ſon." But, ſays Socrates, I am of opinion, that if Porphyrie had been an Emperour, he would have preferred his work above Julian's. Cave *(p)* likewiſe ſpeaks very ſlightly of this performance. Indeed, I apprehend, there could not be much in it that was new, and had not been ſaid before. But Julian's work might be more ſprightly for the manner, and might have ſome ſatyrical ſtrokes againſt the followers of Jeſus, peculiar to himſelf. And I am apt to think, that he oftener quoted the writers of the New Teſtament by name, and more diſtinctly, than any of his predeceſſors in this argument. And therefore he will afford us good evidence of their genuinneſſe and antiquity. Some have imagined, that *(q)* in this deſign Julian was aſſiſted by *Libanius*, and other Philoſophers, who accompanied him. But I believe, that he needed not their aſſiſtance, and that he was better qualified to write upon this argument, than any of thoſe Sophiſts, or Philoſophers. According to our account then, this work was compoſed by Julian near the end of the year 362. or in the begining of the year 363.

Libanius calls it a long work. Indeed, I believe it was prolix. Cyril tranſcribes many paſſages from it at length. Afterwards he abridges, and plainly omits ſome tedious quotations from the Scriptures, eſpecially from the Old Teſtament. And at *(r)* the begining he

[illegible] *Socrat. l. 3. cap. 23. p. 196. D.*

(p) H. L. T. i. p. 345. in Libanio.

(q) On peut juger, que ce Rhetteur, et les philoſophes qui accompagnoient Julien, eurent part aux livres contre la religion Chrétienne, que ce Prince compoſa pendant les longues nuits de l'hiver. *Hiſtoire de Julien. p. 383.*

(r) Contr. Julian. l. 2. p. 38. C, D.

he complains, that Julian's work was very immethodical, and had many repetitions, saying the same thing again and again. A. D. 361.

In Cyril's Confutation are many large fragments of Julian's work, in which he argues against the Old and the New Testament, against Moses and the Jews, as well as against Jesus and his Apostles, and followers. Cyril promiseth to (s) cite Julian in his own words. But he declares, that (t) he omits some of his blasphemous reflexions upon our Saviour. However he has taken a good many things, that are free and offensive. And in Julian and Libanius we may see, what was the language of those times.

Cyril's answer to Julian, as before said, was not writ before (u) the year 432. Theodoret (x) had read it, and says, he admired it. Du Pin (z) considers it as one of the principal of Cyril's works. He says, it is clear, and learned, and more solid than the work of Julian: though it is far from being so elegant and agreeable.

III. I intend to give a particular account of that work. After which I shall make extracts out of some of Julian's Epistles and Edicts. But before I proceed to those things, it is needfull that I consider what is said of Julian's regard for the Jews, of which, as yet, I have taken no notice. *His regard for the Jews.*

We are informed by some (r) or all our Ecclesiastical Historians, who write of Julian, that he sent for some of the chief men of the Jewish nation, and inquired of them, why they did not now sacrifice, as the law of Moses directed. They told him, that they were

(s) . . . ἐκτιθέμεθα Ν τὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑξακοσίας. *Ib. l.* 2. *p.* 38. *C.*

(t) *Ibid. D.*

(u) *Tillem. Cyril d' Alex. art.* 157. *Tom.* 14. *p.* 671.

(x) Καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν. *Theod. ep.* 83. *p.* 960. *B.*

(z) *S. Cyril d' Alex. Tom.* 3. *Part* ii. *p.* 48. *Amst.*

(r) *Socr. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* xx. *Sozom. l.* 5. *cap.* xxii. *Theod. l.* 3. *cap.* xx.

A. D. 361. were not to ſacrifice at any place, except Jeruſalem: and the temple being deſtroyed, they were obliged to forbear that part of worſhip. He thereupon promiſed to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem. And we ſtill have a (t) letter of Julian, inſcribed to "the Community of the Jews." In which he boaſts of his having aboliſhed ſome taxes, which had been laid upon them, and calls (u) their venerable Patriarch, *Julus*, his brother. He alſo entreats their prayers for him, "that (x) when he ſhall be returned victorious from the Per-"ſian War, he may rebuild the holy city Jeruſalem, which for a "long time they had earneſtly deſired to ſee inhabited, and that he "might come and dwell there himſelf, and together with them offer "up prayers to the ſupreme Deity."

This letter, however extraordinarie, muſt be reckoned genuine. For Sozomen expreſsly ſays, "that (y) Julian wrote to the Patriarchs and Rulers of the Jews, and to their whole nation, deſiring them to pray for him, and for the proſperity of his reign." That is an exact deſcription of the letter we have, which is inſcribed *to the Community of the Jews.*

It was writ in the year 362. as (z) Bleterie ſuppoſeth: in the begining of that year ſay (a) Tillemont, and (b) the Biſhop of Glouceſter.

And we are informed by many ancient writers, that Julian did actually give orders for rebuilding the temple at Jeruſalem, and that the attempt was defeated by divine interpoſition. It is mentioned by three

(t) Ιουλιανὸς Ιουδαίοις τῷ Κοινῷ. *Ep.* 25. *p.* 396.

(u) . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἴουλον τὸν διαφερόντως πατριάρχην παρόντα. *p.* 397.

(x) . . . ἵνα πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν φύλακα ἀναλαβόμενος, τὴν δὲ πολλὰν ἐπιθυμηθεῖσαν παρ' ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν ἐνοικουμένην πόλιν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐμοῖς καμάτοις ἀποδομήσας ἰσχύσῃ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δόξαν δόξῃ μεθ' ὑμῶν τῷ κράτιστι. *p.* 398.

(y) Καὶ πατριάρχαις, καὶ ἀρχηγοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἔγραψεν, ἵνα εὔχοιτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. *Soz. l.* 5. *cap. xxii. in.*

(z) *Lettres choiſies de Julien. p.* 236.

(a) *Perſecution par Julien. art.* 35. *M. E. Tom. vii.*

(b) *See His Julian. p.* 65.

three contemporarie writers, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, and *Ambrose*, Bishop of Milan, all Christians, and also by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a learned Heathen, and afterwards, by *(c) Rufinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, and *Philostorgey* as well as by later writers. Let us begin with the contemporaries. A. D. 361.

"Julian, says (d) Gregorie Nazianzen, having sent for the Jews, "and assured them, that he had discovered from their own books, "that now the time was come, when they were to return to their "own countrey, when their temple was to be rebuilt, and they "were to live again according to the laws of their ancestors. They "were easily persuaded to believe what was so desirable to them. "And immediatly great numbers of them, with the utmost alacrity "set about the work. And (e) it is said by those who are their good "friends, that their women not only resigned all their valuable or- "naments, with great readinesse, but also joyned in the work, car- "rying earth in their bosoms, and in their richest garments, not "thinking any thing too much to promote so pious a design. But "being interrupted by a hurricane, and an earthquake, they ran to "a church not far off, either to pray, or for shelter. And *(f)* there "are who say, that the church would not admit them: and that "though they found the doors open, they were presently shut again, "and bolted by an invisible power.... However it is said by all, "and universally believed, that as they were using their utmost ef- "forts to get into the church, a flame issued out from it, which en- "tirely destroyed and consumed some of them, and scorched and "maimed others in their members: so that they were living mo- "numents of the justice and vengeance of God upon sinners.... "And moreover, as he goes on, there was a *(g)* light in the heaven, ex-

(c) *Ruf. H. E. l. i. cap. 37. et 38.*

(d) *Gr. Naz. Or. iv. p. 111 .... 113.*

(e) Φασὶ γό τοι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ὁι τὰ ἐκείνων θαυμάζοντας . . . κ. λ. *p. 111. B.*

(f) Εἰσὶ μὲν οἱ λέγοντες, ὡς ἀδὲ τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῖς πρόσω ἐζατο. *Ib. D.*

(g) . . . ἴσθ ὅτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸν σταυρὸν πεγραφόαι. . . . *P. 112. B.*

A. D. 361. "exhibiting a croſſe with a circle round it. . . And (b) when there "were ſuch ſigns in earth, and in heaven, were there not alſo ſome in "the aire? Was not that alſo ſanctified with the ſigns of our Lord's "paſſion? Let them who were ſpectators of this wonderfull event, "and partakers in it, now ſhew their garments, which were then "marked with the prints of the croſſe. For at that time, as any one "ſpoke of it, or heard it related, whether he was one of our own "people, or a ſtranger, each one preſently obſerved the wonder ei-"ther upon himſelf, or upon his neighbour: diſcerning manifeſtly "a radiant mark upon his body, or in his garments, ſurpaſſing the "fineſt embroiderie, or painting. Which ſo affected the minds of "thoſe who ſaw them, that almoſt all, as with one conſent, were "induced to acknowledge the God of the Chriſtians, and endeavo-"red to appeaſe him by prayers and praiſes. And they came to our "prieſts, humbly entreating the favour of baptiſm."

So writes Nazianzen, in his invective againſt Julian, writ ſoon after that Emperour's death. It is not yet time for me to make remarks. But, ſurely, no attentive reader can forbear to make ſome obſervations upon ſo ſtrange a relation: in which a contemporarie, repreſenting a matter of ſo great importance, more than once refers to hear-ſays, and common reports, inſtead of appealing to his own ſight and knowledge.

Chryſoſtom has ſeveral times ſpoken of this thing, and deſerves to be taken notice of, as well as any.

"And (i) in our time the Emperour, who exceeded all men in impiety, gave them leave to build their temple, and aſſiſted them in it. "And they began the work, but could not proceed at all. For a "fire,

(b) *P.* 113.

(i) Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ πάντας ἐκ πολλοῦ περιῳσας βασιλεὺς, καὶ δόντων ἐξουσίαν τότε, καὶ συνεπαράξη, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἤρξατο, καὶ οὐδὲ μικρὸν προελθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῶν θεμελίων ἐκπηδῆσαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπέλασεν. Ὅτι δὲ ἠβουλήθησαν, καὶ τοῦτο δῆγμά ἐστιν ἕως τοῦ νῦν θαμβεῖται γυμνωθέντα· ἵνα εἰδῇς, ὅτι ἐπεχείρησαν διασκάπτειν, οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, τῆς ἀναρρήσεως ταύτης ἀντιπραττούσης αὐτοῖς. *Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p.* 580. *E.*

"fire, riſing up from the foundation, drave them all away. And "that they had a mind to it, appears from the foundations, which ſtill "lye open: whereby it may be diſcerned, that they began to dig, but "were not able to build, they having met with an obſtruction." A. D. 361.

In another place, the ſame great orator, and fine writer, having largely related the converſation of Julian with the Jews, and his propoſal to them, that they ſhould ſacrifice, he goes on. "Nevertheleſs *(k)* ſtill blinded againſt all means of conviction, they "entreated him to joyn with them in rebuilding the temple. And "he furniſhed them with money, and appointed officers of great "diſtinction to ſuperintend the work, and ſent for artificers from all "parts. He attempted every thing, he omitted nothing, that could "be done: hoping, that if he could bring them to ſacrifice, he ſhould "alſo perſuade them to the worſhip of images: hoping likewiſe, in "his great perverſneſſe, to confute the declaration of Chriſt, that "the temple ſhould not be rebuilt. But he who taketh the wiſe in "their own craftineſſe, ſoon ſhewed by the effects, that the decrees "of God are more powerfull than all things, and that his word "is firmly eſtabliſhed. For as ſoon as they began their impious "attempt, and were removing the foundations, and had dug away "a good deal of earth, and were ready to ſet about the building: "fire burſting from the foundations burnt many of them, and caſt "away many ſtones from the place, and interrupted the vain at"tempt. And not only they who were employed in the work, "but many Jews likewiſe, when they ſaw what had happened, "were confounded, and aſhamed. And the Emperour Julian "having been informed of theſe things, though he was to diſtrac"tion intent upon the deſign, fearing, leaſt he ſhould bring down "the fire upon his own head, deſiſted, being overcome, together "with the whole nation. And now, if you ſhould go to Jeruſalem, "you may ſee the foundations open. And if you inquire the reaſon, "you will hear no other, than that juſt mentioned. And we are

 "witneſſes

(k) Adv. Judæos. Or. v. T. i. p. 646. 647.

A. D. 361. "witneſſes of it. For it happened in our time, not long agoe. And "obſerve the ſplendour of this victorie. For it happened not in the "time of pious Emperours: leaſt ſome ſhould ſay, they were the "Chriſtians, who obſtructed the work. It happened, when we "were in affliction, when all were in fear for their lives, when our "liberty was gone, when Helleniſm flouriſhed; and the faithfull "were ſome of them ſhut up in their houſes, fearing to ſtir abroad, "others were retired into deſerts, and fled from cities. Then theſe "things happened, that the moſt impudent might have no pretenſe "to deny them."

Again, having obſerved the declaration made to Julian by the Jews, that they could not now offer ſacrifices, the temple being in ruins, "he (l) ordered money to be allowed them out of the public "treaſurie, and every thing elſe neceſſarie to carry on the building, "and then bid them go, and repair the temple, and offer ſacrifices "according to their ancient cuſtom. And they who were blind from "the womb, and even to old age, went away, and ſet about the "work, under the Emperour's favour. But (m) as ſoon as they be-"gan to remove the earth, fire iſſuing from the foundations, con-"ſumed them all. When theſe things were related to the Empe-"rour, he dared not to proceed any farther, being reſtrained by fear. "Nevertheleſs he did not forſake the worſhip of demons, to whom "he was ſubject."

Once more, where he ſays, that after the Chriſtian Religion had been eſtabliſhed, there were not ſo frequent miracles, as at the be-gining, "yet (n) in our time, ſays he, in the reign of Julian, who "ſurpaſſed all men in impiety, there were many miracles. And "when the Jews attempted to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem, fire "iſſuing out from the foundations of the temple reſtrained them."

This

(l) De S. Babyla, contr. Julian. et Gentil. Tom. 2. p. 547. C. D.

(m) Καὶ ὡς αὐτόν τε ὁμοῦ τὸν χῶν ἤρξαντο σκεδᾶν, καὶ πῦρ τῶν θεμελίων ἐκπηδῆσαν ἀθρόον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς κατανάλωσαν. Ib. p. 574. C.

(n) In Matt. hom. 4. Tom. 7. p. 47. A.

This may ſuffice for ſhewing the teſtimonie of Chryſoſtom in this point. A. D. 361.

Ambroſe, Biſhop of Milan, in a letter to the Emperour Theodoſius, ſuppoſed to have been writ in the year 388. ſays: "Have (*o*) "you not heard, Sir, that when Julian gave command to rebuild "the temple at Jeruſalem, the work-men were deſtroyed by fire "ſent from God."

There ſtill remains one contemporarie writer to be quoted, who is *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a Heathen, and a good hiſtorian, and well acquainted with the Emperour.

"Julian (*q*) ſays he, who had been already thrice Conſul, taking "for his collegue Salluſt, Prefect of the Gauls, entered for the fourth "time on that high office. And although he was not without a ſo- "licitous concern for futurity, conſidering the various events, which "this year was likely to produce, he carried on his preparations for "the war with the utmoſt diligence. And ſtill enlarging his views, "and being deſirous to perpetuate the memorie of his reign by ſome "great works, he reſolved to rebuild at a vaſt expenſe the magnifi- "cent

(*o*) Non audiſti, Imperator, quia cum juſſiſſet Julianus reparari templum Hieroſolymis, divino, qui faciebant repurgium, igne flagrarunt? *Ambr. Ep.* 40. *Cl. i. T. 2. p.* 949.

(*q*) Julianus vero, jam ter Conſul, adſcito in collegium trabeae Salluſtio Praefecto per Gallias, quator ipſe ampliſſimum iniverat magiſtratum: et videbatur novum adjunctum eſſe Auguſto privatum, quod poſt Diocletianum et Ariſtobulum nullus meminerat geſtum. Et licet accidentium varietatem ſolicita mente praecipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti ſtudio perurgeret: diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique ſui memoriam magnitudine operum geſtiens propagare, ambitioſum quondam apud Hieroſolymas templum, quod poſt multa et interneciva certamina obſidente Veſpaſiano, poſteaque Tito, aegre eſt expugnatum, inſtaurare ſumtibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dedit Antiochenſi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Praefectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter inſtaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris aſſultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exuſtis aliquoties operantibus inacceſſum. Hocque modo elemento deſtinatius repellente, ceſſavit inceptum. *Ammian. Marcel. l. 23. cap. i.*

A. D. 361. "cent temple at Jeruſalem: which after a long and obſtinate ſiege, "begun by Veſpaſian, and carried on by Titus, had been with great "difficulty taken and deſtroyed. The conduct of this affair was com- "mitted by him to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had been "Lieutenant in Britain, with orders to forward it as much as poſſi- "ble. When therefore Alypius had ſet himſelf to the work with "the greateſt reſolution, and was alſo aſſiſted by the Governour of "the province, frightfull balls of fire broke out near the foundati- "ons. And thoſe eruptions being repeated, they rendered the place "inacceſſible to the workmen, who were ſcorched and burnt ſeveral "times, before they left off. But the element continuing to repell "them, the enterprize was laid aſide."

So writes *Ammianus*. According to whom therefore this attempt was made in the begining of the year 363. when Julian was ſetting out from Antioch on his Perſian expedition.

So likewiſe ſays (r) *Socrates*, whom I ſhall allege next. "Hav- "ing mentioned Julian's conference with the Jews, who told him, "that they could ſacrifice no where but at Jeruſalem, he ſays, Julian "(s) immediatly gave orders for rebuilding Solomon's temple. And "then he went away againſt the Perſians. But the Jews, who had "long been deſirous to ſee their temple rebuilt, ſet about the work "with great diligence.... And, as the Emperour had directed, that "the expenſe ſhould be bore out of the public treaſurie, materials "were ſoon provided: timber, ſtones, burnt-brick, clay, lime, and "all other things needfull for a building. At that time Cyril, Bi- "ſhop of Jeruſalem, mindfull of the prophecie of Daniel, and of "what Chriſt had ſaid in the Goſpels, predicted (t) before many "people, that the time was now come, that one ſtone would not be "left

(r) *L.* 3. *cap.* 20.

(s) .... κελεύσαι τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τὸν Σολομῶνος ναόν. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἤλαυνε. *Ib. p.* 192. *D.*

(t) Πολλοῖς τε προείλεγεν, ὡς ἄρα νῦν ἥκει ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθου ἐκ τοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγια πληρωθήσεται. *p.* 193. *B.*

A. D. 361.

" left upon another in that temple, and our Saviour's word would " be *** fulfilled. So ſaid that Biſhop. And in the night there " was an earthquake, which tore up the ſtones of the old founda- " tions, and diſperſed them, with the adjacent edifices. And by " that accident the Jews were much terrified. And the fame of it " brought many to the place from diſtant parts. When therefore " many were gathered together, another prodigie happened. For " there came down from heaven a fire, which conſumed all the " workmens tools. And you might ſee mallets, irons for poliſhing " ſtones, ſaws, axes, ſpades, and all ſuch inſtruments, which are " made uſe of in building, conſumed by the flames. The fire prey- " ed upon theſe things for a whole day together. The Jews there- " upon being terrified, acknowledged, though unwillingly, Chriſt " to be God. However, they obeyed not his will, but ſtill remain- " ed prepoſſeſſed in favour of Judaiſm. Nor did the third miracle, " which afterwards happened, induce them to the belief of the " truth.

*** It is very abſurd for any Chriſtians to talk in that manner. Chriſt's words had been fulfilled almoſt 300 years before that time. Mat. xxiv. 34. *Verily, I ſay unto you, this generation ſhall not paſs, till all theſe things be fulfilled.* And ſo it came to paſs, as we know from *Joſephus*, and others. There is, in my opinion, a much better ſenſe in Rufinus. " Cyril was then " Biſhop of Jeruſalem. And when the " Jews were about to lay the foundations " of a new temple, he, conſidering the " prophecies of Daniel, and the words " of our Lord recorded in the Goſpels, " confidently aſſerted, that it could not " be, that the Jews ſhould be able to lay " there one ſtone upon another." His words are theſe: Cyrillus poſt maximum confeſſorem Hieroſolymis epiſcopus habebatur. Apertis igitur fundamentis, calce caementoque adhibitis, nihil omnino deerat, quin die poſtera veteribus deturbatis, nova jacerent fundamenta: cum tamen epiſcopus, diligenti conſideratione habita, vel ex illis quae in Danielis prophetia de temporibus legerat, vel quae in Evangeliis Dominus praedixerat, perſiſteret, nullo genere fieri poſſe, ut ibi a Judaeis lapis ſuper lapidem poneretur. *Ruſin. l. i. cap.* 37. So writes Rufinus. And, perhaps, the ſenſe, which we have in Socrates's Hiſtorie, is owing to his miſinterpretation of Rufinus, and not rightly underſtanding him. For, I ſuppoſe, that Socrates here borrowed from Rufinus. However, undoubtedly, the learned reader will conſult the Annotations of Valeſius upon Socrates.

A. D. 362. "truth. For in the night following radiant marks of the croſſe were "impreſſed on their garments. When they ſaw them the next day, "they endeavored to rub and waſh them out, but in vain. To ſo "great a degree were they blinded."

The ſame ſtorie is told at length by (*u*) Sozomen, (*x*) Theodoret, (*y*) Philoſtorge, and other Chriſtian writers: though with ſomewhat different circumſtances. Theodoret in particular tells us, it (*z*) was ſaid, that upon this occaſion the Jews had ſhovels, mallets, and baſkets made of ſilver.

Some Jewiſh writers alſo have been alleged, as bearing teſtimonie to this event. I ſhall alſo allege them (*a*) here, as cited by Wagenſeil, to whom divers learned men have referred.

That

(*u*) *Soz. l.* 5. *cap. xxii.*

(*x*) *Theod. l.* 3. *cap. xx.*

(*y*) *Philoſt. l.* 7. §. *ix. p.* 566.

(*z*) Φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ σκαπάνας ἐξ ὅλης ἀργύρου καὶ ἄμμας καὶ κοφίνους κατασκευάσαι. *Ut ſupra. p.* 142. C.

(*a*) Equidem aut valde fallor, aut, non ſine peculiari curâ numinis factum eſt, ut ipſi adeo Judaei ſuis monumentis hiſtoriam inſeruerint, quamquam non bonâ omnes fide. R. David Ganſius enim animadverſiſſe videtur, quantopere iſthaec ſuae genti incommodent: ideo veritatem malitioſiſſime adulteravit. Nam etſi negare non audet, Deo ſic diſponente, Judaeos in reſtaurando templo fuiſſe impeditos, tamen genuinam rationem modumque, quibus id factum eſt, nequiter diſſimulat, et ſolam Juliani mortem Judaeos aedificantes ſufflamine ſtrinxiſſe, ex ſuo ingenio confinxit. Ejus verba ſunt . . . *Julianus Caeſar praecepit, ut reſtitueretur templum ſanctiſſimum magno cum decore et pulchritudine, huicque rei ipſe ſumtus ſuppeditavit. Verum coelitus impedimentum injectum eſt, ne perficiatur fabrica. Nam Caeſar in bello Perſico periit* . . Atenim non opus eſt, ut operoſe probem, verum certumque eſſe, Judaeos ante ceſſaſſe ab opere, quam Julianus poſtremam expeditionem adverſus Perſas, quae ei exitium attulit, ſuſcepiſſet. Sufficit coram huc adducere R. Geddalium, qui . . . candide narrationem inſtituit, et ſine fuco . . . *In diebus R. Channan, et ſociorum ejus, anno circiter orbis conditi* 4349. *memorant libri annalium, magnum in orbe univerſo fuiſſe terrae motum, collapſumque eſſe templum, quod ſtruxerunt Judaei Hieroſolymis, praecepto Juliani Apoſtatae, impenſis maximis. Poſtridie ejus diei* (quo mota fuit terra) *de coelo ignis multus cecidit, ita ut omnia ferramenta illius aedificii liqueſcerent, et amburerentur Judaei multi, atque adeo innumerabiles.* Wagenſelii Carmin. Lipmanni. Confutatio. p. 231. 232.

A. D. 361.

That is the hiſtorie of this affair, which is generally credited. And indeed it ſeems hard to deny, or diſpute the truth of a relation, atteſted by ſeveral contemporaries, beſide many others, who lived not very long after them. Accordingly, the truth of this hiſtorie is maintained by *(b)* Fabricius, *(c)* Witſius, *(d)* the learned and laborious Dr. Warburton, now Biſhop of Glouceſter, and others, men of the higheſt reputation in the Republick of Letters.

Baſnage *(e)* made ſome objections to the truth of this hiſtorie, which have been conſidered by *(f)* divers learned men, and particularly, and largely by *(g)* the Biſhop of Glouceſter in the work before referred to. I alſo have had many thoughts upon this ſubject, which I deſire now to propoſe, with due deference to the judgement of others. I ſhall not tranſcribe Baſnage. But I have been led to argue in this manner.

1. Julian's own writings may diſpoſe us to think, that he never attempted to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem. He deſigned it. But it is not ſo clear, that he attempted it, or actually ſet about it, or gave orders for it. In his Letter to the Community of the Jews, before taken notice of, he deſires their prayers for the proſperity of his reign, "and the rather, foraſmuch as, if *(b)* he ſucceeded in his war "with

(*b*) *Bib. Gr. T. vii. p.* 76. *&c. Lux Evangelii. cap. vi. p.* 120. *&c.*

(*c*) *Miſcellanea Sacra. Tom.* 2. *p.* 374. *&c.*

(*d*) *Julian.* &c. It is a handſome octavo of 320. pages, beſide an Introduction. The late Mr. Moſheim, who had ſeen the firſt edition of that work, ſeems to have thought, his Lordſhip had overdone it. His words are: Nuper ex inſtituto, ſed interdum ingenioſius, quam neceſſe erat, pro veritate miraculi diſputavit Guil. Warburton. Julian. or a Diſcourſe, &c. Lond. 1750. in 8. *Moſheim. Inſtit. H. E. p.* 148.

(*e*) *Hiſt. des Juifs. l.* 6. *ch. iv. Tom.* 4. *p.* 1257. *&c.*

(*f*) *Vid. Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p.* 130. *in notis.*

(*g*) *See His Lordſhip's Julian. B.* 2. *ch. iv. p.* 174. *&c. the ſecond edition. in* 1751.

(*b*) *Julian. Ep. p.* 397. *D. See the words cited above at p.* 48. *note* (*x*).

A. D. 361. "with the Perſians, he would rebuild their holy city of Jeruſalem." But he did not ſucceed in the war. And he never returned from Perſia. Therefore he never ſet about rebuilding Jeruſalem, or the temple there. Nor did he, at the time of writing that letter, intend to ſet about it, unleſs he firſt ſucceeded in the war with the Perſians. He ſeems to have ſuppoſed it to be a work which he ſhould not be able to undertake, till after the Perſian war was over, and had a good iſſue.

In the fragment of ſome oration, or epiſtle, having taken notice, how often the Jewiſh temple had been deſtroyed, and was not yet reſtored, he adds: "I (g) ſay not this by way of reproach. For I "alſo have deſigned, [or have had a deſign] to raiſe that temple, "which has been ſo long in ruins, to the honour of the God, who "is there worſhiped." Therefore, when that letter was writ, this deſign was laid aſide: or, he did not think that to be a proper time and ſeaſon to ſet about it. The preſent circumſtances of his affairs did not admit of ſuch an undertaking: nor allow him to give orders about it.

When that letter, or oration, was writ, is not clear. Dr. Warburton thinks it was writ in the ſpring of the year 363. His words are theſe [at p. 73.] "Where Julian ſpeaking of the cuſtomary ho-"nours paid to the Gods, ſays: *Which not three years, nor three "thouſand have eſtabliſhed, but all paſt ages among all nations upon "earth.* By the three years he evidently alludes to his reſtoration "of idolatry: which at any time ſooner than the Perſian expedition, "was not entitled to ſo high a date. For he was firſt ſaluted Au-"guſtus in the ſpring of the year 360. and the Perſian expedition "was in the ſpring 363. At this time therefore he had well digeſt-"ed his defeat at Jeruſalem."

That

(g) Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ὀνειδίζων ἐκείνους· ὃς καὶ τοιούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀνεστήσασθαι δι' ἐμοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κυρίου τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν. T. 2. p. 295, D.

That is an ingenious conjecture, but not decisive. It is not clear, that Julian here refers to his own reſtoration of the Heathen rites. The phraſe, *three years*, needs not to refer to any determinate period. It may denote no more than this: *which not a few years, nor ſeveral thouſand years have eſtabliſhed, but all paſt ages.* Secondly, it cannot refer, or allude to Julian's reſtoration of idolatrie. For that had not been done *three years*, nor two years, by a great deal. In the ſpring of the year 363. it was not more than three years, ſince he had been declared Auguſtus by the ſoldiers in Gaul: not yet quite a year and half, ſince his being ſole Auguſtus: and not more than two years, ſince he had at all made an open profeſſion of Helleniſm: allowing him to have begun to make it, when he was in *Illyricum*, before the death of Conſtantius. Julian in this place, as I think, uſeth a definite for an indefinite number, by *three* meaning a few only. So in his work againſt the Chriſtians, he ſays, the law of Moſes was deſigned to be everlaſting. *And this he ſays, he (b) will demonſtrate not from ten only, but from ten thouſand paſſages of Moſes himſelf.* Which anſwers to the place under conſideration, and may ſhew, that by *three years*, no certain ſpace of time was intended. Conſequently, this argument of his Lordſhip for the date of this epiſtle muſt fall to the ground. And there can be no reaſon to believe, that this letter was writ in the begining of the year 363. or that Julian here refers to any extraordinarie defeat, which had been given to his deſign of rebuilding the temple. And whenever that letter was writ, it affords reaſon to believe, that Julian had not yet given any orders for rebuilding the Temple. A. D. 361.

Once more, I argue from ſome things ſaid by Julian in his work againſt the Chriſtians: where he obſerves, that the Jews might offer ſacrifices at other places beſide Jeruſalem. We know, that work was not compoſed long before he ſet out upon the Perſian expedition. If that was his mind then, it ſeems, that he was grown more in-

(b) Τοῦτο ὅτι ψευδῶς λέγωσι, ἀποδέξω σαφῶς ἐκ μὲν τῶ Μωσέως ὐ δέκα μόνας, ἀλλὰ μυρίας παρέξομαι μαρτυρίας. *Cyril. Contr. Jul. lib.* 9. *p* 319. *D.*

A. D. 361. indifferent about rebuilding the Jewiſh temple, than he had formerly been.

The words, to which I refer, ſtand thus: "But (*i*) this perſon, "ſays Cyril, I know not how, ſometimes approves of the Jewiſh "cuſtoms; at other times he blames them, as ſeparate from all o-"ther men: and as having moſt unreaſonably given over ſacrificing, "though Elias, as he ſays, ſacrificed in Carmel, and not in the ho-"ly city, Jeruſalem." It appears to me very unlikely, that Julian ſhould be diſpoſed to gratify the Jews at a vaſt, and then unſeaſonable, and inconvenient expenſe, in what he reckoned an unreaſonable fancie.

If Julian's work againſt the Chriſtians, as Libanius ſays, was compoſed *in the winter-ſeaſon during the long nights*, that is, near the end of the year 362. and the begining of 363. it is not at all likely, that he ſhould in the begining of the ſame year 363. iſſue out orders for rebuilding the Jewiſh temple at Jeruſalem.

In that oration, or epiſtle, to which we have referred ſeveral times, at p. 295. are theſe expreſſions. *What will the Jews ſay to their own temple, which has been thrice demoliſhed, and is not raiſed again to this day?* Τί περὶ τοῦ νεὼ φήσουσι, τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς, τρίτον ἀνατραπέντος; ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; Some learned men have ſuppoſed, that (*k*) here is a reference to the defeat of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, and that Julian himſelf here acknowledgeth it. But the Biſhop of Glouceſter, p. 74 in the notes, has candidly, and judiciouſly ſhewn, that to be a miſtake. For, 1. *Defeating an attempt to rebuild cannot in any known figure of ſpeech, be called the overthrow of*

(*i*) ὁ δὲ ἴσως οἶδ' ὅτι πάθοι, ἀποδέχεταί τὰ Ἰουδαίων, κατακλίγει δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὺς, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀπηρτημένος, ἀλογώτατα δὲ τὸ θύειν ἐκπεπαυκότας, κἄστοι, φησὶν, Ηλίου τεθυκότος ἐν τῷ Καρμήλῳ, οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει, φημὶ δὴ τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ. *Cyril. Contr. Jul. l.* 9 *p.* 324. *C.*

(*k*) So Bleterie, *Vie de Julien. l. v. p.* 398. *and Dr. Chapman in his Euſebius, againſt the Moral Philoſopher. Tom. i. p.* 408. 409.

of a building. 2. *And is not raiſed again to this day, cannot be ſaid of a building, that had been deſtroyed but two months before.* And by the three ſubverſions here ſpoken of, his Lordſhip ſuppoſes may be meant that by the Aſſyrians, and that by the Romans: and by the *third* may be meant the profanation of the temple by Antiochus. A. D. 361.

If I ſhould allow my-ſelf to repreſent this a little differently, it would be after this manner. The caſe was this. The temple was then in ruins, and had been ſo for a long time. It had been demoliſhed more than once. Julian did not think himſelf obliged to ſay how often. And it was to his purpoſe to augment, rather than diminiſh the number of it's ſubverſions. Indeed, it had been demoliſhed but *twice*, that is, by the Aſſyrians, and then by the Romans. The Emperour ſays *thrice*, not being careſull to be exact.

Or, if it be needfull to underſtand Julian literally, we may ſuppoſe, that he refers to the ſubverſion of Jeruſalem, and the Jewiſh people in the time of Adrian, ſpoken of by Euſebius in (*) his Hiſtorie, and in his (**) Chronicle, and by other writers (‖) elſewhere. This Julian might compute for the *third*.

2. That Julian ſhould give orders for building the temple, and allot money for it out of the public treaſurie, when he was ſetting out for Perſia, is very unlikely. It is not eaſily credible, that he ſhould at that time do any thing that might at all impede the expedition againſt the Perſians, upon which he had been ſo long intent. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that when he wrote his letter to the Community of the Jews, and told them, *he would build their temple, if he returned victorious*; he was then ſenſible, he could not attempt it

(*) *Euſ. H. E. l. 4. cap. vi.*

(**) Bellum Judaicum quod in Palaeſtina gerebatur, finem accipit, rebus Judaeorum penitus oppreſſis: ex quo tempore etiam introeundi eis Jeroſolymam licentia ablata. &c. *Chron. p.* 167.

(‖) *Vid. Valeſ. in Euſeb. H. E. and ſee here in this Work, Vol. i. p.* 180. 185. 186.

A. D. 361. it ſooner: and that he ſhould want all the reſources of money and treaſure, for that one deſign. Which ſeems actually to have been the caſe. And when Marcellinus ſpeaks of Julian's attempt, he appears to have been very ſenſible, that the Emperour's hands were full, and that there was at that time no room for any other expenſive undertaking, beſide the Perſian War.

3. Great weight is laid upon the teſtimonie of Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a Heathen, and an impartial hiſtorian.

But then, it has been ſaid by ſome, that he had his account from the Chriſtians, and took it up without examination. To which I would add, that he was credulous, as appears from many things (*l*) in his Hiſtorie. He might therefore without ſcruple record a miraculous interpoſition, which had been reported to him. Indeed, he appears very ready to receive the reports of extraordinarie things. Some things are mentioned by him (**) which we cannot but wonder to ſee related by a man of gravity, and with plain marks of aſſent.

4. The hiſtorie of this event, as related by Chriſtian writers, is loaded with miracles, or pretended miracles, which appear to be incredible. For it is not eaſie to believe, that by Divine interpoſition croſſes were formed in the air, and impreſſed with a *fine embroiderie, or painting,*

(*l*) Nocte tamen, quae declarationis Auguſtae praeceſſerat diem, junctioribus proximis retulerat Imperator, per quietem aliquem viſum, ut ſolemni Genius publicus ſolet, haec objurgando dixiſſe .... *Ammian. l.* 20. *cap. v. fin.*

... vidit ſqualidius, ut confeſſus eſt proximis, ſpeciem illam Genii publici, quam cum ad Auguſtum ſurgeret culmen conſpexit in Gallia. *Id. l.* 25. *cap.* 2. *p.* 451.

(**) Ne ſit hoc mirum, homines profutura diſcernere et nocentia, quorum mentes cognatas coeleſtibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia ſalutem ſuam interdum alto tueri ſilentio ſolent: ut exemplum eſt hoc perquam notum. Linquentes Orientem anſeres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occiduam, cum montem penetrare coeperint Taurum aquilis abundantem, timentes fortiſſimas volucres, roſtra lapillis occludunt, ne eis eliciat vel neceſſitas extrema clangorem: iiſdemque collibus agiliore volatu tranſcurſis projiciunt calculos, atque ita ſecurius pergunt. *Amm. l.* 18. *cap. iii. p.* 209.

painting, upon mens bodies, or garments. Not now to mention any other of the ſtrange things, moſt of them filly and trifling, inſerted in the accounts of this affair, and which the reader doubtleſs well remembers. But all God's works have a dignity becoming himſelf. A. D. 361.

Mr. *Moſheim* having largely conſidered the ſtorie of the croſſe appearing to Conſtantin in the air, or in a dream, with a direction from Chriſt, that he ſhould make uſe of that ſign in his wars, and aſſuring him of victorie thereby, concludes, that it is not a thing worthie of Chriſt: and ſays, that (*m*) *it could be nothing more than the natural dream of a General and an Emperour, who fell aſleep, as he was thinking of the impending war, and the beſt method of overcoming his enemies. Let us take heed, ſays he, leaſt by too ſtifly defending the narratives of the ancient Chriſtians concerning the miracles of their time, we ſhould offend againſt the majeſty of God himſelf, and againſt our moſt holy religion, which teacheth us, not to overcome our enemies, but ourſelves.* A ſage obſervation! Which may be juſtly applied upon divers occaſions, and upon this in particular, as I apprehend.

5. There was at that time no occaſion for ſuch miraculous interpoſitions. Undoubtedly, the Jewiſh Temple was not to be rebuilt.

(*m*) Quid, quaeſo, dicit? Num Conſtantinum exhortatur, ut credat, atque ſanctitati ſtudeat? Num ſuperſtitionem et impietatem fugere et oppugnare, rem publicam juſte ac ſapienter adminiſtrare, num paenitentiam admiſſorum facinorum agere, atque civium ſalutem rebus omnibus anteponere jubet? Nihil vero horum. Quid igitur? Monſtrat rationem victoriae obtinendae, docetque Conſtantinum, quali ſigno militari uti debeat in praeliis. Haeccine oratio ſervatore generis humani, qui peccata hominum morte ſua expiavit? Haeccine oratio illo digna eſt, qui pacis auctor mortalibus eſt, et ſuos hoſtibus ignoſcere vult? Quid multa? Naturale hoc ſomnium eſt militis et Imperatoris, quam de impendente bello, et optima hoſtes ſuperandi ratione cogitantem ſomnus invaſerat. Caveamus, ne veterum Chriſtianorum narrationibus de aetatis ſuae miraculis acrius defendendis in ipſam majeſtatem Dei, et ſanctiſſimam religionem, quae non hoſtes, ſed nos ipſos debellare docet, injurii ſimus. *Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſt. M.* p. 984. 985.

A. D. 361. built. It is not to be thought, that Divine Providence would permit it to be done at that time. But there was no need of ſuch miracles to hinder it. Julian did not live long. Suppoſing the Jews to have begun in his reign to erect the temple at Jeruſalem: the Chriſtian Emperours, who ſucceeded him, would take care, that they ſhould not proceed. The rebuilding the temple was not a work of a few weeks, or months, no, nor years. Suppoſing, they had ſet about the work at the begining of the year 363. they could not have done a great deal, before Julian died, and then their work would be effectually obſtructed.

6. Once more. There are ſeveral Chriſtian writers, who have ſaid nothing about this affair, who were very likely to mention it, if any thing of this kind had been done. I ſhall inſtance in three: *Jerome*, *Prudentius*, and *Oroſius*.

Jerome was a contemporarie. He was a young man, when Julian died. A great part of his time he lived at Bethlehem, and he had travelled over the land of Iſrael, or Paleſtine. But never takes notice of this uncommon event. Dan. xi. 34. *Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhall be holpen with a little help.* In his comment upon that verſe, "he (*n*) mentions ſeveral, to whom that prophecie had been applied. Some, he ſays, underſtood thereby the Emperour Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promiſed to offer ſacrifices in their temple." It is allowed by all, that Julian favored the Jews, and pretended to love them, though he bore them no good will, and that he likewiſe talked of rebuilding their temple, and ſacrificing there. But Jerome ſays nothing here (though there was ſo fit an occaſion) nor elſewhere, of his attempting it, and then being defeated by ſuch miraculous interpoſitions, as thoſe related by ſome

(*n*) Alii vero de Juliano Imperatore: quod quando oppreſſi fuerint a Caio Caeſare, et a captivitatis anguſtiis multa perpeſſi, ille conſurget, Judaeos amare ſe ſimulans, et in templo eorum immolaturum ſe promittens: in quo parvam ſpem auxilii habebunt, et applicabuntur illis Gentilium plurimi, non in veritate, ſed in mendacio. *In Dan. cap. xi. Tom. 3. p.* 1130.

ſome above quoted. He has often ſpoken of the overthrow of the temple by Veſpaſian and Titus, which he calls the (o) laſt. He (p) has often mentioned Julian, as an adverſarie to the Chriſtians, and has quoted his work againſt them. He has likewiſe often appealed to Joſephus, his hiſtorie of the Jewiſh (q) War. But ſays nothing of any attempt to rebuild Jeruſalem, and the temple there in his own time. It is inconceivable, that he ſhould omit it, though he inſiſts, as he does more than once, on the ruinous condition, in which the Temple had been, to that time, ever ſince the days of Titus and Adrian. A. D. 361.

Prudentius was another contemporarie of Julian. For he was born in the year 348. And did not write, till a good while after the death of that Emperour. He (r) has gone over the hiſtorie of Julian's

(o) Quae Hebraei in ultima everſione Templi, quae ſub Veſpaſiano et Tito accidit, interpretantur. . . . *In Dan. cap. xi. ver.* 33. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 1130.

(p) *Vid. Prol. in libr. de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis. Tom.* 4. *p.* 98. *et alibi.*

(q) . . . ad tempus Romanae victoriae univerſa referimus, quae Joſephus Judaicae ſcriptor hiſtoriae ſeptem explicat voluminibus, quibus impoſuit titulum captivitatis Judaicae. . . . Et ſuperfluum eſt ea ſermone differere, quae oculis pateant, quam omnia deſiderabilia eorum verſa ſint in ruinas: et templum in toto orbe celebratum, in ſterquilinium urbis novae, quae a conditore appellatur Aelia, et in habitaculum tranſivit noctuarum. *Hieron. in Iſ. cap. lxiv.* 10. . . 12. *T.* 3. *p.* 476.

Ad extremum ſub Veſpaſiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque ſubverſum eſt. Deinde civitatis uſque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos manſere reliquiae. Poſt everſionem Templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos urbis et templi ruinae permanent. *Ad Dardan. Tom.* 2. *p.* 610.

Scribit plenius Joſephus ſeptem Voluminibus Veſpaſiani et Titi narrans triumphos. Aelii quoque Adriani contra Judaeos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jeruſalem, muroſque ſubvertit, ut de urbis reliquiis et favillis ſui nominis Aeliam conderet civitatem. *Id. in Joel cap. i. Tom.* 3. *p.* 1340.

(r) Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortiſſimus armis.

. . . . . .

Perfidus ille Deo: . . . *Apoth. ver.* 450. *&c.*

A. D. 361. lian's reign. He (s) has alſo inſiſted upon the ruin of Solomon's Temple, the (t) long captivity of the Jewiſh people ever ſince the time of Titus. And with him he mentions Pompey, who firſt brought the Jewiſh people into ſubjection to the Romans. But he ſays nothing of any attempt made in his time by Julian to rebuild Jeruſalem, or the Temple there. If he had known of it, and had been acquainted with credible accounts of miraculous interpoſitions to defeat it: I do not ſee, how he could omit to mention it.

Oroſius was an hiſtorian, who lived not far below the begining of the fifth centurie. He (u) has an article for Julian. But does not ſay, that he attempted to build the Temple at Jeruſalem, and was wonderfully defeated. He was greatly offended with Julian, and ſeems to aim to hint at all his incivilities to the Chriſtians, of (x) which the attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jeruſalem has been generally reckoned one. But yet ſays nothing of it **. If Julian had attempted to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem, and had been defeated by a miraculous interpoſition; it was an event, much to his purpoſe, and altogether ſuited to the great deſign of his Hiſtorie, and could not have been omitted by him.

To me the ſilence of theſe three writers appears very remarkable. I do not know, how others may be affected by it. But I acknowledge,

(s) Deſtructone jacent Salomonia ſaxa metallo,
Aedificata manu? Jacet illud nobile templum.
Cur jacet...? *Ib. ver.* 512. *&c.*

(t) Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis
Pompeianae acies: quibus extirpata per omnes
Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
Ex illis vagus huc illuc fluitantibus errat
Judaeus.... *Ibid. ver.* 538. *&c.*

(u) *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 30.

(x) Καὶ κατ' ἄλλων δὲ τρόπων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς Χριστιανὰς βλάπτειν σπουδάζων ... κ. λ. *Socrat. l.* 3. *cap. xx. in. p.* 192. *C. D.*

** *Dr. Warburton, in his Julian, p.* 118. *mentions Oroſius among other ancient writers, who have bore teſtimonie to this attempt. If that be right, I have overlooked the place.*

ledge, that I was much ſtruck with it, when I firſt obſerved it in my inquiries into this tranſaction. A. D. 362.

And I muſt now add farther, that I do not recollect, that Cyril of Alexandria, in his books againſt Julian, or in any other of his works elſewhere, has at all ſpoken of an attempt of that Emperour to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, and that he was miraculouſly defeated.

What Zonaras ſays, in the 12. centurie may likewiſe deſerve notice. "He *(y)* gave leave to the Jews to rebuild the temple at Je-"ruſalem. And they having begun to build with great labour, and "at much expenſe, when they endeavoured to dig up the earth, "in order to lay the foundation; it is ſaid, that flames of fire burſt "out, and conſumed the workmen, ſo that they were obliged to "deſiſt from the building."

Let not any be offended, that I heſitate about this point. I think, we ought not too eaſily to receive accounts of miraculous interpoſitions, which are not becoming the Divine Being. There are many things ſaid of Julian, which all wiſe and good men do not believe.

Julian, and his elder brother *Gallus*, as is ſaid, while they were young, undertook to build a church over the ſepulchre of a martyr, named *Mamas*, who had ſuffered at Caeſarea in Cappadocia. They divided the work between them. And both carried on their parts ſeverally with great diligence. That part of the building, which was the care of *Gallus*, advanced proſperouſly. But ſome inviſible power obſtructed *Julian*'s attempt. There was no fixing the foundations, the earth throwing up the ſtones again. Or if any part of the building was raiſed up to ſome height, it was preſently ſhatter-

(y) Οὗτος καὶ τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις ἀνεγεῖραι ναὸν τοῖς Ιουδαίοις ἐπέτρεψε. Κακείνων σπουδῇ πολλῇ καὶ μεγάλαις δαπάναις τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀρξαμένων, καὶ ὀρύττειν τὴν γῆν, εἰς καταβολὴν τῶν θεμελίων ἐπιχειρούντων, πῦρ λέγεται τῶν ὀρυγμάτων ἀθρόον ἀναδιδόμενον, καταφλέγειν τοὺς σκάπτοντας, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀποχήσθαι. *Zonar. Tom.* 3. 21. 22.

A. D. 361. ed, and tumbled down to the ground. This is related by (z) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, as a miracle, and with great parade. And for the truth of it, he appeals to eye-witneſſes. The ſame ſtorie is told by (a) *Sozomen*. "Who ſays, there were many ſtill living, who re-"ceived the account from thoſe who ſaw it." It is alſo briefly related by (b) *Theodoret*.

Again, it is ſaid, that when Julian was ſacrificing, a croſſe within a circle was found impreſſed upon the entrails of the victim. This alſo is related by (c) Gregorie Nazianzen, and (d) Sozomen.

Both theſe accounts are ſcornfully rejected as *Monkiſh fables*, by the truly learned, and Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter (e): though, as he owns, *Church Hiſtory informs us of them*. And very unfortunatly, thoſe obſervations are in the concluſion of a volume, compoſed with great labour and zeal, in which divers other accounts are received: which are not more probable in their own nature, nor ſupported by better authority.

The truth of hiſtorie is not at all affected by rejecting improbable relations. Nor is the cauſe of Chriſtianity at all hurt by our refuſing to aſſent to ſome things, which Chriſtian writers have ſaid of Julian. That he pretended favour for the Jews, and ſometimes talked of rebuilding their city, and their temple, is allowed. But that he actually attempted it, and ordered money for the work out of the public treaſurie, when he was ſetting out upon the Perſian expedition, and that his attempt was fruſtrated by many miraculous interpoſitions, is not ſo certain. Though theſe things ſhould be conteſted, or denyed, it can be of no bad conſequence. Other hiſtories, which are void of the like improbabilities, are not affected by it. And the Evangelical Hiſtorie remains firm and inviolate, having in it all poſſible marks of truth and credibility. At the beginning

(z) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 3. *p.* 59. . . 61.
(a) *Soz. l.* 5. *cap. ii. p.* 594. *A.*
(b) *Theod. l iii. cap. ii.*
(c) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 3. *p.* 70. . . 77.
(d) *Sozom. l.* 5. *cap. ii. p.* 592. *B. C.*
(e) *See his Lordſhip's Julian. p.* 319. 320.

ing of his Diſcourſe on the attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, his Lordſhip ſays, *that (f) the evidence of the miracles recorded in Church-Hiſtory, doth not ſtand on the ſame foot of credit with the miracles recorded in Goſpel-Hiſtory.* A.D. 363.

As for the teſtimonie of the two Jewiſh writers, upon which ſome inſiſt, I have above put it down from *Wagenſeil's Tela Ignea Satanae.* But I do not think, the teſtimonie of writers, in the fifteenth, or ſixteenth centurie, to be of much value. They appear to have borrowed from Chriſtian writers. Therefore one of them calls the Emperour Julian, *the Apoſtate.* However, though they relied chiefly upon Chriſtian Authors, they may have in part altered, and perverted the Chriſtian accounts, to abate the reproach, which this ſtorie, as told by them, caſts upon the Jewiſh people.

Nevertheleſs, that it may not be ſaid, I affect to ſlight what others reckon material, I ſhall now be a little more particular in my remarks upon thoſe two Jewiſh teſtimonies.

Rabbi *David Gans*, in the ſixteenth centurie, ſays: "The *(g)* "Emperour Julian ordered, that the moſt holy temple ſhould be re- "built with great beauty and magnificence, at his own expenſe: "but by interpoſition from heaven an impediment was thrown in "the way, ſo that the building could not be finiſhed. For the Em- "perour died in the Perſian war."

This is very agreeable to what I have ſaid. And may be thought to confirm my argument. But indeed, I am not diſpoſed to ſet much value upon ſo late a teſtimonie.

Rabbi *Gadaliah*, in the fifteenth centurie, ſays: "In *(h)* the days "of R. Channan, and his brethren, about the year of the world "4349. our Annals tell us, that there was a great earthquake over "all the world: by which the temple, which the Jews had raiſed "at

(f) *Julian p.* 1.

(g) *Apud Wagenſeil. p.* 231. *The words are cited above at p.* 56.

(h) *Ap. Wagenſ. p.* 232. *The words are cited above at p.* 56.

A. D. 362. "at Jeruſalem, with vaſt expenſe, at the command of the Empe-
"rour Julian the Apoſtate, was thrown down. The next day after
"the earthquake, a dreadfull fire fell from heaven, by which all
"the iron-work of the building, [or, *perhaps all the iron-tools em-*
"*ployed about the work*] were melted, and many, yea innumerable
"Jews were conſumed."

Upon this account it appears to me very obvious to obſerve. *Firſt*, this teſtimonie is too late to be of any conſiderable value. *Secondly*, the author had his account from Chriſtian writers. Therefore he calls Julian *the Apoſtate*. *Thirdly*, in ſome things, and as I ſuppoſe, at will, and of his own invention, he differs from ancient Chriſtian writers. *Fourthly*, the account is confuſed, and in ſome reſpects, manifeſtly falſe. He ſeems to ſay, that the temple *had been built* at a great expenſe, and that after it had been built, it fell down, occaſioned by an earthquake. Here he differs from Chriſtians, who ſpeak only of an *attempt* to raiſe the temple. And it is a falſhood. For, it certainly was not rebuilt, or raiſed up in Julian's time. He alſo ſpeaks of an earthquake *over all the world*. Which is his own invention, without any ground. Upon the whole, this account appears to me confuſed, and abſurd, as well as very late, and therefore of no authority. But, as I ſaid before, let others judge. However, I am of opinion, that if the Chriſtian teſtimonies fail, we are not to expect any thing relating to this event of much importance from the Jews.

Finally, to put an end to theſe critical obſervations. Julian's favourable regards for the Jewiſh people, and his intention, (or deſire at leſt) to rebuild the city of Jeruſalem, and the temple there, are manifeſt, and fully atteſted by contemporarie witneſſes, and by his own writings. It is as manifeſt, that his deſign to rebuild Jeruſalem and the Jewiſh Temple, was never accompliſhed, but was fruſtrated, and defeated. Whether it was owing to miraculous interpoſitions, or to his expenſive preparations for the Perſian war, and other circumſtances of his affairs, and to his death and defeat in

in that war: the overruling Providence of God ought to be acknowledged in the event. And the argument for the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, taken from the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the overthrow of the Jewiſh people by Veſpaſian and Titus, and their continued diſperſion, remains in all it's force. It is an argument, which I never intended to weaken. It is, I think, a demonſtrative argument for the truth of the Chriſtian Religion: and, as I have often hinted in this work, deſerving the attentive regard, and ſerious conſideration of all mankind. A. D. 361.

Extracts from his Books againſt the Chriſtians

IV. I have now writ the hiſtorie of Julian ſo far as I can ſuppoſe to be needfull. I therefore proceed to a more particular account of his work againſt the Chriſtians, and to make extracts out of (*a*) it.

1. Cyril's anſwer to it conſiſts of ten books. The firſt of which is an introduction of his own. In the ſecond book he begins to make quotations from Julian's work. And from the many paſſages quoted from it by Cyril in his ſeveral books, it may be concluded, that Julian's performance was intended to be a laboured confutation both of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity.

2. Julian's preface, or introduction to his work, as we learn from Cyril, was in theſe words: "I (*b*) think it right for me to ſhew to "all men the reaſons, by which I have been convinced, that the re- "ligion of the Galileans is a human contrivance, badly put together, "having in it nothing divine. But abuſing the childiſh, irrational "part

(*a*) For the time of writing that work, and of Cyril's anſwer to it, ſee above, p. 45.

(*b*) Καλῶς ἔχειν οἶμαι φέρειν τὰς αἰτίας ἐκθέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὑφ' ἃς πέπεισμαι, ὅτι τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἡ συνωφία πλάσμά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθὲν ἔχουσα μὲν οὐδὲν θεῖον, ἀποχρησαμένη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθῳ, καὶ παιδαριώδει, καὶ ἀνοήτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, τὴν παραλογίαν εἰς πίστιν ἄγαγεν ἀληθείας. *Cyril. contr. Julian. l. 2. p. 39. edit. Spanhem.*

A. D. 361. "part of the ſoul, which delights in fable, they have introduced "a heap of wonderful works, to give it the appearance of truth."

3. Afterwards, and near the begining of the work: "It (c) will "be worth the while, he ſays, to compare together the things ſaid "of the Deity by the Greeks and the Hebrews. And then we "ſhall inquire of thoſe, who are neither Greeks, nor Jews, but of "the ſect of the Galileans, why they have preferred their notions "to ours: and then, why they have not ſtood to them neither, but "forſaking them alſo, they have taken to a way peculiar to them-"ſelves: holding nothing good and valuable taught by us Greeks, or "by the Hebrews, the diſciples of Moſes: but collecting what is "bad in both, they have taken atheiſm from the Jewiſh abſurdity, "and a wicked diſſolute life from our careleſſneſſe and indifference. "And this they call a moſt excellent religion."

4. "That (d) Moſes ſays, God was the God of Iſrael only, and "of Judea, and that they were his choſen people, I ſhall demon-"ſtrate preſently: and that not only he, but the Prophets after him, "and Jeſus the Nazarean, ſay the ſame: yea, and Paul alſo, who "exceeded all the juglers and impoſtors that ever were." For this, he preſently after alledgeth, Exod. iv. 22. 23. v. 3. vii. 1.

5. Soon afterwards, Julian proceeds in this manner. "But (e) "that God from the begining took care of the Jews only, and that "(f) they were his choſen lot, appears not only from Moſes, and "Jeſus, but from Paul alſo: though this may be juſtly thought "ſtrange in Paul. But upon every occaſion, like a polypus upon "the rocks, he changeth his notions of God: at one time affirming, "that

(c) *Ibid. l.* 2. *p.* 42. 43.

(d) Πλὴν ὅτι τὸ Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸς μόνου Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τούτους ἐκλεκτοὺς φησὶν εἶναι, αὐτός τε, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον προφῆται, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαραῖος, ἐπιδείξω. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πάντας πανταχοῦ τοὺς πώποτε γόητας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ὑπερβαλλόμενον Παῦλον. *Contr. Jul. l.* 3. *p.* 100. *A.*

(e) *Lib.* 3. *p.* 106. *B. . . D.*

(f) . . . καὶ κλῆρος αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἔσπερος ἐξαίρετος. *B.*

" that the Jews only are God's heritage: at another time, to perſuade A. D. 361.
" the Greeks, and gain them over to his ſide, ſaying: *Is he the God* Rom. iii.
" *of the Jews only. Yes, of the Gentils alſo.* It is reaſonable therefore 29.
" to aſk Paul, If he was not the God of the Jews only, but al-
" ſo of the Gentils: why *(g)* did he, for the moſt part at leſt, ſend
" to the Jews the prophetic Spirit, and Moſes, and the anointing,
" and the Prophets, and the law, and miracles, and prodigies of fa- Rom. ix.
" bles? And you hear them ſaying: *Man did eat angels food.* At 4. 5.
" *(h)* length he ſent Jeſus alſo to them, not a prophet, not the a- Pſal. lxxviii.
" nointing, not a maſter, not a preacher of the late mercie of God 25.
" to us. However, he overlooked us for myriads, or if you pleaſe, John vii.
" for thouſands of years, and left us in ſuch ignorance, as to wor- 31.
" ſhip idols, as you ſay, from eaſt to weſt, and from north to ſouth,
" excepting only a ſmall nation about two thouſand years agoe,
" planted in a part of Paleſtine. But if he be the God of all, and
" the Creator of all, why did he neglect us?"

Here is a quotation of Rom. iii. 29. and Pſ. lxxviii. 25. and a reference to Rom. ix. 4. 5.

And notwithſtanding Julian's cavils, it is the doctrine of the Old and the New Teſtament, that God is the creator of the whole world, and directs and overrules all things in heaven and on earth, with unerring wiſdom, and uncontrollable power. Nor did he at any time neglect any part of mankind. He taught all by the light of nature, and the viſible works of his hand, and the various methods of his Providence, tempering mercie and judgement. Acts xiv. 16. 17. Rom. i. 18....21. But for wiſe reaſons, and great ends and purpoſes, he choſe the Jewiſh people, the ſeed of Abraham, to be a peculiar

(g) ... τὴ χάριν εἰς τὸς Ιυδάιυς μὲν, σολὺ τὸ προφητικὸν ἐπεμψε πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸν Μωσέα, καὶ τὸ χρίσμα, καὶ τὸς προφήτας, καὶ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ τὰ τεράτεια τῶν μύθων? C.

(h) Επὶ τέλει δὲ καὶ τὸν Ιησῦν ἐκείνοις ἐπεμψεν, οὐ προφήτην, οὐ χρίσμα, οὐ διδάσκαλον, οὐ κήρυκα τῆς μελλόσης ὀλίγου δεῖν ποτὲ γῆν ἔσεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆ Θεῖ φιλανθρωπίας. Ib. C.

A. D. 361.

peculiar people, and made some special manifestations of himself among them, thereby setting them up for a light amidst the nations. At length, in the fulness of time, at the most proper season, and according to his most gracious promise, he sent Jesus the Messiah.

The light of reason is common to all. A particular revelation is a special favour, which God may vouchsafe where, and when, and to whom he pleaseth. Whenever he has made a revelation, he has given evident proofs of it's divine original. But unthinking and careless, proud and perverse men, have not diligently improved the one, nor thankfully accepted the other.

6. Julian objects against the Mosaic account of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and the confusion of languages. He finds fault also with the decalogue of Moses. Which (*i*) as he says, contained no precepts, that are not equally regarded by all nations, excepting these two: *Thou shalt worship no other gods*, and *Remember the Sabbath-day*. He (*k*) prefers Lycurgus and Solon to Moses. "He (*l*) reflects upon David and Sampson, Cyril says, as not very remarkable for valour, and exceeded by many Greeks and Egyptians. And all their power was confined within the narrow limits of Judea." He says, the (*m*) Jews never had any General equal to Alexander, or Cesar. The (*n*) wise Solomon is not to be compared with some eminent men among the Greeks: such as Phocylides, Theognis, Isocrates. Moreover, as he adds, Solomon is said to have been overcome by women, and therefore does not deserve to be reckoned a wise man.

7. These things I mention but slightly, and quite pass over some other objections to the books of Moses, and the Old Testament: supposing

(*i*) Ποῖον ἔθνος ἐστὶ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐξω τῦ, οὐ προσκυνήσει θεοῖς ἑτέροις, ἢ τὸν Μωσέως τῶν σαββάτων, ὁ μὴ τὰς ἄλλας ὄψεται χρῆναι φυλάττειν ἐντολάς; *L. v. p.* 152. *C.*

(*k*) *L. v. p.* 168. *B.*

(*l*) *L. v. p.* 176. *C.*

(*m*) *L. 7. p.* 218. *B. C.*

(*n*) Ὁ σοφώτατος Σολομὼν παρόμοιος ἐστὶ τοῖς παρ' Ἕλλησι Φωκυλίδῃ, ἢ Θεόγνιδι, ἢ Ἰσοκράτει; πόθεν; κ. λ. *L. 7. p.* 224. *C. D.*

posing in to be rather incumbent upon me to enlarge upon those objections, which more immediatly relate to Christianity, and the books of the New Testament. A. D. 361.

8. Julian cavils at several prophecies of the Old Testament, which were applied to Jesus by his followers. To this purpose, I shall allege a passage here, though it be somewhat prolix. "Since (o) "therefore they differ from the Jews of the present time, and say, "that they are the true Israelites, and that they highly respect Mo"ses and the other Prophets after him; let us see, wherein they a"gree with them. And we shall begin with Moses, who, as they "say, foretold the future nativity of Jesus. Moses, then, not once, "nor twice, nor thrice, but often taught the worship of one God "only. Others he calls angels, or lords. But he never teacheth "any other second God, neither like, nor unlike, as you do. If "you have one word in Moses, favoring such expressions, you should "produce it. What he says, is: "*For the Lord thy God will raise* *Deut.* "*up unto thee a Prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like* *xviii. 15.* "*unto me. Unto him shall ye hearken.* This cannot be spoke con"cerning the son of Marie. But, if we grant you that; he would "be like unto Moses, not unto God: meaning a prophet, like him"self, and from men, not from God. That text also: *the sceptre* *Gen. xlix.* "*shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet*: *10.* "is not said of him, but of David's kingdom, which appears to have "ended in King Zedekiah.... But that none of these things belong "to Jesus, is manifest. For neither is he of Judah. And how "should he be so, when, according to you, he was not born of Jo"seph, but of the Holy Ghost? When you reckon up the genealo"gie of Joseph, you carry it up to Judah. But you have not been "able to contrive this dexterously. For Matthew and Luke have *Matt. i.* "been shewn to differ with one another about the genealogie." *Luke iii.*

Upon this passage some remarks may be proper.

(o) *Lib.* 8. *p.* 253. *B*... *E*.

A. D. 361.

1.) Julian here, and elsewhere, insinuates, that the doctrine of Christians concerning the Deity, was different from that of Moses. But I apprehend, that the Divine Unity is as clearly taught in the New, as in the Old Testament. *When one of the Scribes came to Jesus, and asked him, Which is the first commandment of all: Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord,* and what follows. Mark xii. 28, 29. 30. To another, who came to our Lord, with a like question, and called him, *good master, Jesus said: Why calleſt thou me good? None is good, save one, that is, God.* Luke xviii. 18. 19. Again: *And this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* John xvii. 3. See Matt. iv. 10. And says St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 5. *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.* The doctrine therefore of more Gods than one, or of inferior deities, if it was held by any Christians in Julian's time, is not the doctrine of the New Testament.

2.) Julian insinuates, that Christians did not consider Jesus as a Prophet, like unto Moses. But, however, some Christians in Julian's time might express themselves; it is certain, that the Apostles did esteem Jesus a Prophet like unto Moses. As appears from Acts iii. 22. vii. 37. though he was greater than Moses, and was *counted worthie of more glorie, than Moses.* Hebr. iii. 23.

3.) Julian insinuates, that Jesus, *son of Marie,* could not be of the tribe of Judah, or descended from Judah, because he is said by the Evangelists, not to have been born of Joseph, but of the Holy Ghost. Matt. ch. i. But those things are not inconsistent. Jesus was the son of Joseph, as he was born of Marie, who was espoused to him. But he was not conceived in the ordinarie way, but by the immediate agence and interposition of God. Therefore he is said to have been *conceived of the Holy Ghost.* Matth. i. 18. 20. and on that account was also called the *Son of God.* Luke i. 35.

Matt. i. Luke iii. 21...38.

4.) Julian acknowledgeth the genuinnesse of the two genealogies in St. Matthew, and St. Luke. And though he says, they differ; they

they have been reconciled, by learned Christians, both ancient and modern. A. D. 361.

Jerome, in particular, has taken notice (p) of Julian's objections to the two genealogies: and has made answers to them, too long to be transcribed in this place.

9. It will not be improper for me to allege here a passage of Jerome in his commentarie upon Hos. xi. 1. *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt.* He (q) there informs us, that Julian in his work against the Christians found fault with St. Matthew, for applying that to Christ ch. ii. 15. which belonged to Israel. And he says, that the Evangelists did it, with a design to impose upon ignorant Gentils. Which charge Jerome there considers, and confutes. *Matt. ii. 15.*

10. And upon Matt. ix. 9. where it is said, that our Lord called Matthew, and *he followed him:* Jerome observes, that (r) both Porphyrie and Julian had reflected upon the Apostles, as ready to follow any man without sufficient reason. Which may induce us to think, that Julian sometimes borrowed from Porphyrie. This has been already taken notice of by us in the chapter of (s) Porphyrie. Jerome here says very well, as we also observed formerly, that before the disciples became stated followers of Jesus, they had seen many miracles done by him. *Matt. ix. 9.*

11. "Jesus

(p) *Jacob autem genuit Joseph, virum Mariae.* &c. Matt. i. 16.] Hoc loco objecit nobis Julianus Augustus dissonantiam Evangelistarum. Cur Evangelista Matthaeus Joseph dixerit filium Jacob: et Lucas eum filium appellavit Heli: non intelligens consuetudinem scripturarum. &c. *Hieron. in Matt. T. 4. P. i. p. 7.*

(q) Hunc locum in septimo volumine Julianus Augustus, quod adversum nos, id est, Christianos evomuit, calumniatur, et dicit, quod de Israel scriptum est, Matthaeus Evangelista ad Christum transtulit: ut simplicitati eorum, qui de Gentibus crediderant, illuderet. *In Osee. cap. xi. Tom. 3. p. 1311.*

(r) Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus, vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum, qui statim sequuti sunt Salvatorem, quasi irrationabiliter quemlibet vocantem hominem sint sequuti, quem tantae virtutes, tantaque signa praecesserint, quae apostolos, antequam crederent, vidisse non dubium est. *Hieron. in Matt. T. 4. p. 30.*

(s) *See Vol. 3. p. 166.*

A. D. 361.

11. "Jesus, says (*t*) Julian, as quoted by Cyril, whom you cele-
"brate, was one of Cesar's subjects. If you dispute it, I will prove
"it by and by. But it may be as well done now. For yourselves
Luke ii. "allow, that he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time
"of Cyrenius. But after he was born, what good did he do to his
John vii. 5. "relations? For *they would not*, as it is said, *believe on him*. And
Mat. xiv. 25. "yet, that stiff-necked and hard-hearted people believed Moses.
Mark vi. 48. "But Jesus, who *rebuked the winds, and walked on the seas, and*
"*cast out demons*, and, as you will have it, made the heaven and the
John i. "earth, (though none of his disciples presumed to say this of him,
"except John only, nor he clearly and distinctly: however, let it
"be allowed, that he said so:) could not order his designs so as to
"save his friends and relations."

Upon this, it may be observed. 1.) Julian does not contest the account of our Saviour's nativity, which is in St. Luke's Gospel, but confirms it. 2.) I believe, St. John's doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ, is not different from that of the other Evangelists. 3.) Julian acknowledgeth, that many great and wonderfull works are ascribed to Jesus by the historians of his life, the Evangelists. Nor does he deny the truth of them. 4.) He confirms the truth of what is said of some of our Lord's relations, or *brethren*, that *they did not believe in him*, at least not rightly, or for a while, though they might do so afterwards, and, probably, did (*u*) so. However, if they never did believe in him, it need not be reckoned at all dishonorable to Jesus. For he made no offers of special advantages to his own kindred, or familie. They were to be saved in no other way than other men, by *hearing the word of God, and doing it*, or by *doing the will of his Father, who is in heaven*. See Matt. xii. 50. Mark iii. 35. and Luke viii. 21.

If

(*t*) Ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν ἑορταζόμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐν τοῖς Κυρηνίου χρόνοις. L. X. *ap. Cyril. contr. Julian. l.* 6. *p.* 213.

(*u*) See the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. Vol. 3. p. 71. - 75.

If among them were sensual and worldly men, they might as well reject his spiritual doctrine, as any others. A. D. 362.

12. "But (x) Jesus having persuaded a few among you, and those the worst of men, has now been celebrated about three hundred years: having done nothing in his life-time worthie of remembrance: unless any one thinks it a mighty matter to heal lame and blind people, and exorcise demoniacs in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethanie."

1.) This is plainly acknowledging the truth of the evangelical historie: though he does not refer to the whole of it, nor specify all the great works that Jesus did, nor all the places, in which they were performed. 2.) He acknowledgeth, that for three hundred years, or more, Jesus had been celebrated. Which regard for him was founded upon the works done by him in his life-time. Which works had been recorded by his disciples, eye-witnesses of those works. And the tradition had been handed down from the beginig, to the time, in which Julian lived. 3.) Why should not *healing lame and blind men, and such as were afflicted with other distempers, generally ascribed to demons*, be reckoned great works? All judicious and impartial men must esteem them great works, when performed on the sudden, and compleatly, as all our Lord's works of healing were: greater works, than founding cities, erecting an extensive monarchie, or subduing whole nations by slaughter, and the common methods of conquest: though such things have been often thought *more worthie to be remembred*, and recorded by historians. 4.) If there were but a few only persuaded by Jesus, during his abode on this earth, it was not for want of sufficient evidence. There was enough, it seems, to persuade some bad

(x) Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀναπείσας τὸ χείριστον τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγους πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ὀνομάζεται, ἐργασάμενος παρ' ὃν ἔζη χρόνον ἔργον οὐδὲν ἀκοῆς ἄξιον· εἰ μή τις ὄψεται τὸ κωλλὺς καὶ τὸς τυφλὸς ἰασασθαι, καὶ δαιμονῶντας ἐξορκίζειν ἐν Βηθσαϊδᾶ καὶ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων ὄντων. *Cyr. contr. Jul. l. 6. p. 191.*

A. D. 361. *bad men*, called in the Goſpels *publicans and ſinners*, the *worſt men*, as you ſay. But there were alſo ſome ſerious, and pious men, thoughtful and inquiſitive, as *Nathanael*, *Nicodemus*, and others, who were perſuaded, and fully ſatisfied, though for a while they had been averſe, and prejudiced. And there were worſe men, than thoſe, whom you call *the worſt*, even Scribes and Phariſees, proud, covetous, ambitious men, whom no rational evidence, however clear and ſtrong, could perſuade to receive religious principles, contrarie to their preſent worldly intereſts.

13. "But (y) you are ſo unhappy, as not to adhere to the things "delivered to you by the Apoſtles. But they have been altered by "you for the worſe, and carried on to yet greater impiety. For nei- "ther Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, have dared to "call Jeſus God. But honeſt John, underſtanding that a great "multitude of men in the cities of Greece and Italie, were ſeiſed "with this diſtemper: and hearing likewiſe, as I ſuppoſe, that the "tombs of Peter and Paul were reſpected, and frequented, though as "yet privatly only, however, having heard of it, he then firſt "preſumed to advance that doctrine."

In anſwer to this I muſt, 1.) ſay again, as I have already ſaid ſeveral times, that the doctrine of St. John, concerning our Saviour's perſon, is not different from that of the other Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, but the ſame. 2.) Julian here acknowledgeth many things extremely prejudicial to his cauſe, and more ſo, than he was aware of. For he here acknowledgeth the genuinneſſe and authority of moſt of the books of the New Teſtament: the writings of Paul, the Goſpels

(y) Οὗτω δὲ ἐστὲ δυσυχεῖς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῖν παραδιδομένοις ἐμμένητε, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ δυσσεβέστερον, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἐξεργάσθη. Τὸ γὰρ Ἰησοῦν οὔτε Παῦλος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν Θεὸν, οὔτε Ματθαῖος, οὔτε Λουκᾶς, οὔτε Μάρκος· ἀλλ' ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰωάννης, ἀισθόμενος ἤδη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐαλωκὸς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων καὶ Ἰταλιωτίδων πόλεων ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς νόσου. κ. λ. *Contr. Jul. l. x. p. 327. A. B.*

Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: and that these books contain the doctrine of Christ's Apostles, the persons, who accompanied him, and were the witnesses of his preaching, works, death, resurrection, and taught in his name afterwards. 3.) He acknowledgeth the early, and wonderfull progresse of the gospel. For he supposeth, that there were in *many cities of Greece and Italie*, multitudes of believers in Jesus, before John wrote his Gospel: which, as he computes, was published soon after the death of Peter and Paul. 4.) Therefore the antiquity of the first three Gospels is here evidently acknowledged. They were writ and published before the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, that is, about the time, now supposed by all Christians in general. 5.) And in what he says of the time of John's writing his Gospel, he speaks not disagreeably to the general opinion of Christians at that time, and since. For it has been generally supposed, and indeed is manifest, that he did not write till after the other three Evangelists, because he appears to have seen and read their Gospels, and to have designed to make some additions to them, in the way of a supplement. I think it highly probable, that though he did not write till after the other Evangelists, his Gospel was published before the destruction of Jerusalem, about the year of Christ 68. As was at large argued (z) formerly. A. D. 361.

14. "They (a) say, they agree with Isaiah, who prophesieth: "*Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son.* ch. vii. 14. "Let this be said of God, though it is not. For she was not a virgin, who was married, and cohabited with her husband, before "she brought forth. However, grant, that this also is said of him: "does he say, that God should be born of a virgin? But you are "continually calling Marie, mother of God." Θεοτόκον δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀπάυσθε Μαρίαν καλοῦντες. *Matt.* i. 18., 25.

We

(z) *See the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. Vol.* i. *p.* 391. *&c.*

(a) *Contr. Julian. l.* 8. *p.* 262. *D.*

A. D. 363. We are not to be surprised, that the adversaries to Christianity did contest, or deny the virginity of Marie. They who without the evidences of our Saviour's divine mission, recorded in the Gospels, might also dispute his miraculous conception, and birth. But for the truth of it I have already said enough in the remarks upon (b) Celsus.

In another place (c) also Julian argues again upon that title given to Marie, *mother of God*, and upon that expression, *God of God*. But I have no reason to say any thing in defense of either, as they are not scripture phrases.

115. "But (d) you miserable people, says Julian, at the same "time that ye refuse to worship the shield that fell down from "Jupiter, and is preserved by us, which was sent down to us by "the great Jupiter, or our Father Mars, as a certain pledge of the "perpetual government of our City: you worship the wood of the "cross, and make signs of it upon your foreheads, and fix it upon "your doors. Shall we for this most hate the understanding, or "most pity the simple and ignorant among you, who (e) are so very "unhappy, as to leave the Immortal Gods, and go over to a dead "Jew?"

By a *dead Jew* it is likely, that Julian means still dead. But though Jesus died, and was buried, he rose again, and ascended to heaven. And of this there are other evidences, than the Heathen people had of the shield's coming down from heaven. Nor was it certain, it seems, whether it came from Jupiter or from Mars. Here is an instance of Julian's credulity and superstition.

As for the extraordinarie respect shewn by some Christians to the *wood*

(b) *See Vol.* 2. *p.* 287. . . 289.

(c) *Contr. Julian. l.* 8. *p.* 276. *E.*

(d) Εἶτα, ὦ δυστυχῶς ἄνθρωποι, σωζομένην τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ὅπλα διοσπετῆ, ὁ κατέπεμψεν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς, ἤτοι πατὴρ Ἄρης . . . κ. λ. *Lib.* 6. *p.* 194. *C.*

(e) . . ἆρα τὸν ἀληθῶς ἀρίστης θεὰς, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων μεταβῆναι νεκρόν. *Ib. D.*

wood, or the *ſign* of the croſſe, I have no reaſon to defend it. The New Teſtament gives no countenance to it, that I know of. A. D. 361.

Julian blames Chriſtians for having deſtroyed temples, and altars. And then goes on. "You (f) have killed not only our peo-"ple, who perſiſted in the ancient religion, but likewiſe hereticks, "equally deceived with yourſelves: but who did not mourn the "dead man exactly in the ſame manner that you do. But theſe "are your own inventions. For Jeſus has no where directed you to "do ſuch things: nor yet Paul. The reaſon is, that they never "expected, you would arrive at ſuch power. They were content-"ed with deceiving maid-ſervants, and ſlaves, and by them ſome "men and women, ſuch as Cornelius and Sergius. If there were "then any other men of eminence brought over to you: I mean in "the times of Tiberius, and Claudius, when theſe things happened, "let me paſs for a lyar in every thing I ſay."

This is another very important paſſage. 1.) Julian acknowledgeth, that perſecution and cruelty were the inventions of later Chriſtians: that neither Jeſus, nor Paul, nor any other of the firſt preachers of the goſpel, had taught men to kill others for being of a different religion, or for differing about leſſer matters among themſelves. 2.) But he is miſtaken about the reaſon of this. For Jeſus foreſaw the vaſt ſucceſſ and ſpeedy propagation of his doctrine. [Matt. viii. 11. xvi. 18. xxviii. 19. and many other places] though it would be oppoſed, and his Apoſtles would be ill treated by many. [Matt. x. 16. . . 26. xxiii. 34. xxiv. 9. John xx. 18. 19.] But the reaſon is, that his doctrine is a doctrine of univerſal virtue and goodneſſe, and he *came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.* Luke ix. 56. And the Apoſtles knew this very well, when they began to preach publicly in his name, after his aſcenſion, and after the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. So that the followers of Jeſus Chriſt, who killed men for diſſenting from them in

(f) *Contr. Julian. l. 6. p. 206. A. B.*

A. D. 362

things of religion, acted not only without orders from Christ, or his Apostles, but contrarie to the commandment delivered by them. 3.) Julian does strongly confirm the evangelical historie. For he owns, that the beginings of Christianity were in the times of the Emperours Tiberius and Claudius. He speaks of the conversions of *maid-servants and slaves*: probably meaning, the *maid possessed with a spirit of divination*, Acts xvi. 16. and *Onesimus*, servant to Philemon. He likewise speaks of the conversion of *other men and women*, particularly, the conversion of *Cornelius*, and *Sergius Paulus*; mentioned Acts x. and xiii. 4.) Julian is very cautious here, when he limits his exceptions to the times of those two Emperours, the later of whom died in the year of Christ 54. Moreover, he is to be understood to speak of Heathen people only. But it should be observed, that for some considerable time after the ascension of Jesus, the Apostles confined their preaching to native Jews and Proselytes. And among them were converted some Priests and Pharisees, as well as meaner people, and also the Chamberlain and Treasurer of *Candace*, Queen of the Ethiopians: a very eminent, and probably, a very understanding, and inquisitive man. Acts viii. 26. . . . 40. Whom I suppose to have been a Jewish Proselyte. And, undoubtedly, Julian also considered him as a man of the Jewish religion. Otherwise he would have named him. It is therefore to be reckoned very considerable successe, if by the end of the reign of Claudius, or, if you please, somewhat later, were converted from among the Gentils, *Cornelius*, and his familie, and many of his friends: and *Sergius Paulus*, Proconsul of Cyprus. If they are not now renowned in profane historie for any great exploits, it may nevertheless be inferred from their station and character, that they were able to judge of things done before their eyes, and of the truth of principles proposed to them, and of facts related to them to have been done a few days or years before, in a countrey, not far distant from the places of their own residence. 5.) This passage does wonderfully confirm the genuinnesse of the book of the Acts

Acts xvi. Philem. Acts x... xiii.

Acts of the Apostles.

of

of the Apostles, and the truth of the history contained in it. Julian challengeth the Christians, after he had excepted the two above-mentioned, to produce the names of any more eminent men converted [from the Gentils] to Christianity in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. Which is a proof, that Julian did not, and could not contest the truth of the history in the Acts of the Apostles: and likewise, that he was well satisfied, the Christians had no other authentic history of things done at that time. He knew, they relied upon the accounts given in that book, and that they did not pretend to have any other authentic accounts of them. 6.) Once more, since the accounts given in the New Testament, and particularly, in the Acts of the Apostles, of the conversions of *slaves, and maid-servants, and of Cornelius, and Sergius Paulus*, are allowed to be true; it is reasonable to believe also, that the grounds and reasons of their conversion to the Christian faith, are truly and faithfully related: and consequently, that they were not deceived, or imposed upon: but were convinced, and persuaded upon sufficient and undeniable evidence, such as ought to sway, and satisfy wise and good men. A. D. 361.

"But (g) why do you not observe a pure diet, as well as the "Jews? but eat all things like herbs of the field, believing Peter, "because he said: *What God has cleansed, that call not thou common.* *Acts x. 11. 23.* "What does that mean, unless that God formerly declared them "to be impure, but now has made them clean? For Moses speaking "of four-footed beasts says: *Whatsoever divideth the hoof, and chew-eth the cud, is clean: but whatever does not do so, that is unclean.* "[Lev. xi. 4. Deut. xiv. 6.] If then, since the vision of Peter, the "swine has chewed the cud, let us believe him. For that would "be truly wonderfull, if since Peter's vision, it has got that faculty. "But if he feigned that vision, or, to use your phrase, the revela-"tion at the tanner's; why should you believe him in a thing of "that nature?"

This

(g) *Lib. 9. p. 314. B. C.*

A. D. 361. This is really trifling. But it ſerves to ſhew, that the book of the Acts was generally received by Chriſtians. It alſo ſhews, what was Julian's manner of reaſoning. He wanted to form an objection here. But knew not how.

18. "We are alſo expreſsly aſſured by Cyril, that (k) Julian "quoted the Epiſtle of the Apoſtles, which they wrote to the con- "verted from among the Gentile, who had lately embraced Chri- "ſtianity. *It has ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to im-* Acts xv. 23...29. "*poſe upon you no other burden, than theſe neceſſary things...*"

19. Cyril, toward the end of his work, where he abridgeth, has theſe words: "And (l) moreover this daring Gentleman reviles "the chief of the Apoſtles, Peter. And ſays, he was a hypocrite, "and was reproved by Paul, for living ſometimes after the manner "of the Greeks, and at other times after the manner of the Jews." Referring to what is writ in the ſecond chapter of the epiſtle to the Galatians. Gal. ii.

We might wiſh, that Cyril had here tranſcribed Julian more diſtinctly. However, this is an old objection, which had been made before by Porphyrie, and has been alſo carefully conſidered by (m) us. And therefore I do not now enlarge any farther upon this point.

20. "But (n) omitting many other things, ſays Julian, by "which I might ſhew the law of Moſes to be perpetual: do you "ſhew me ſome place, where that is ſaid, which is affirmed by "Paul with ſo much aſſurance: *that Chriſt is the end of the law.*" Rom. x. 4.

21. "But (o) now I muſt again return to them. Why then are "you not circumciſed? To which they anſwer. Paul ſays, it is "*the*

(k) Ἐπιφέρονται δὲ ἐξ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν γεγράφασιν . . . τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν κεκλημένοις. *L.* 9. *p.* 324. *E.*

(l) Καταισχύνει δὲ πρὸς τούτοις τὸν ἀποστόλων ἔκκριτον Πέτρον ὁ γενάδας, ἐξ ὑποκρι- τὴν ζῶσι φησὶ, καὶ ἰουδαΐζεσθαι διὰ τὸ Παύλου. *x. λ. Ibid. p.* 325. *C. D.*

(m) *See Vol.* 3. *p.* 177. . . 183.

(n) *L.* 9. *p.* 320. *A.*

(o) *L. x. p.* 351. *A.*

"*the circumciſion of the heart*, which was required, not *that of the* "*fleſh.*" A. D. 361. *Rom. ii.* 28. 29.

22. "To (p) which he adds, ſays Cyril, that Chriſt alſo has "ſaid, that the law ought to be kept, ſaying at one time, *I came* "*not to deſtroy the law, but to fulfill it.* And again: *Whoſoever ſhall* "*break one of theſe leſt commandments, and ſhall teach men ſo, he ſhall* "*be called the leſt in the kingdom of heaven.*" *Matt. v.* 17. *Ver.* 19.

23. "We (q) cannot, ſay they, keep the feaſt of unleavened "bread, or the paſſover, *becauſe Chriſt has been once ſacrificed for* "*us.*" *1 Cor. v.* 7.

24. "Since (r) you have forſaken us, why do you not adhere to "the Jews..? And why do you not ſacrifice? The Jews indeed "are hindred, becauſe they have now no temple, nor altar. But "(s) you who have a new ſacrifice, have no need of Jeruſalem. But "it is ſuperfluous for me now to enlarge upon this, having before (t) "ſpoken of this matter: when I undertook to ſhew, that the Jews "agree with the Greeks, except that they think that there is but "one God only. That is peculiar to them, and in that they differ "from us. But as to other things, they are in a manner all com-"mon to us both: temples, ſhrines, altars, purifications, certain "ritual obſervances. In all which things there is little or no diffe-"rence between them and us."

1.) Here ſeems to be a reference to the ordinance of the Lord's-Supper, in that phraſe, *a new ſacrifice*. 2.) In this paſſage is a general, and juſt deſcription of Chriſtianity. It is a plain, ſimple worſhip, without ſacrifices of animals, without external purifications, and other ritual obſervances. It is a character of the Chriſtian religion, which is very honourable to it. It is truly rational, and philoſophical,

(p) *Ibid. C.*

(q) *L.* 10. *p.* 354. *A.*

(r) *L.* 9. *p.* 305. 306.

(s) Τμῶν δὲ τὴν καινὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντων, οὐδὲν δέομεν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντὶ τινος ἐν θύεσθε; *p.* 306. *A.*

(t) *Vid. l.* 7. *p.* 238.

A. D. 361. losophical, consisting in the practise of virtue, and the spiritual sacrifices of prayer, and praise, and other good works. 3.) Here is a popular argument against the Christians, taken from their singularity, and their difference from all other people. It was, indeed, a popular prejudice, and had been of great force in former times. But there were men, who withstood it, and professed the just sentiments of religion, whilst the greatest numbers rejected them, and were much incensed against men upon that account. But in Julian's time the force of it was much abated: though he was willing to set it up again.

25, "And (u) that not only they of this time, but that some "of those, who at the begining received the word from Paul, were "such, is apparent from what Paul himself says, writing to them. "For I presume he was not so void of shame, as to send them such "reproaches in his letter to them, if he had not known them to be "just. These are the things, which he writes of his disciples, and
1 Cor. vi. 9...11. "to themselves. *Be not deceived. Neither idolaters, nor adulterers,* "*nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves,* "*nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall in-* "*herit the kingdom of God. And you are not ignorant, brethren, that* "*such were you also. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, in the* "*name of Jesus Christ.* You (x) see, he says, they were such: "but they had been sanctified, and washed, having been cleansed "and scoured with water, which penetrates even to the soul. And "baptism, which cannot heal the leprosie, nor the gout, nor the "dysenterie, nor any other distemper of the body, takes away adul- "teries, extortions, and all other sins of the soul."

So writes Julian, and with great assurance. Nevertheless it is not very easie to say, upon what this argument is founded. Perhaps, it is built upon some extravagant assertions of Christians of that time concern-

(u) *L.* 7. *p.* 245.

(x) Ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ τότε γενέσθαι φησὶ τοιούτους . . . St. Paul's words are, *such were some of you:* καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε.

concerning the value and efficacie of baptism. For I see no ground for it in the New Testament. Jesus, and his forerunner, preached, that men should *repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance.* After his resurrection, when his Apostles were to go abroad in the world, he told them, *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations.* Luke xxiv. 47. And, says St. Peter, Acts ii. 38. *Repent, and be baptised in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.* See also ch. iii. 26. and likewise ch. xx. 21. and xxvi. 20. and elsewhere: And St. Peter says, 1 ep. iii. 21. *that putting away the filth of the flesh does not save, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.* A. D. 361.

In the text quoted by Julian from the first epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul speaks of a real change made in those converts. It is not certain, that baptism is there at all referred to. If it is, it is not the only, nor the principal thing. They had been, some of them, such sinners, as are there mentioned: but they were now changed, and reformed. And, if they were not, neither baptism, nor the profession of Christianity, nor any external privileges, would be of advantage to them. For he there says to them, and with great seriousness, and earnestness: *Know ye not, that unrighteous men shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived,* and what there follows.

If men were turned from errour and vice by the preaching of the gospel, it was the greatest honour to it that could be. The great design of Christ's coming, was *to save men from their sins:* Matt. i. 21. from the practise of them, and from the miserie, to which they had been exposed by them. When that end is obtained, his joy, and the joy of the faithfull preachers of the gospel are fulfilled.

26. There is another like passage of Julian in his *Cesars*, which may not be quite omitted. And it may be as well taken now, as hereafter. In his satyr upon *Constantin*, he brings in his son Constantius, in the presence of his father, proclaiming to all in this manner: "Whosoever *(y)* is a ravisher, a murderer, guilty of sa-

(y) Julian. Caesares. p. 336. edit. Spanhem.

A. D. 361. "criledge, or any other abomination, let him come boldly. For "when I have washed him with this water, I will immediatly make "him clean and innocent. And if he commits the same crimes a-"gain, I will make him, after he has thumped his breast, and beat "his head, as clean as before."

Upon this I need not say any thing my-self, after all that has been said just now. I may answer it in the words of Dr. Bentley, whose remarks, upon it, in the borrowed name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, are to this purpose. "A (z) ridiculous and stale banter, "used by Celsus, and others, before Julian, upon the Christian doc-"trines of baptism, and repentance, and remission of sins. Baptism "is rallied, as *mere washing*: and repentance, as *thumping the breast*, "and other outward grimace. The inward grace, and the intrinsic "change of mind, are left out of the character. And whom are "we to believe? these Pagans, or our own-selves? Are we to fetch "our notions of the sacraments from scraps of Julian, and Celsus? "or from the Scripture, the pure fountain, and from what we read, "know, and profess? And yet the banter came more decently out "of Celsus, an Epicurean's mouth, than out of Julian's, the most "bigoted creature in the world. He to laugh at expiation by bap-"tism, whose whole life, after his apostasie, was a continued course "of λουτροῖσι, washings, purgations, expiations, with the most ab-"surd ceremonies! addicted to the whole train of superstitions, "omens, presages, prodigies, spectres, dreams, visions, auguries, "oracles, magic, theurgic, Psychomantic: whose whole Court in "a manner consisted of haruspices, and sacrificuli, and philoso-"phers, as silly as they? who was always poring in the entrails of "cattle, to find futurities there: who, if he had returned victor out "of Persia, (as his very Pagan friends jested on him) would have ex-"tinguished the whole species of bulls and cows, by the number of "his sacrifices? I have drawn this character of him from his own "writings,

(z) *See Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking* §. xliii.

" writings, and the Heathens his contemporaries: that I might not " bring ſuſpected teſtimonies from Chriſtian authors." So that learned man. A. D. 361. *Rom. iii.* 29.

27. " That (*a*) evil had it's riſe from John. But who can ſufficiently expreſs his indignation againſt all your following inventions, " in adding many more dead men to him who died ſo long ago? ſo " that you have filled all places with ſepulchres, and monuments: " though it has been no where commanded you to wallow in ſepulchres, and worſhip there. But you are arrived at ſuch perverſeneſſe, as to think, that in this matter you need not regard the " words of Jeſus of Nazareth. Hear therefore what he ſays of monuments: *Woe unto you Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites. For ye* " *are like unto whited ſepulchres. The ſepulchre appears beautiful out-* " *ward: but within it is full of dead mens bones, and all uncleanneſſe.* " If then Jeſus has ſaid, that ſepulchres are *full of uncleanneſſe*, why " do you pray to God over them?" *Matt.* xxiii. 17.

To this, ſays Cyril, he adds: " That (*b*) *when a certain diſciple* " *ſaid, Lord, ſuffer me firſt to go and bury my father, he anſwered:* " *Follow thou me, and let the dead bury their dead.*" *Matt.* viii. 21. 22. *Luke* ix. 59. 60.

Julian might be juſtly offended at that ſuperſtitious cuſtom of the Chriſtians, which he here cenſures, and which we do not juſtify. However, he here cites our Lord's words from our Goſpels, in a manner that puts their genuinneſſe out of queſtion. And he bears witneſſe, that our Lord, Jeſus of Nazareth, taught and ſaid the things there recorded.

28. Having quoted from Moſes thoſe words of Deut. vi. 13. *Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*, he goes on: " How (*c*) then is Jeſus ſaid in the Goſpels to command:

(*a*) *Lib.* x. *p.* 335. *B. C.*

(*b*) *P.* 335. *D.*

(*c*) Πῶς ἐν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις παραδίδοται προσάττων Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε, κ. λ. *L.* 9. *p.* 291. *A.*

A. D. 361. "*Go, teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and* "*of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*"

Matt. *xxviii.* 19.

To which, I think, I may ſay, though Chriſtians have formed different interpretations of this text; it cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that our Lord would command his Apoſtles to begin with teaching any myſterious doctrine to their converts. Nor does any thing of that kind appear in the book of the Acts, where we have the hiſtorie of their preaching, in many places, in obedience to their Lord and maſter, to all ſorts of men, Jews, Samaritans, and Gentils.

The deſign of the words is this: "That they ſhould teach men "to receive and profeſs the doctrine, which Jeſus had taught with "authority from God the Father, and confirmed by miracles done by "the finger, the power, or the ſpirit of God." Accordingly, we are aſſured, in the book of the Acts, that men were baptiſed *in the name of Jeſus Chriſt*, or *into his name*. Acts ii. 38. viii. 16. xix. 5. Which imports the ſame, as being baptiſed into the belief, that Jeſus *is the Chriſt, the Son of God*: or that he taught by divine authority, and that there had been full aſſurance given to men of this, by his many miracles, and by his reſurrection from the dead.

29. "Why *(d)* do you meddle with Greek learning, ſince the "reading of your own Scriptures is ſufficient for you? And indeed, "it might be of more importance to reſtrain men from reading the "Greek authors, than from eating things *ſacrificed to idols*. For by "that, as Paul alſo ſays, *he that eats is not hurt, But the conſcience* "*of the brother, who ſees it, is offended*, according to you."

1 *Cor.* *viii.* 7... 10.

More there follows, which I forbear to tranſcribe. And there ſeems to be ſomewhat wanting, loſt out of the text. However, he there inſinuates, that whenever a man of good ſenſe gains but a ſmattering of Greek learning, he forſakes what Julian is pleaſed to call *impiety*. But if he had really thought ſo, I ſuppoſe, he would have filled the Chriſtians with Greek learning, inſtead of doing all he could to prevent their having a taſte of it.

My

(d) *L.* 7. *p.* 229.

My readers cannot but obſerve, that this is taken from Julian's work againſt the Chriſtians. Which ſhews, how intent he was upon doing all in his power, to make the Chriſtians ignorant, and unlearned. It was a ſtrange deſign. And could proceed from nothing but malice and envie. A. D. 361.

30. We will now take a ſummarie view of what we have ſeen in Julian's Work againſt the Chriſtians. *The Sum of his arguments.*

He argues againſt the Jews, as well as againſt them. But we have ſuppoſed it expedient to take more eſpecial notice of what he writes relating to Jeſus Chriſt, and his followers. And he has bore a valuable teſtimonie to the hiſtorie, and to the books of the New Teſtament, as all muſt acknowledge, who have read the extracts juſt made from his work. He allows, that Jeſus was born in the reign of Auguſtus, at the time of the taxing made in Judea by Cyrenius: That the Chriſtian Religion had it's riſe, and began to be propagated in the times of the Emperours Tiberius and Claudius. He bears witneſſe to the genuinneſſe, and authenticity of the four Goſpels, of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and the Acts of the Apoſtles. And he ſo quotes them, as to intimate, that theſe were the only hiſtorical books, received by Chriſtians, as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allows their early date, and even argues for it. He alſo quotes, or plainly refers to the Acts of the Apoſtles, to St. Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. He does not deny the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt, but allowes him to have *healed the blind, and the lame, and demoniacs*, and *to have rebuked the winds, and walked upon the waves of the ſea*. He endeavours indeed to diminiſh theſe works: but in vain. The conſequence is undeniable. Such works are good proofs of a divine miſſion. He endeavours alſo to leſſen the number of the early beleivers in Jeſus, and yet he acknowledgeth, that there were *multitudes of ſuch men in Greece and Italie*, before St. John wrote his Goſpel. He likewiſe affects to diminiſh the quality of the early believers: and

yet

A. D. 361. yet acknowledgeth, that beſide *men ſervants, and maid-ſervants*, *Cornelius* a Roman Centurion at Cæſarea, and *Sergius Paulus*, Proconſul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jeſus, before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often ſpeaks with great indignation of *Peter* and *Paul*, thoſe two great Apoſtles of Jeſus, and ſucceſsfull preachers of his goſpel. So that, upon the whole, he has undeſignedly bore witneſſe to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Teſtament. He aimed to overthrow the Chriſtian Religion, but has confirmed it. His arguments againſt it are perfectly harmleſs, and inſufficient to unſettle the weakeſt Chriſtian. He juſtly excepts to ſome things introduced into the Chriſtian profeſſion, by the late profeſſors of it, in his own time, or ſooner. But has not made one objection of moment againſt the Chriſtian Religion, as contained in the genuine and authentic books of the New Teſtament.

Extracts out of his Epiſtles.

V. I now intend to make ſome extracts out of Julian's Orations and Epiſtles. This is fit to be done, becauſe divers of them relate to Chriſtianity, and the affairs of Chriſtians in Julian's time.

1. I have already tranſcribed that which is the ſeventh Epiſtle in the order of Spanheim's edition (*a*) containing a kind of eſtabliſhment of Helleniſm. I now proceed.

2. And the firſt to be now taken, is the law or edict, prohibiting Chriſtians to teach rhetorick, and other parts of polite literature. I need not tranſcribe the whole. But I ſhall take a large part of it.

"He (*b*) ſays, Homer, Heſiod, Demoſthenes, Herodotus, Thu-
"cidides, Iſocrates, Lyſias, were guided by the Gods, and eſteemed
"themſelves conſecrated, ſome to Mercurie, others to the Muſes. It
"is abſurd therefore for ſuch as explain their works, to neglect the
"Gods, whom they worſhiped. But though I think that to be ab-
"ſurd, I do not deſire, that they ſhould change their ſentiments for
"the

(*a*) *See before. p.* 38. (*b*) *Ep.* 42. *p.* 422. 423. 424.

" the ſake of inſtructing youth. I give them their choice: either not A. D.
" to teach what they do not approve of: or, if they will teach, that 361.
" they firſt inform and perſuade their ſcholars, that neither Homer,
" nor Heſiod, nor any one of thoſe whom they have explained, and
" had condemned for impiety, and ignorance, and errour concerning
" the Gods, is ſuch. For otherwiſe, ſince they are maintained by
" teaching their works, they muſt not deny, that they are lovers of fil-
" thie lucre, and can do any thing for a ſmall profit. There were many
" things to hinder their frequenting the temples: and they might be
" afraid to profeſs the right ſentiments concerning the Gods. But
" now, ſince by the favour of the Gods we have obtained liberty, it
" appears to me abſurd for any man to teach what they do not think
" to be right. But if they think, there is any wiſdom in the au-
" thors works, of which they are interpreters, let them firſt learn to
" imitate their piety toward the Gods. But if they judge, that thoſe
" authors are in an errour about the Gods; let them go to the church-
" es of the Galileans, and there explain Matthew and Luke. . . . I
" deſire, to uſe your own terms, that your ears and your tongue
" might be regenerated, as to thoſe things which I eſteem, and which
" I wiſh, that I and all that love me, may always partake of. Let
" (*c*) this be a common law to profeſſors and maſters. But if any
" youth ſhould have a mind to go to ſchool, to learn theſe things,
" they are not prohibited. For it would not be at all reaſonable to
" reſtrain children, who know not what courſe to take, from the
" right way: as it would alſo be to compell them to forſake the old
" religion. It might indeed be juſt to treat them as out of their
" ſenſes, in order to cure them. But let all be forborn, who labor
" under this diſtemper. For I ſuppoſe, that ignorant people are ra-
" ther to be taught, than puniſhed."

By what was tranſcribed formerly (*d*) we ſaw, that Chriſtians underſtood themſelves to be prohibited by Julian to learn, as well as to teach

(*c*) Τοῖς μὲν καθηγεμόσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἅπασι κοινὸς κεῖται νόμος. *P.* 423. *D.*
(*d*) *See p.* 40. 41.

A. D. 362. teach the Greek literature. Some have doubted, whether that be the intention of the law, just now recited. And therefore they have supposed, there was another. The question is of no great importance. But even this law deprives young persons of the privilege of learning, unless they went to the schools of Greek masters, so that there was no necessity of another law for that purpose.

(d) I must add, that I think it may be concluded from expressions in this letter, that whatever forbearance, or liberty, Julian allowed Christians, it was done very grudgingly, and unwillingly.

3. The next letter is to *Hecebolus*. And I shall take it now. "As (e) for my self, says Julian, I have determined to act with so much "clemence and moderation toward all the Galileans: that none of "them should any where suffer any violence, nor be compelled to "the temples, nor be violently forced to any thing against their in-"clinations. But they of the Arian church, waxing wanton with "riches, have insulted the followers of Valentinus, and have pre-"sumed to do such things at Edessa, as are never to be suffered in a "well constituted city. Therefore, since they are so commanded by "their most wonderfull law, that they may the more easily go to "the kingdom of heaven, and that we may give them some assist-"ance in their design, we have ordered all the money of the church "of Edessa to be taken away, and given to the soldiers, and that "their estates be united to our demesnes: that being poor, they may "become wise, and may not fail of the kingdom of heaven, which "they aim at."

Doubtless Julian refers to divers texts of the Gospels, perhaps to Matt. v. 3. Luke vi. 20. Matt. xix. 21. or some other parallel places. But few will allow him to be a good interpreter of Scripture, or that he deduces right conclusions from it.

Hecebolus, to whom this letter was sent, is supposed to have been the chief magistrate at Edessa.

4. The

(e) *Ep.* 43. *p.* 424.

4. The Heathen people of Alexandria murdered *George*, the Arian Biſhop of that city in a tumultuous manner. The letter, which Julian ſent to the Alexandrians upon that occaſion, is ſtill (*f*) exſtant. And it was inſerted by (*g*) Socrates in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. But being long, I forbear to tranſcribe it. A. D. 361.

Sozomen alſo has taken particular notice of that tranſaction, and of Julian's letter. His remarks are to this purpoſe. "Julian (*h*) "wrote a letter to the Alexandrians, in which he ſeems to be very "angry with them. But he reproved them by a letter only, remit-"ting the puniſhment due to them, out of regard to their God Sera-"pis, their protector, and the great Alexander their founder, and "from other conſiderations." That is ſufficient to repreſent the ſubſtance and deſign of this letter.

5. George had a good librarie. And Julian wrote to *Ecditius*, Governour of Egypt, to procure it entire for him. "Some, (*i*) ſays "he, delight in horſes, others in birds, others in wild-beaſts. From "my childhood I have been always in love with books. . . . Where-"fore you muſt do for me this private piece of kindneſſe, to get to-"gether all George's books. He had a large number of books, ma-"ny philoſophical, and rhetorical, and alſo many concerning the "doctrine of the impious Galileans. Which (*k*) I could wiſh to "have utterly deſtroyed. But leaſt books of value ſhould be deſtroy-"ed with them, let theſe alſo be carefully ſought for. George had "a ſecretarie. Let him help you. If he ſerves you faithfully, let "him be rewarded with freedom. If he endeavours to conceal any "of his maſter's books, he may be put to the torture. I am not un-"acquainted with George's books. For when I was in Cappadocia, "I bor-

(*f*) *Ep.* xi. *p.* 378. *edit. Spanhem.*
(*g*) *Socrat. l.* 3. *cap.* 3.
(*h*) *Sozom. l.* 5. *cap.* 7. *p.* 604.
(*i*) *Ep.* ix. *p.* 377.
(*k*) . . . ἃ βουλοίμην μὲν ἀπολέσθαι πάντα τῷ μὴ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸ χρησιμώτερον, ζητεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα. *p.* 378. *B.*

A. D. 361. "I borrowed some of them, though not all, in order to have them "transcribed, and then returned them to him."

But it was a mean thing in Julian, to wish that all Christian writings might be destroyed. It was below a Philosopher, as one would think, to entertain such a thought.

6. We have another letter of Julian to the like purpose, sent to *Porphyrius*, Treasurer of Egypt. "George (*l*) has left a large libra- "rie, consisting of books of various sorts, philosophie, and historie, "as also of the Galileans, in great number. You are to procure the "whole librarie for me, and send it to Antioch. You are to make "the most diligent inquiries after the books. Otherwise you may "expect to be severely punished. If you suspect any persons to have "concealed any of them, you are to examine them upon oath: If "they are slaves, they may be put to the torture. If you cannot "persuade them by fair means, you must use force, to make them "bring all to you."

7. I now take a letter to the Alexandrians, concerning Athanasius. (*m*) It was certainly very fit, that a man, who had been banished by repeated edicts of several Emperours, should wait at least for one Imperial edict, before he returned home, and not audaciously insult the laws, as if they were all extinct. Forasmuch as "even now we have not granted to the Galileans banished by the "blessed Constantius, a return to their churches, but to their coun- "treys. But I hear, that the audacious Athanasius, behaving with "his usual insolence, has seised on the episcopal throne, as they call "it, and that this is not a little grievous to the pious people of Alex- "andria. Wherefore we command him to depart from the city on "the day he receives our letter. If he stays in the city, we warn "him of a severer punishment."

Athanasius had been once banished by Constantin, twice by Constantius. To which Julian here refers. Nor did he make use of the liberty

(*l*) *Ep.* xxxvi. *p.* 411. (*m*) *Ep.* xxvi. *p.* 398.

liberty to return, granted by Julian, till after the death of George: when, as it seems, he was disagreeable to the Heathen people of Alexandria, whom Julian calls *pious*. Julian here says, that he had not given leave to the banished Bishops to return to their *seet*, or *churches*, but only to their *countreys*. I should have thought, that his edict had included a return to both. And this explication seems to be evasive, and perhaps, now first thought of from particular enmity to Athanasius. A. D. 361.

8. The Catholic Christians at Alexandria wrote to Julian, as in the name of the city, requesting him to revoque his order against Athanasius, by a new edict: which he answered in the following letter to the Alexandrians. "He (*n*) says, the distempered part of "them had taken upon themselves the name of the city. By the "Gods, ye men of Alexandria, I am ashamed, that any Alexandrian should acknowledge himself to be a Galilean. He tells them, "that *Alexander*, *the Ptolomees*, and other princes, their founders "and patrons, were worshipers of the Gods: and had not raised "their city and constitution to it's grandeur by the words of Jesus, "nor by the doctrine of the hatefull Galileans. . . . . None of those "Gods do you worship: but Jesus, whom neither you, nor your fa- "thers have seen, him you think to be God the Word. Him you *John i.* "prefer to the great Sun, who has so long enlightened, and blessed "the world. You may do well to hearken to me, who till I was "twenty years of age, went in the same way: but now for twelve years "I have been a worshiper of the Gods. If you hearken to my admoni- "tions, it will be for your benefit. However, if you will still fol- "low the instruction and superstition of knavish men; agree among "yourselves, and no longer desire Athanasius. There are disciples "enough of his, to please *your itching ears*, who want such impious *2 Tim. iv.* "discourses. I wish this wickedness were confined to Athanasius, *3.* "and his impious school. But you have among you a multitude

(*n*) *Ep. li. p.* 432.

A.D. 362 "of such people. And you may take notice, that whereas before "I banished Athanasius out of Alexandria, I now banish him out of "all Egypt."

9. In a letter to *Ecdicius*, Prefect of Egypt, he says: "Though "(o) you write to me about no other matters, you should however "have writ to me about that enemie of the Gods, Athanasius: e-"specially, when you know, what I have rightly determined. I "swear by the great Serapis, if Athanasius does not depart from the "city, or rather from all Egypt, before the first day of December "next, the cohort under you shall be fined a hundred pounds gold. "You know, how backward I am to condemn, and that I am still "more backward to forgive those, who have been once condemned. "*And in his own hand.* [καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ] It concerns me ex-"tremely, that all the Gods are despised. I desire not to hear so "much of any service of yours, as that you have expelled the wick-"ed Athanasius, out of Egypt, who, under my government, has "been so audacious, as to persuade Greek women, wives of illustri-"ous men, to receive baptism."

10. Surely this, and the other letters, relating to Athanasius, shew, that Julian did not practise that indulgence and moderation toward the Christians, which he sometimes boasted of. For no fault is alleged against Athanasius, except that he was *an enemie of the Gods*, and made converts to Christianity from among the Gentils.

11. However, there is another letter of Julian, which seems to be writ with better temper. It is inscribed to the people of Byzantium, or Constantinople. But *Bleterie (p)* suspects the inscription to be false, and that it was not sent to the people of Byzantium, but of some other place, whose name had some resemblance, and has been mistaken by the transcriber.

"We

(o) *Ep.* vi. p. 276. (p) *Lettres choisies de l'Emp. Julien. p.* 371. &c.

A. D. 361.

"We (q) have reſtored to you all your Senators, and Decurions, "whether they dare Galilæans, or otherwiſe exempted from that "charge." However, perhaps, that was not a privilege, but rather a burdenſome office. The terms of the letter ſeem to lead to that ſenſe. And Bleterie may be again conſulted.

12. We have a letter of Julian (r) to *Arſacius, High-Prieſt of Galatia*. Which is alſo inſerted by Sozomen (s) at length in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. I take a good part of it.

"If (t) Helleniſm does not proſper according to our wiſh, it is the "fault of thoſe who profeſs it.... Why do we not look to that, "which has been the principal cauſe of the augmentation of impie"ty, humanity to ſtrangers, care in burying the dead, and that ſanc"tity of life, of which they make ſuch a ſhow. All which things "I will have to be really practiſed by our people. It is not ſufficient, "that you are unblamable yourſelf. All the prieſts in Gala"tia ought to be ſo likewiſe. I will therefore, that you perſuade, "and even compell all the prieſts in Galatia to live ſoberly. Other"wiſe, do you depoſe them from the prieſtly office, unleſs they and "their wives, and children, and ſervants, do religiouſly worſhip the "Gods: and (u) alſo forbear to converſe with the ſervants, children, and

(q) *Ep. xi. p.* 380.

(r) Ἀρσακίῳ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαλατίας... *Ep.* 49. *p.* 429. *&c.*

(s) *Sozom. l. v. cap.* 16.

(t) Ἑλληνισμὸς δὲν πράττει κατὰ λόγον ἡμῶν, ἅπερ τῶν μετιόντων αὐτόν. *If Helleniſm does not proſper, &c.* That was the ſtile at that time. *Helleniſm* is Heathenism, or Gentiliſm. And Heathens are called *Hellenes*, and *Helleniſts*, by our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, eſpecially, in their hiſtorie of Julian's reign.

(u) *And alſo forbear to converſe with, &c.* ἀλλὰ ἀνέχοιτο τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἢ υἱέων, ἢ τῶν Γαλιλαίων γαμετῶν, διαβάντων μὲν εἰς τὸ θεῖον, ἀθεότητα δὲ θεοσεβείας προτιμώντων. I have attempted a new tranſlation of this place, not being quite ſatisfied with any other, which I have met with. In Spanheim's edition the Latin verſion is: et ne patiantur ſervos, aut filios, aut conjuges Galilaeorum impie in Deos ſe gerentes, et impietatem pietati praeponere. And much to the ſame purpoſe is the Latin tranſlation of this epiſtle in Sozomen, made by Valeſius. Which would be commanding every Heathen prieſt, and his familie, to become

A. D. 363. "and vices of the Galileans, who are impious toward the Gods; "and prefer impiety to religion. You are likewise to order them, "not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exer- "cise any mean and sordid employments. Such as hearken to your "directions you are to encourage: others you are to reject. You "are also to erect hospitals in every city, that strangers also may "share in our humanity: and not only those of our own religion, "but others likewise, if they are necessitous." "He then tells him, "what allowances he had made for that purpose. For, says he, it "is a shame, when there are no beggars among the Jews, and the "impious Galileans relieve not only their own people, but ours al- "so, that our poor should be neglected by us, and be left help- "less and destitute."

13. There is a long fragment of some Oration (x) or Epistle, in which Julian gives many directions for regulating the behaviour and studies of Heathen Priests, and recommends humanity, and near the end, particularly, a regard to the poor, where he says: "This (y) "ought to be carefully attended to, as what may be a good remedie "for the present disorder. For it having so happened, as I suppose, "that the poor were neglected by our priests, the impious Galile- "ans, observing this, have addicted themselves to this kind of hu- "manity. And by the show of such good offices have recommend- "ed the worst of things. For (z) begining with their love-feasts, "and the *ministrie of tables*, as they call it: (for not only the name, "but

Acts vi. 2.

come persecutors. Which cannot be supposed to be probable. Cave, in the Introduction to his History of the Fathers of the fourth centurie, p. 34. *not suffering their servants, children, or wives, to be Galileans, who are despisers of the Gods, and prefer impiety before religion* Which cannot be right. For it is a tautologie, saying over again the same thing, which had been said just before. And yet Blet- terie's translation is much to the same purpose: S' ils souffrent dans leur famille de ces impies de Galiléens.

(x) *Tom. i. p.* 288. *&c.*

(y) *Ibid. p.* 305.

(z) Τὸν αὐτὸν δ' αὐτοῖς τρόπον ἀρξάμενος διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας πραγμάτων κ. λ. *P.* 305. *C. D.*

"but the thing alſo is common among them:) they have drawn A. D. 361.
"away the faithfull to impiety."

There ends the fragment. But it ſeems not to be the concluſion of the piece. As it is plainly defective at the begining, it appears to be ſo likewiſe at the end. Otherwiſe we might have had ſomewhat more, not unworthie of obſervation.

In that fragment, nearer the begining (*a*) he ſays, "he does not "believe any man is the poorer for what he gives to the neceſſitous. "I who have often relieved the poor, have been rewarded by the "Gods manifold: though riches is a thing which I never was in-"tent upon."

It may be hence argued, that the ſcandalous ſtories about the Chriſtian worſhip, and manners, which were ſpread abroad at the firſt riſe of Chriſtianity, were without foundation. Nor were the Chriſtians now charged with them. At leſt Julian never mentions them. And here he celebrates their virtue. However, ſtill, their religion was, with him, very bad. But it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſhould be the *worſt* impiety, which had produced ſuch exemplarie humanity, as to be recommended to Heathen prieſts for a pattern of imitation.

14. I may now take a paſſage or two of Julian, where he expoſeth monkery.

In his ſeventh oration, which is addreſſed to *Heracleas*, a Cynic Philoſopher, Julian tells him, that (*b*) "the Cynics are like that ſort "of men, whom the impious Galileans call renouncers. Many of "whom quitting a ſmall ſubſtance ſcrape together a great deal, or "rather every thing, from all quarters, and arrive at ſuch dignity, "as to ſecure a numerous attendence, and all kinds of reſpect."

15. In

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 288. C.

(*b*) ... ἀποτακτικὰς τινὰς ὀνομάζουσι οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι: τούτων οἱ πλείους μικρὰ πρόιμενοι, πολλὰ πάνυ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα πανταχόθεν συνκομίζουσι, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄκρας τὸ τιμᾶσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων. *Ibid. Or.* vii. p. 224. B.

A. D. 361.

15. In the fragment of the Oration, or Epiſtle, before quoted, he ſpeaks (*e*) of ſome people, who left cities, and retired into deſerts. Whereas, ſays he, man is a ſocial animal. Moreover, as he adds, many of theſe load themſelves with chains and ſhackles. The place is obſcure. But I think he means Chriſtians, foraſmuch as he ſuppoſeth them to be men, who had forſaken the immortal and good Gods. And (*d*) in his Miſopogon he ſpeaks of old women ſitting about ſepulchres.

16. In his letter to the people of Athens he mentions (*e*) *Epictetus*, a Biſhop of Gaul, whom Conſtantius had ſent to him. In (*f*) a fragment of an epiſtle he ſpeaks of Biſhops and Preſbyters of the Galileans.

17. In his Miſopogon, (*g*) a Satyr upon the people of Antioch, in which he ſays what he pleaſeth, both of himſelf and them, are theſe following things, which may be taken notice of.

"I (*b*) ſuppoſe, ſays he, you are very happy, becauſe you have renounced all kinds of ſervitude, firſt to the Gods, then to the laws, and laſtly to me, who am the guardian of the laws."

And ſoon after: "But (*i*) it is ſaid, that Chi and Kappa never did the city any harm. It is hard to know the meaning of this wiſe riddle of yours. But by ſome interpreters of your city we have been informed, they are initial letters of names, the one denoting Chriſt, the other Conſtantius."

"But

(*c*) ... Ἢ ἡ ἐρημία, ἢ κλίνει ἐξιόντα τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἐκ τούτων. Οὕτω πάντα χθὲς ἀνθρώπους ὁ κακὸς συνελάυνει δεσμῶν, ὃ δὲ ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν δεσμοῖς ἀφορήτοις τῷ αἰδίῳ καὶ σωτῆρι θεῷ. κ. λ. P. 288. B.

(*d*) Τοὺς περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένους γραιδίας συνέχομεν. *Miſop.* p. 344. A.

(*e*) Ἀλλ' Ἐπικτήτῳ τινὰ τῶν Γαλλικανῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπεμψα. *Ad. l.* P. 2. *Liban.* p. 286. C.

(*f*) Οἱ μὲν τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἡμῖν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι συγκαλέσαντες *Ep.* 62. p. 450. C.

(*g*) P. 337. &c.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 356. D.

(*i*) Τὸ Χῖ, φησὶν, οὐδὲν ἀδίκημα τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ Κάππα. κ. λ. *Ib.* p. 357. A.

A. D. 361.

"But (k) you love Christ, and esteem him the tutelar patron of "your city, instead of Jupiter, and Apollo of Daphne. . . Many of "you, it seems, I have offended, in a manner all of you, the Se- "nate, the rich, the people. The greatest part of the people, or "rather the whole of them, are offended with me, because they "are in love with impiety, and they see, that I embrace, and adhere "to the religion of my ancestors."

"You (l) say, I wage war with Chi, and you admire Kappa."

Omitting some other things, Julian (m) went on a feast day to pay his homage to the temple of Apollo at Daphne, in the neighborhood of Antioch. But there were neither people, nor sacrifices. The Priest had only a small victim, of his own preparing. Of this Julian complains grievously: that so large a city had not provided some bulls for a sacrifice on that solemnity. "You (n) ought, says he, to "have sacrificed both privatly and publicly. But you let your "wives carry away every thing to the Galileans. And they main- "tain the poor with your goods, and so bring their impiety into "esteem."

It is hence apparent, that Christianity was now the prevailing religion at Antioch.

18. I am disposed to conclude my accounts and extracts of Julian's Orations and Epistles, with a translation of his epistle to the people of Bostra, the chief city in Arabia, of which some notice was

(k) Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε, ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ τοῦ Δαφνέου. . . . Ἐλύπησα δ' ὑμῶν . . ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς, καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν φάναι πάντας, τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν δῆμον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθεται μοι τῷ πολλῷ τοῦ μέρους, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπας ἀθεότητα προσλαμβάνειν, ὅτι τοῖς πατρίοις ὁρᾷ τοὺς ἀγισεύας θεσμοῖς προσκείμενον. *Ibid.* p. 357. *C. D.*

(l) Καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χὶ. σέβει δὲ ὑμᾶς ἴσως τὸ Κάππα. *Ibid.* p. 360. *D.*

(m) *Ibid.* p. 362.

(n) Πρέπον δ' ἦμαι, τῇ πόλει θύειν ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ· καὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐστιάσαι μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκέλευεν ἐνθάδε εἰς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, κ. λ. p. 363. *A.*

A. D. 362. was taken (t) long ago. And before I do that, I am lastly to recite an article of Sozomen, representing the state of things in the time of that Emperour. Sozomen, though sometimes rather too credulous of miracles, was a Lawyer, and a man of good understanding, and great moderation. And therefore his testimonie must deserve a good deal of regard, he being less partial, than some others. He was born in Palestine, and wrote his Ecclesiastick Historie at Constantinople about the year 440.

"This (u) Emperour, says Sozomen, hearing, that Athanasius "held assemblies in the church of the Alexandrians, and that he "boldly taught the people, and brought over many Greeks [or Gen-"tils] to Christianity, he ordered him to leave Alexandria: threat-"ening him with a severe penalty, if he did not go away: pretend-"ing this as a crime: that whereas he had been banished by for-"mer princes, he had without his authority, again taken possession "of the episcopal chair: forasmuch he had not granted leave for "the Bishops who had been banished by Constantius, to return to "their churches, but only to their countrey. When in obedience to "this order of the Emperour he left Alexandria, and the people "were in tears, he said: *It is only a small cloud, which will soon pass away.* "And, says Sozomen, though the Emperour was deter-"mined by all means to restore Hellenism, he judged it imprudent "to compell men by punishments to sacrifice against their will: "for he knew that compulsion was of no avail in things which de-"pended upon mens free choice. Nevertheless he would not per-"mit them to meet together, and offer the usual prayers. There-"fore he took care to banish the Clergie, and Presidents out of ci-"ties; intending by their absence to abolish the assemblies of the "people: when there were none to teach them, nor perform the "accustomed rites: that in length of time, the memorie of their "worships should be lost. His pretense for so doing was, that the

won l

"Clergie

(t) See Cave. Vol. 6. p. 46. 47. (u) Soz. l. 5. cap. 15.

" Clergie excited the people to sedition. Under this pretense he ba- A. D. 364.
" nished *Eleusius* and his friends *sæpe Gæsium*: though there was
" no sedition there, nor any reason to apprehend it. And he re-
" quired, that the people of *Bostra* should by a public decree send
" away from their city, *Titus*, Bishop of their church. For, when
" he had threatned, that if any disturbance happened there, he
" should impute it to the Bishop and his Clergie: Titus thereupon
" sent a letter to the Emperour, assuring him, that the Christians of
" Bostra were equal in numbers to the Greeks, [or Gentils] and that
" they were very quiet, and that paying a regard to his admoniti-
" ons, they had no thought of making any disturbance. From those
" words Julian took occasion to write a letter to the people of Bos-
" tra, in order to incense them against Titus, as having accused
" them, saying: It was not owing to their own good temper, but
" to his exhortations, that they were kept from sedition. Thus ex-
" citing the people to expell him out of their city, as a public ene-
" mie. And it is likely, that there were many such things, partly
" owing to the command of the Emperour, and partly to the vio-
" lence and petulance of the people. But the whole fault of all is
" to be ascribed to the Emperour himself: Who neglected to pu-
" nish, according to the laws, those who out of hatred to our reli-
" gion transgressed in these respects: seemingly reproving them in
" words, but by his actions really exciting them to such irregulari-
" ties. Therefore *(q)* though he did not openly persecute, yet the
" Christians were banished from cities and villages. Of this as ma-
" ny others of my ancestors, so particularly my grandfather was an
" instance. His father was a Gentil. But he and the whole fami-
" ly were converted to Christianity by *Hilarion*. And they were
" the first Christians at *Bethelia*, a populous village near Gaza." So
writes Sozomen, with great discretion, and judgement, as seems
to me.

(q) Ὅθεν καὶ μὴ διώκοντος αὐτὸ, κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐφυγον οἱ Χριστιανοί. τοιοῦτος δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς φυγῆς μετέσχον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων, καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος. x. λ. p. 617. A.

A. D. 362

I now proceed to the letter or edict abovementioned, "Julian to the people of Bostra.

"I (r) imagined, that the Presidents of the Galileans would acknowledge themselves to be under greater obligations to me, than to my predecessor. For in his reign many of them were banished, persecuted, imprisoned. And many of those who are called hereticks, were put to death, particularly, at Samosata, and Cyzicum, in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, and other places, where many villages were plundered, and utterly ruined. In my time it has been quite otherwise. For they who had been banished, are permitted to return home. And all their goods that had been confiscated have been restored by a law of mine. Nevertheless, because they have now no longer power to tyrannize over any, nor to practise their usual violences upon one another, nor upon us the pious worshipers of the Gods, they are become furious: and try every method to raise seditions and disturbances among the people. In which they shew themselves void of fear toward the Gods, and of respect to our edicts, though full of moderation and humanity. For we suffer not any of them to be dragged to the altars against their own choice. And we openly declare, that if any are desirous to partake in our worship, they must first of all offer sacrifices of expiation, and so reconcile themselves to the Gods. So far are we from desiring, that any of the impious should communicate with us, till they have purified their souls by prayers to the gods, and their bodies by the appointed expiations. It is plain therefore, that the Clergie mislead the people for no other reason, but because they are not suffered to lord it over others. For they who have been hitherto accustomed to tyrannise over others, are not satisfied, that they have obtained forgiveness of past crimes: they would still, as formerly, act as judges, make testaments, and appropriate estates to their own use, and bring every

(r) *Ep.* 52 *p.* 435. *etc.*

" every thing to themſelves. For this reaſon they blow up the fire A. D. 361.
" of ſedition among the people. Wherefore we by this edict de-
" clare, and make known to all people, that they joyn not the cler-
" gie in ſeditions, nor be perſuaded by them to throw ſtones, nor
" to diſobey the magiſtrates: but to be contented with ſaying their
" prayers among themſelves in their own aſſemblies. This edict is
" particularly addreſſed to the city of the *Boſtrenes*: becauſe their
" Biſhop *Titus*, and his Clergie, in a petition ſent to me, have ac-
" cuſed their people, as ready to raiſe diſturbances, if not reſtrained
" by their admonitions. I inſert here their own words: *though the*
" *Chriſtians are equal in number to the Gentils, they are ſo reſtrained*
" *by our admonitions, that they are not at all inclined to make any diſ-*
" *turbances.* Theſe are your Biſhops words concerning you. See,
" how he ſays, your good order proceeds not from your own mind:
" and that you have been unwillingly reſtrained by his admonitions.
" Therefore do you willingly, and of your own accord expell him
" out of your city, as your accuſer. Do you live in concord with
" each other. Let no one be an enemie, or injurious to another.
" Let not them who are in errour diſturb thoſe who rightly and
" juſtly worſhip the Gods, according to the tradition handed down
" to us from ancient time. Nor let the ſervants of the Gods diſturb,
" or pillage the houſes of thoſe who err more through ignorance
" than choice. Men ought to be perſuaded and taught by reaſon,
" not by blows, reproaches, and corporal puniſhments. I therefore
" again and again, and often exhort thoſe who embrace the true re-
" ligion, not to abuſe, nor inſult the Galileans. We ought to pity,
" rather than to hate men, who ſuffer the greateſt calamity. For
" indeed true religion is the greateſt good, and on the contrarie,
" impiety is the greateſt of evils. Which calamity they bring upon
" themſelves, who forſaking the immortal Gods, betake themſelves
" to dead men, and their reliques. With thoſe who are ſick we
" ſympathize: and we rejoice with them who obtain deliverance
" from the Gods. Given at Antioch, the firſt day of Auguſt." That
is, in the year of Chriſt, 362. From

A. D. 361. From this edict, as well as from other things, it appears, that Julian was very fond of Helleniſm, or Heatheniſm. And Sozomen's obſervations, above mentioned, appear to be very pertinent. Julian was very ready to lay hold of every pretenſe, and to improve every occaſion, to rid himſelf of the Preſidents of Chriſtian churches: eſpecially ſuch as had an influence with the people. Here we ſee three inſtances of this in *Athanaſius* of Alexandria, *Eleuſius* of Cyzicum, and *Titus* of Boſtra: all of them, men of great diſtinction.

Julian here makes repeated profeſſions of moderation and equity toward the Chriſtians. But the letter bears witneſſe againſt him. *Titus* was one of the moſt learned men of the age. His people were peaceable, and he had exhorted them to be ſo. And yet Julian commands his people to expell him out of their city: under a pretenſe, that his exhortations to a peaceable behaviour implied an accuſation of an unpeaceable temper.

I add no more. The extracts now made, are ſufficient to caſt ſome light upon the circumſtances and ſtate of things in the time of Julian: and to ſhew the real temper of that Emperour, and that he was intent upon extirpating Chriſtianity, and with the greateſt diſpatch. He was a man of great ingenuity, ſobriety of manners, and good natured in himſelf. But his zeal for the religion which he had embraced, was exceſſive, and degenerated into bigotrie, and ſuperſtition: inſomuch that with all his pretenſions to right reaſon, and all his profeſſions of humanity, moderation, tenderneſſe and equity, he has not eſcaped the juſt imputation of being a perſecutor.

I cannot but think, that a review of the hiſtorie of this perſon, of ſhining abilities, and high ſtation, may lead us to ſome ſerious reflexions: particularly it holds out to us this humbling, and uſefull admonition: *Let him that thinks he ſtands, take heed leaſt he fall.* 1 *Cor.* x. 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

HIMERIUS.

"HIMERIUS, the (a) Sophiſt, ſays Suidas, was the ſon of A. D. 363.
" the Rhetorician *Aminius*, and was born at Pruſias in Bi-
" thynia. He lived in the time of the Emperour Julian, and was
" rival of *Proaereſius* at Athens. In his old age he loſt his ſight.
" He made declamations." That is the whole article.

His life was alſo writ by *Eunapius (b)* among other Sophiſts and Philoſophers. But it is ſhort. He ſays, Himerius was born in Bithynia. He ſays, he did not know Himerius, though he lived at the ſame time with him. Julian ſent for him, by whom he was well received. He ſeems to ſay, that Himerius accompanied Julian, ſo long as he lived, and that he did not ſettle at Athens, till after the death of Proaereſius. He commends the ſtile of Himerius, and ſays, he imitated the divine Ariſtides. He lived to a great age, and for ſometime was afflicted with (c) the leproſie. But, perhaps he means, the epilepſie, or falling ſickneſſe.

Cave *(d)* in the Life of St. Baſil, obſerves, " that for the direction
" of his ſtudies he chiefly applied himſelf to *Himerius* and *Proaere-*
" *ſius*, two of the moſt eminent Sophiſts at that time at Athens,
" men renowned for learning and eloquence, and upon that account
" in

(a) V. Ιμέριος.
(b) *Eunap. p.* 129.
(c) . . . τῆς ἱερᾶς νόσου. *p.* 129.
(d) *Lives of the Fathers. p.* 219.

A. D. 363.

"in favour with the Emperour Julian." For which Cave refers to (e) Socrates and Sozomen: who in the ſame place (f) ſay the ſame of Gregorie Nazianzen, and that they afterwards ſtudied under Libanius at Antioch.

Photius has two articles for Himerius. In (g) the firſt of which he has a catalogue of his declamations. In the other (h) he makes ſome extracts out of them. He ſeems to ſay, that (i) Himerius taught ſome while at Corinth. His declamations were in number (k) almoſt ſeventy. One (l) Photius calls a diſſertation at Philippi, when he was there in his way to Julian, who had invited him to come to him. The next is an oration at Conſtantinople, in praiſe of that city, and Julian. One of theſe declamations, or orations, was (m) in praiſe of *Praetextatus*, Proconſul of Greece. To which office he had been appointed by Julian (n) in the year 362. And he continued in it for ſome while under (o) Valentinian.

At the end of the firſt article, having highly commended the ſtile of Himerius, Photius concludes in theſe words: "But (p) though "he

(e) *Socrat. l. 4. cap. 26. p. 242. Soz. l. 6. cap. 27. p. 659.*

(f) . . . νέοι γὰρ ὄντες ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐφοίτων τῶν τότε ἀκμαζόντων σοφιστῶν, Ἱμερίῳ καὶ Προαιρεσίῳ ἀκροαταὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχέων τῆς Συρίας Λιβανίῳ συμφοιτήσαντες, ἀκρῶς τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐξεπόνησαν. *Socr. p. 242.*

(g) *Cod. 165. p. 351. &c.*

(h) *Cod. 243. p. 1075. &c.*

(i) Ἔστι πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους συντακτήριος, ὅτε ἐξῆει εἰς Κόρινθον. *Cod. 165. p. 352. sub fin.*

Καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἐπάνοδον. *p. 353. in. Et vid. ibid. ad fin.*

(k) *P. 353. fin.*

(l) Καὶ διάλεξις ἐν Φιλίπποις, ἔτε ἀπιὼν παρὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλέως καλούμενος· ἔπειτα ῥηθεὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰς αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα. *p. 353. m.*

(m) . . . καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνθύπατον τῆς ἑλλάδος Πραιτεξτάτον, *Phot. p. 353. m.*

(n) Aderat his omnibus Praetextatus, praeclarae indolis gravitatiſque priſcae Senator, ex negotio proprio forte repertus apud Conſtantinopolim, quem arbitrio ſuo Achaiae Proconſulari praefecerat poteſtate. *Ammian. Marc. l. 22. cap. viii. p. 331.*

(o) *Vid. Zoſ. l. 4. p. 735. fin.*

(p) Ἀλλὰ ταῦτος ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀσαφὴς, (ὡς

A. D. 363.

"he was ſo excellent a writer, yet, as to religion he was plainly im-
"pious. And for his reflexions upon the Chriſtians he may be
"compared to a ſnarling dog. He flouriſhed in the time of Con-
"ſtantius, and the moſt impious Julian. And preſided in the ſchool
"of rhetorick at Athens."

They who deſire to know more of Himerius, may conſult (q) Tillemont, and (r) the writers of ancient Univerſal Hiſtorie: and eſpecially Fabricius (s) in the places referred to by me at the bottom of the page. By Cave (t) he is placed at the year 361. I place him at 363.

Himerius muſt be reckoned an example of the moderation of the Chriſtian government at that time. The reign of Julian was ſhort. Himerius lived to a great age. A good part of his time was ſpent under the Chriſtian Emperours, Julian's predeceſſors and ſucceſſors. He was a zealous Gentil, and in favour alſo with Julian. Nevertheleſs he ſuffered not any ill uſage. For a while he taught at Corinth. Afterwards he preſided in the ſchool of rhetorick at Athens. He was a great author, and publiſhed many declamations, writ with elegance: a proof of his high ſpirit, and eaſie circumſtances. And in ſome of them he made free reflexions upon the Chriſtians.

His father, *Aminius*, likewiſe was a Rhetorician, or Sophiſt, and undoubtedly of the Greek religion. He muſt have lived in the times

(ὡς δῆλόν ἐστι) τὴν θρησκείαν εἰ καὶ τὰς λαθραίους μιμεῖται τῶν χριστῶν, καθ' ἡμῶν ὑλακτῶν. Ηκμασε δὲ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ τοῦ δυσσεβεστάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ· καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις κατὰ ῥητορείαν προὔστη διδασκαλείου. *Cod.* 165. *p.* 356.

(q) *Tillem. L'Emp. Julien. art.* 34.

(r) *Vol. xvi. p.* 276.

(s) *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *c.* 30. *T.* 4. *p.* 413. *&c. et l.* 5. *cap.* 38. *Tom.* 9. *p.* 426. *&c.*

(t) *Hiſt. Lit. p.* 346.

A. D. 363. times of Conſtantin, and Conſtantius: under whom he taught rhetorick at Pruſias in Bithynia, without moleſtation, or diſturbance. His ſon, *Himerius*, more eminent, and more famous than himſelf, was one of his ſcholars, and did honour to his ſchool. So, in like manner, *Baſil*, and *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and others, by their oratorical talents, did honour to *Himerius*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THEMISTIUS.

I. *His Time, and Writings, and Character.* II. *Extracts out of his Oration to the Emperour Jovian.* III. *An Account of another Oration addreſſed by Him to Valens.* IV. *Farther Remarks upon his Character.*

I. THEMISTIUS, *(a)* ſurnamed *Euphrades*, or *the fine Speaker*, a Philoſopher, greatly celebrated for his eloquence, was born in *(b)* Paphlagonia, about the year 317. and reached to the year 385. or later. His father was *Eugenius*, likewiſe a profeſſor of philoſophie. A. D. 364. *His Time, and Work*

Beſide thirty ſix Orations (thirty three of which are ſtill remaining, including that to *Valens*, which we have in Latin only) he wrote Commentaries upon Plato and Ariſtotle. Having gained in other

(a) Vide Phot Cod. 73. *p.* 164. *Suid. V.* Θεμίστιος. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap.* 18. *T.* 8. *P. i. &c. Tillemont. H. E. Theodoſ. i. art.* 93. *et* 94. *Univerſal ancient Hiſtorie. Vol. xvi. p.* 346.

(b) Vid. Themiſt. Or. 2. *p.* 28. *D. ed. Harduin. Paris.* 1684.

A. D. 364 places a great deal of reputation for his philosophy and eloquence, he settled at Constantinople, which he made the place of his ordinary residence for the space of near forty years. He was in great esteem with all the Emperours of his time, from Constantius to Theodosius. His first Oration was pronounced before Constantius in 347. By whom he was made Senator of Constantinople in the year 355. By which Senate (c) he was ten times deputed to several Emperours. He (d) had the honour of two brass statues, one of which was erected by order of Constantius in 357. He was made Prefect of Constantinople by Julian in the year 362, and again afterwards by Theodosius in 384.

Some, by mistake, have supposed him to have been a Christian, confounding him with another of the same name. The stile of all his Orations, shews him to be a Heathen. One proof of which may be sufficient. He concludes an Oration, in praise of Gratian, spoken in the Roman Senate, in the year (e) 377. "with (f) an ardent "prayer, to Jupiter, Father of Gods and men, founder and protector of Rome, and to Minerva, and Quirinus, tutelaric demon or "genius of the Roman Empire, that Rome may be loved by the "Emperours, and the Emperour be again be loved by Rome (g)."

He

(c) *Vid. Orat.* 17. *p.* 214. *Or.* 31. *p.* 352. 353.

(d) *Or.* 17. *p.* 214. *Or.* 31. *p.* 353.

(e) *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T.* 8. *p.* 11.

(f) Σὺ δὲ, ἐπάτερ μὲν θεῶν, πάτερ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, Δεῦ Ῥώμης κτίστορ, ἠ πολιοῦχε, ἠ πρόμαχε Ἀθηνᾶ, ἠ Κυρῖνε δαίμων ἐπίτροπε Ῥωμαίων ἠ χαμαιγενῶν, δίδοιτε τοῖς ἐμοῖς παισὶ φιλεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, στρατηγεῖν δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμης. *Or.* 13. *p.* 180.

(g) Mr. *Mosheim* had a fancie, that many learned men about that time made little difference between Gentilism and Christianity, and were willing to join them in one. Among these he placeth *Themistius*. But I see no ground for it. They lived in the time of Christian Emperours, when Christians were numerous in every part of the Empire. They judged it proper to be civil to Christians. Nevertheless, they kept their Gentilism entire. The character of *Themistius* is manifest in the place above cited. And, perhaps, may be still more apparent, before we finish this chapter. Mr. Mosheim's argument may be seen quoted above in Vol. 3. p. 195. 196.

He may be said to have twice quoted the Old Testament, but in a book, with which he was not much acquainted. In the first place he says, "he (g) had observed an elegant saying in the writings of "the Assyrians, that *the mind of the King is held in the hand of God.*" To the like purpose, in another place: "that (h) he had often admired some things in the Assyrian writings. And that particularly, he could not but admire, and commend that saying, which "is some where to be found in them: *The heart of the King is held "in the hand of God.*" There can be no doubt, that (i) by *the writings of the Assyrians* he intends the scriptures of the Old Testament.

A. D. 364.

Prov. xxi. 1.

This may suffice for a general historie of Themistius. Some more particulars will be added hereafter.

And indeed, before I proceed any farther, I would take notice of his article in Suidas. "Who (k) says, he was a Philosopher, who lived in the time of Julian the Apostate, by whom he was made Prefect of Constantinople." And having mentioned divers philosophical works writ by him, he adds, "and (l) dissertations." If by these he does not intend his Orations, he has not mentioned them at all.

On the other hand, Photius begins his article of Themistius, saying, "he (m) had read his 36 political discourses, spoken to the Emperours Constantius, Valens, the younger Valentinian, and Theodosius."

(g) Ἀλλ' ἐγώ ποτε ὑπενόουν ἐν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων γράμμασιν εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς ἄρα ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ διοικεῖται. *Or.* 7. p. 89. *D.*

(h) Ἀλλά τι ἐγὼ θαυμάζω πολλάκις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων· ἆρα οὖν ἐν τούτῳ θαυμάζω, ἢ ἄπαντα; λέγει γάρ που τὰ εἰκότα τὰ γράμματα, ὅτι ἡ βασιλέως καρδία ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ διοικεῖται. *Or.* 11. p. 147. *C.*

(i) Unde, ut cetera huc facientia mittam, Themistius γράμματα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, Assyriorum literas, substituit pro eo, quod est sacra Hebraeorum volumina: ubi scilicet Salomonis laudat dictum, de corde seu mente regis in manu Dei. *Seldenus de Jure naturali et Gentium* l. 1. c. 2. p. 85. *Vol. 1. Londini.* 1720.

(k) Θεμίστιος φιλόσοφος, γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Παραβάτου, ὑφ' οὗ ἐπάρχου προεβλήθη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *Suid.*

(l) . . . καὶ Διαλέξεις.

(m) Ἀνεγνώσθησαν Θεμιστίου λόγοι πολιτικοὶ. *Cod.* 74. p. 164.

A. D. 364. "dosius. After which he mentions his philosophical writings. He "says, his father was *Eugenius*, who (*n*) also was a Philosopher."

He appears to have been greatly esteemed for his learning and eloquence, and other abilities. Among the letters of Gregorie Nazianzen, there are two (*o*) to Themistius, which are very polite and complaisant. He calls him the (*p*) King of eloquence. And says, it (*q*) was that, in which he most excelled, though he excelled in every thing. There is also still (*r*) exstant a very long letter of Julian writ to him. Fabricius (*s*) has made a collection of fourteen letters of Libanius to him. And there are still more among the epistles of Libanius, published by Wolfius. How he was esteemed by the Emperours *Constantius*, *Julian*, *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, he has himself observed in one of his Orations, in a beautifull paragraph (*t*) to which I refer.

Extracts out of his Oration to Jovian.

II. There are two Orations, of which we must take particular notice: one of which is to *Jovian*, or Jovinian, upon his accession after the death of Julian, when also the Emperour was Consul. For which reason it is called a Consular Oration. And I place Themistius, as flourishing at this time. Of this Socrates speaks in this manner: "The (*u*) affairs of the Christians were then in great agi- "tation. For the Presidents of the several sects made addresses to "the Emperour, entreating his support and assistance against those "who differed from them. To whom he made such answers, as "were suitable. For (*x*) the Emperour had formed this determina- "tion, with kind words, and civil usage to compose the dissensions "of

(*n*) . . . ἀνὴρ φιλοσοφίας. *Ibid.*

(*o*) *Gr. Naz. op.* 139. 140. *Tom. i. p.* 865. 866.

(*p*) ἀνὴρ τῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν λόγων. *p.* 866. *A.*

(*q*) *p.* 865. *C.*

(*r*) *Julian. Opp. Tom. i. p.* 253. *edit. Spanhem.*

(*s*) *Bib. Gr. Tom.* 8. *p.* 37. *&c.*

(*t*) *Or.* 31. *p.* 354. *D.*

(*u*) *Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *in p.* 203.

(*x*) Ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς τοιαῦτα ἔσχε, καὶ κεχὴ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐπιτάξεων τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐκδῆλα, φησὶ, μᾶλλον ἐξελθεῖν τὸν ἀνωτέρω κατευθύνειν ἐπιθυμίαν. κ. λ. *ib. p.* 204. 205.

" of all parties. And he declared, that he would give no disturb- A. D.
" ance to any upon account of their opinions. But that he would 364.
" love, and highly esteem those who promoted the peace and unity
" of the churches. That this was his conduct, is attested by The-
" mistius the Philosopher. For in his Consular Oration he com-
" mends the Emperour for allowing to all full liberty to worship the
" Deity according to their own sentiments, thus checking the de-
" signs of flatterers: whom also he ridicules very freely, saying, that
" they worship the purple, not the Deity: and they mightily resem-
" ble the Euripus, which sometimes flows one way, and at other
" times quite the contrarie."

Socrates goes on to say, " That *(y)* the Emperour leaving Antioch,
" went on to Tarsus in Cilicia: where he interred the body of Ju-
" lian. Having finished the funeral solemnities, he intended to go
" to Constantinople, and was got as far as Dadastana, upon the bor-
" ders of Galatia and Bithynia. There Themistius, and others of
" the Senatorian order, met him. And *(z)* he then pronounced
" his Consular Oration, which he afterwards recited at Constanti-
" nople, in the presence of all the people."

Thus I have transcribed from Socrates this authentic account of the oration to Jovian: which must have been pronounced before the Emperour in the begining of the year 364.

I shall now recite a part of the Oration itself. It can by no means be omitted. It has a double claim to our regard: for the relation it has to Christian affairs, and for the excellence of the sentiments. " The *(a)* begining of your care of mankind, says this Senator, is " a law

(y) *Cap* 26. *p.* 205.

(z) "Ενθα δὴ Θεμίστιος ὁ φιλόσοφος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν ἀπαντήσας, τὸν ὑπατικὸν ἐν αὐτῷ διεξῆλθε λόγον, ὃν ὕστερον καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τῶ πλήθει ἐπεδείξατο. *p.* 205. *C.*

(a) Ἔστι καὶ προοίμιον γόμος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελείας ὁ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεία. . . . Μόνος γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι μὴ σπίτας ἔστι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἃ τὴν ἀναγκὴν ἐκπέφευγε, καὶ ἀτιμίας ἐστὶ κρείττω, καὶ ἐπιτάγματος. *Themist. Or.* xii *p.* 67.

A. D. 364. "a law concerning religion. For you alone, as it seems, are not "ignorant, that it is impossible for an Emperour to compell his subjects in all things: and that there are some things above compulsion, and beyond the reach of threatenings and commands; as indeed is every virtue, and especially piety toward God: and that in order to be sincere in it, there must be an unforced disposition of mind, which is in it's own power, and willing of itself. This you have wisely considered. For it is not possible for You, o Emperour, by an edict to make him love you, who is not disposed to it. How much less can you make men pious and religious, by the terrour of human ordinances: a short necessity, and weak fear, which time has often introduced, and often removed? If (b) this fear prevailed, we should only become ridiculous, worshiping the purple, rather than the Deity, and shifting our religion, as often as

"This, (c) o most divine Emperour, is not your case. But, as in other things you are supreme, and ever will be so; you ordain, that the affair of religion should be in every man's power: herein resembling God, who has made the disposition to be religious common to the human nature: but has left the particular way of worship to every man's own choice. And he who introduces force here, takes away that freedom, which God has granted. For this reason the lawes of *Cheops* and *Cambyses* scarcely lasted so long as the lives of those who made them. But (d) the law of God, and your law, remains for ever: that the mind of man be left free to that way of worship, which it thinks best. Nor have fines, or gibbets, or fires, prevailed to abrogate this law. The body indeed

(b) Ἐγὼ ἐπιτυχόντων νόμων ἀκυρωτὴν, ὦ Θεῖε βασιλεῦ, καὶ μὴν ἐφορῶντα μεταβαλλόμενον τὰς ἀγωγάς. p. 67. D.

This, I suppose, is the passage, to which Socrates referred in the place above cited.

(c) Ἀλλ' ἐν σύ γε, ὦ θειότατε βασιλεῦ· ἀλλὰ τἆλλα διατέτακας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν σοὶ εἶναι τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον, τὸν αὐτὸν μιμούμενος ἐκείνῳ τρόπον. κ.λ. p. 68. A.

(d) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σὸς νόμος διαπαντὸς μένει τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ἀπολελύσθαι τὸν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν πρὸς ἣν ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ ἐνστάσεως. p. 68. B.

deed you may gain, or kill, if you please. But the soul will escape, carrying with it the free sentiments of the law, though you may force the tongue." He proceeds to argue, that different sentiments and studies produce emulation, which is of great advantage. "And, perhaps, says he, it is not pleasing to God, that there should be no disagreement among men. For nature, according to Heraclitus, loves to be hid: and above all, the author of nature: whom for this reason we the more reverence and admire, because the knowledge of him is not easie, nor to be attained without a great deal of study and labour. This law I esteem no less than I do the friendship that has been made with the Persians. By that we are freed from a war with Barbarians: by means of this law we live together without contention. We were before worse to one another, than the Persians. Accusations brought against each other from each sect in every city, in the midst of the Commonwealth, were more grievous, than their incursions. The time past, O Emperour, dear to God, affords you evident examples of this. Let the balance remain suspended on itself. Depress it not on either side by your weight. Let prayers be offered up to heaven for the prosperity of your government from all quarters." He then reminds the Emperour, that his armie consists of men of different nations, of different ranks, and offices, and different kinds of armour. "Yet, says he, all are subject to you, and depend upon your pleasure: and not only the militarie men, but likewise all other, who bear no arms, husbandmen, rhetoricians, they who speak, and they who hear, and they who philosophize. Believe, and be persuaded, that the Governour of the universe is even pleased with this variety. It is his will and pleasure, that the Syrians should have their particular institutions, the Greeks theirs, and the Egyptians theirs: and that the Syrians should not all have entirely the same. For even among them are differences. For no man agrees exactly with his neighbour, but one thinks in this way, and

A. D. 364.

A. D. 364 "gether in that. Why then should we attempt by violence to ob-
"tain what is impossible?"

Here is no express mention of the *Christians*. This learned Philosopher, and honourable Senator, though speaking to a Christian Emperour, upon so joyful an occasion: when also he had so good reason of gratitude for so just and excellent a law, and was disposed to commend and praise him for it, has not vouchsafed to make particular mention of the religious sect, which this Emperour professed, and for which he was very zealous. However, none can make any doubt, that he applauds a general toleration allowed by a Christian Emperour. And I suppose, that (*e*) by *Syrians* in the last cited paragraph, we are to understand Christians. For they had their original in Palestine, a branch of Syria. Then, he names them first. The reason of which seems to be respect for the Emperour. The next mentioned are the *Greeks*, the speaker's own sect, or people, and lastly, the *Egyptians*. Besides, he particularly observes, that there were differences even among the *Syrians*. If by these are intended Christians, the consideration must be of weight, to confirm the Emperour in his present moderation toward all men. Finally, this interpretation is supported by the quotation from the Old Testament, which he calls *the writings of the Assyrians*, as seem above.

III. We are now to make inquiries after another Oration, addressed by Themistius to *Valens* in the year 375. Socrates, having related the death of *Valentinian*, goes on: "Valens (*f*) however, still residing at Antioch, was free from foreign "wars.... But he persecuted those who held the Homoüsian doctrine in a most grievous manner; and was every day inventing "greater punishments for them; till (*g*) the philosopher *Themistius* "by

(*e*) *The word is so understood by Petavius. See his notes upon the place. p.* 403.

(*f*) *Socrat. l.* 4. *cap.* 32. *p.* 250.

(*g*) Ἕως δυτῦ τὴν πολλὴν ἀνοσίαν ὁ φιλόσοφος Θεμίστιος μετεστόμωσε τῷ προσφυεστάτῳ

"by a monitorie Oration reduced his great severity to some degree A. D. 364.
"of moderation. In which oration he observed, that the Empe-
"rour ought not to wonder at the diversity of opinions, which there
"was among the Christians. For the diversity among them was
"small, if compared with the multitude and confusion of opinions
"among the Greeks, which were not less than three hundred. And
"it was necessarie, that there should be great variety. And more-
"over, that God was well pleased with the difference of opinions,
"that all men might the more revere his Majesty, because the
"knowledge of him was not obvious, and easie to be attained. These
"and other things having been observed by the Philosopher, the
"Emperour became milder for the future."

To the like purpose Sozomen. "Valens (b) still residing at An-
"tioch in Syria grew more and more bitter toward those who had
"different sentiments from himself. At which time the Philosopher
"Themistius, addressing an oration to him, reminded him, that (i)
"he ought not to wonder at the diversity of ecclesiastical opinions,
"it being less in degree and number, than that which was among
"the Greeks. For among them there was a very great variety of
"opinions." And more to the like purpose, so agreeable to what we have already seen in Socrates, that it needs not to be rehearsed.

But it is greatly to be suspected, that neither of these historians has confined himself to the very words of Themistius. *Christian*, and *ecclesiastical opinions*, or *opinions in the Church*, are phrases, that appear no where in any of this Philosopher's orations now extant, though we have a large part of them.

τῷ λόγῳ ἐργάσατο· ἐν ᾧ μὴ δεῖν ξενίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν Χριστιανικῶν δογμάτων παραινῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ. *Ibid.*

(i) . . παρὼν, μὴ χρῆναι θαυμάζειν τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δογμάτων. *Ibid.*

(b) *Sozom. l. 6. cap. 36. p. 696.*

A. D. 364.

However, the main question is, whether the oration to which these historians refer, be now extant. There is an oration to (k) Valens, in Latin, in which is to be found what those writers say of the necessity and usefulness of different opinions. Valesius in his notes upon the foregoing passage of Socrates, declares himself (l) in favour of the genuineness of it: as (m) does Basnage likewise. Petavius (n) who published an edition of this Philosopher's Orations, does not allow it to be the same, that was spoken to Valens, and assigns many reasons for his judgement: though (o) he was at the pains to translate it into Greek. Fabricius is of opinion, that (pp) the oration, of which Socrates and Sozomen speak, is lost. And he refers to Baronius, as having been before of the same Sentiment. Tillemont (q) says: "We have still in Latin an oration addressed to *Valens*, in which is "what these writers mention. But it is so like to that which we "have in Greek, and was certainly addressed to *Jovian*, that it is "not easie to believe, that Themistius composed both. It (r) is "more

(k) *Orat. xii. p.* 154. *&c.*

(l) Haec oratio Themistii ad Valentem hodie extat Latine edita a Duditio. Nam quod Socrates ait, Themistium in ea oratione locutum esse de discrepantia dogmatum philosophicorum, habetur in versione Duditii. *Vales. in Socrat. p.* 58.

(m) Cum porro Valens majore in dies odio adversus Homousianos aestuaret, quos acerrime vexabat, Themistius furentem oratione placare tentat. Quam Latine olim ab Andrea Duditio publicatam, Graece Petavius vertit. *Basn. ann.* 375. *num.* xiii.

(n) Hanc ipsam esse orationem, quâ in Catholicos exacerbatus Valens a Themistio compellatus, ac mitigatus dicitur, miror aliquam in animum induxisse. *Petav. annot. ad Themist. p.* 459.

(o) Nos, ut jacturam hanc aliqua ex parte sublevemus, Graecam nostram interpretationem pro germana Themistii oratione substituimus. *Petav. ibid. p.* 460.

(p) Alter vero Themistii λόγος προσφωνητικὸς, quo ab illa etiam persecutione Socrates iv. 32. et Sozomenus vi. 36. Valentem scribunt revocatum esse, intercidit, ut recte Baronius ad A. C. 374. num. ix. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T.* 8. *p.* 10.

(q) *L'Emp. Theodos. art.* 94. *H. des Emp. Tom. v.*

(r) Il y a plus d'apparence, que le veritable discours à Valens estant perdu, on

"more probable, that the true oration to *Valens*, being loſt, ſome A. D.
"perſon left out that which was peculiar to Jovian, the better to 364.
"accommodate the whole to Valens."

There can therefore be no good reaſon, why I ſhould be at the pains to make extracts out of this Latin oration; though the truth of what is writ by Socrates and Sozomen ought not to be conteſted. Themiſtius did addreſs an oration to Valens, recommending moderation. And the Emperour was mitigated. He was milder in the puniſhments inflicted upon thoſe who differed from him. Some were only baniſhed, who otherwiſe might have been put to death.

IV. We may now, I think, ſee what judgement ought to be made of this Philoſopher, and Senator: He was eminent for learning, and eloquence, eſteemed by all learned men in general, both Chriſtians, and others. In favour with all the Emperours, in whoſe time he lived. Excepting Julian, they were all Chriſtians. And (*s*) they were all flattered by him. But it does not appear, that he was at all inclined to embrace the Chriſtian ſentiments. Nevertheleſs he may have been a very uſefull man. For during his abode at Conſtantinople he educated many young perſons in the knowledge of the polite arts and ſciences. Moderation was for the intereſt of Gentiliſm at that time. Such principles were approved and embraced by this Philoſopher, and recommended by him upon proper occaſions. *Jovian* was handſomly commended by him for his law of general

a retranché de l'autre ce qui eſtoit particulier à Jovien pour l'accommoder à Valens. . . . Le P. Harduin n'en a pas voulu dire un mot. *Tillem. ibid.*

(*s*) Il y a peu de faits dans ſes eloges. Mais on y trouve des maximes aſſez belles, et il prend preſque toujours un caractere d'un homme d'honneur. Cependant, quoiqu'il ſe declare grand ennemi des flateurs, je ne vois pas, qu'on le puiſſe excuſer de l'avoir eſte luy-meſme. Car les diſcours, qu'il fait aux Empereurs ſont tous eloges, ſouvent mal fondez. Et Valens y paroiſt auſſi-bon, et auſſi grand que Theodoſe. *Id. ib.*

A. D. 364. neral toleration for all opinions, including Gentilism, and the several sects among Christians. The same sentiments were recommended by him afterwards to *Valens*, from the same just, and equitable, and forcible reasons and considerations. And not altogether without effect. The severity of that bigoted Prince toward *Homoiusians* was mitigated, and they had a benefit by it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

LIBANIUS.

I. *His Time, Works, and Character.* II. *Extracts out of his Epiſtles.* III. *Extracts out of his other Works.* IV. *His Oration for the Temples, to the Emperour Theodoſius, in the year* 390. *tranſlated from the original, with notes.* V. *General, and concluding obſervations upon that Oration.*

LIBANIUS *(a)* a celebrated Sophiſt of the fourth centurie, flouriſhed under Conſtantius, and the following Emperours, till the time of Theodoſius the Great. He was born at Antioch in Syria, in the year of Chriſt 314. or 315. He taught Rhetorick for ſome while at Conſtantinople, and afterwards at Nicomedia. About the year 354. he came to his native place, Antioch: where he reſided, for the moſt part, the remainder of his life. A. D. 370.

He

(a) *Liban. De vitâ ſuâ. Eunap. de Vitis Philoſoph. et Sophiſt. Phot. Cod. xc. p.* 209. *Suid. V.* Λιβάνιος. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. Tom. vii. p.* 378. *&c. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. iv. Julien. art.* 36 37. *Le Clerc. Bib. Anc. et Mod. T. iii. p.* 353. *&c. Bib. Raiſonnée. T.* 24. *p.* 177. *&c. Bib. Germanique. T.* 47. *p.* 1. *&c.*

A. D. 370. He is placed by Cave at the year 360. I place him at the year 370, at which time he was conſiderably above fifty years of age. When he wrote his Life, he was in the ſixtieth year of his (b) age. He ſpeaks of his being fifty years old, in the time of (c) Jovian, who ſucceeded Julian, and in the time of Valens (d) 57. In a letter to Priſcus, he ſays, he (e) was ſeventy ſix years old. Which he could not be, before the year of our Lord 390. or 391. and near the end of the reign of Theodoſius, before mentioned, who died in 395.

He was the author of many works, ſtill exſtant. His letters, which were very numerous, are particularly recommended by (f) Eunapius, and (g) Photius. And the late Mr. Wolfius, in our time, has made a large collection of them, amounting to the number of more than ſixteen hundred: the greateſt part of which are unqueſtionably genuine, and very entertaining.

Libanius was a great admirer of Julian, fond of Gentiliſm, and averſe to Chriſtianity, but not an enemie to all Chriſtians. He did not embrace Chriſtianity, having been educated in great prejudices againſt it, and having never examined it's evidences. Nevertheleſs I cannot but eſteem him an uſefull man. For, as Socrates (h) acknowledgeth, he was an excellent Sophiſt. And he was continually employed in teaching polite literature, and had many ſcholars: ſome of whom were afterwards men of great eminence. Among them Socrates (i) and Sozomen (k) reckon *John Chryſoſtom, Theodore* of *Mopſueſtia, and Maximus*, Biſhop of Seleucia in Iſauria.

And Sozomen ſays, that when Libanius was dying, and his friends aſked him, whom he would have to ſucceed him in his ſchool, he ſaid, "he (l) ſhould have choſen *John*, [Chryſoſtom] but the Chriſtians

(a) *De Vitâ ſuâ. p.* 19.
(c) *Ibid. p.* 46.
(d) *Ibid. p.* 48.
(e) Τὰ δὲ σώματα, ἐξ μὲν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γέγονα. *Ep.* 866. *p.* 405.
(f) *In Libanii Vit. p.* 133.
(g) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 212.
(b) Ἐγὼ δὲ σοφιστὴν μὲν αὐτὸν ἄριστον γεγενῆσθαι φημί. *Socr. l.* 3. *cap.* 23. *in.*
(i) *Vid. Socrat. l.* 6. *cap.* 3.
(k) *Soz. l.* 8. *cap.* 2. *p.* 757. *A. B.*
(l) . . . λέγεται Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ Χριστιανοὶ τοῦτον ἐσύλησαν. *Id. ib. p.* 756. *B.*

ſtians had got him. . . He ſays, in one of his Epiſtles, that *(m)* Philoſophers are to be reſpected next after the Gods. For they are next to them in dignity. Recommending *Letoïus* to Eutocius, he ſays: "Letoïus (*n*) is my friend, becauſe he is a good man, and ex-"ceeds what might be expected from one in his ſtation. By pro-"feſſion he is a ſoldier, but in his mind he is well affected to litera-"ture, and to thoſe who make that their ſtudie." Theſe, and many other like things, in his writings, ſhew, how deſirous Libanius was to promote learning and knowledge. A. D. 370.

Eunapius ſays, that (*o*) Libanius, was well qualified for public offices in the ſtate, and that one of the Emperours, in whoſe time he lived, meaning Theodoſius the Great, beſtowed upon him, the honorarie title of Prefect of the Praetorium, the higheſt office in the Empire. But Libanius declined it, ſaying, that the title of Sophiſt was more honourable. We may obſerve him in his Epiſtles expreſſing the ſame *(p)* ſentiment. And by the force of his eloquence he appeaſed two Emperours, Julian and Theodoſius, when they were much offended with the people of Antioch. His pathetic orations upon both theſe occaſions are ſtill *(q)* exſtant. However, undoubtedly, there were others beſide him, who joyned together in mitigating the diſpleaſure of thoſe Emperours.

Divers letters of our Sophiſt are writ to Chriſtians, and Chriſtian Biſhops. Indeed the correſpondence between Him and *Baſil*, conſiſting

(*m*) φιλοσόφους, ὦ μακάριε, μετὰ τοὺς Θεοὺς θεραπεύειν, ἐγγὺς ὄντας τῶν Θεῶν. *Ep.* 1524. *p.* 649.

(*n*) Λητόϊος ἡμῖν φίλος ἐστὶν, ἀπὸ τῆ χρείττων τῆ χρήματος, ἐν ᾧ ζῇ. Ζῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐν στρατιώτου μόρῳ, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ μετὰ τῶν περὶ λόγους ἐστίν. *Ep.* 433. *p.* 221.

(*o*) Ἱκανὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ πολιτικοῖς ὁμιλῆσαι πράγμασι . . . *Eunap. ib. p.* 135.

(*p*) Ἐμοὶ χῆμα μὲν ἀρχῆν ὁ λόγος, δι' ὃ δὲ ὐδεπώποτε ταπεινότερον ἡγησάμην ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῶν, ὧν ἡ λαμπρότης ὅρκος τοῖς κόλαξι. *Ep.* 18. *p.* 7.

(*q*) *Legatio ad Julianum. T.* 2. *p.* 151. *Ad Theodoſ. Imp. de Seditione Antiochena p.* 389. *&c. Vid et ad Theodoſ. Antiochenis reconciliatum. p.* 406. *&c.*

A. D. 376.

sisting (r) of more than 20 letters, is (s) suspected. And I think, not to be genuine. There is also a letter (t) to *John*, by whom many learned men suppose to be meant *Chrysostom*. But Valesius (u) hesitates, and I think, with good reason. There is also one letter (x) to *Athanasius*, by whom may be intended the celebrated Bishop of Alexandria: another (y) to *Amphilochius*, *Bishop*. Wolfius makes no doubt, that hereby is intended *Amphilochius*, Bishop of Iconium. The (z) letter, next following, is inscribed *to Optimus, appointed Bishop*. Hereby may be meant *Optimus*, who for some while was Bishop of Antioch in Pisidia: who likewise, as appears from this letter, was disciple of Libanius, and had been chosen Bishop without his own consent. In (a) a letter to *Olympius*, Libanius recommends *Heliodorus*: whom, Wolfius supposeth to be the Author of the Ethiopicks, and a Christian. There is also (b) a letter of our author to *Heliodorus*, supposed to be the same. Concerning him may be consulted (c) Fabricius. Photius (f) gives an agreeable account of the Ethiopicks. When *Heliodorus* wrote that work, he was a Christian. And it is supposed, that afterwards he was a Bishop.

Extracts out of his Epistles.

II. I cannot forbear to take particular notice of some of our Sophist's letters. Good sentiments may be observed in several of them.

1. He expresseth himself very agreeably concerning forgiveness of injuries, and readiness to be reconciled, in a letter to (g) *Ulpian*, a part of which I shall transcribe here. "I am glad, that you have the "Emperour's good will. [meaning *Jovian* as is supposed:] I con- "clude

(r) *Ap. Wolf. ep.* 1580. . . 1605.

(s) *Vid. Garnor. de Vita S. Basilii. cap.* 39.

(t) *Ep.* 1576.

(u) *In notis ad Sozom. l.* 6. *cap.* 3. *p.* 75.

(x) *Ep.* 691. *p.* 331.

(y) *Ep.* 1226. *p.* 581.

(z) *Ep.* 1227. *p.* 582.

(a) *Ep.* 437. *p.* 222.

(b) *Ep.* 595. *p.* 286.

(c) *Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. vii. T.* 6. *p.* 784.

(f) *Cod.* 73. *p.* 157.

(g) *Ep.* 1138. *p.* 542.

"clude it from your being ſtill in the magiſtracie. For without that A. D.
"you could not have this. If the difference between you and Se- 370.
"leucus is made up, ſo much the better. If not, by Jupiter let it
"be brought to an end without delay. If you was the firſt author
"in the injurie, it is fit, you ſhould be the firſt author of peace. If
"the fault is on his ſide, the greater honour will you have from a
"reconciliation. It is not he who avengeth an injurie, whom we
"admire, but he who has power to avenge it, and does not. The
"former belongs to barbarians, and wild-beaſts: the later to Greeks,
"and Athenians, and ſuch as reſemble the Gods. Call to mind
"him, whoſe death has coſt you ſo many tears: and perhaps you
"will find, that he forgave many men offenſes, which were not
"ſmall, and greater than thoſe, which have cauſed a difference be-
"tween you."

2. There is another letter *(h)* equally pleaſing, writ upon the ſame ſentiments, and in the time of Julian, and in favour of a Chriſtian. "*Orion*, ſays he, was my friend, when he was in proſperity. And "now he is in affliction, I have the ſame diſpoſition toward him. "If he thinks differently from us concerning the Deity, he hurts "himſelf, being deceived: but it is not fit, that his friends ſhould "look upon him, as an enemie."

He goes on to diſſuade againſt treating *Orion* with ſeverity. It is indeed a curious letter. Upon which Wolfius *(i)* has made remarks, and Le Clerc *(k)* yet more. *Orion* was plainly a Chriſtian, as appears not only from this, but alſo from another letter *(l)* of Libanius. In the time of his proſperity, it is likely, he had done ſome things to the detriment of Helleniſm, which were liable to reſentment in the reign of Julian. But Libanius extenuates his fault, and endeavors to mitigate his ſufferings.

(*h*) *Ep.* 730. *p.* 349.
(*i*) *Vide Notas, p.* 349.
(*k*) *Bib. A. et M. Tom.* 3. *p.* 366. *&c.*
(*l*) *Ep.* 673. *p.* 322.

A. D. 370.

3. Wolfius (*m*) juſtly conſiders theſe letters as proofs of the equity of Libanius toward Chriſtians.

His Character.

4. It muſt be owned, I think, that Libanius was of a friendly diſpoſition, good-natured, tender-hearted, and compaſſionate. And I would farther obſerve here, that though he ſometimes ſpeaks with great diſlike, and even with indignation againſt the Chriſtians, calling them *profane*, and *impure*, and the like: he never adopts the language of Julian, or calls them *Galileans*, though Julian never ſpoke of them under any other denomination.

5. I would here mention another obſervation upon our Author. I do not perceive, that he had read the books of the New Teſtament: I may add, nor the Old, that I can diſcern. Wolfius thinks, that (*n*) in one of his letters publiſhed by him, Libanius alludes to St. Paul's epiſtle to the Epheſians. iv. 26. *Let not the ſun go down upon your wrath.* And thence he concludes, that (*o*) Libanius had read the books of the New Teſtament. But it ſhould be conſidered, that that letter is one of the letters to *Baſil*, which are not known to be genuine, and, probably are not.

6. Libanius, formerly quoted by us (*p*) paſſed a judgement upon the writings of Julian and Porphyrie againſt the Chriſtians: preferring the work of Julian to that of Porphyrie. Whence ſome may argue, that he muſt have been well acquainted with the books of the New Teſtament, and the principles contained in them. But I do not think, there is any proof of this. The judgement of Libanius upon that controverſie is of no value. And might be founded, ſuch as

(*m*) Notanda eſt haec epiſtola, tanquam index aequitatis, quâ Libanius in Chriſtianos uſus eſt. *Not.* (19.) *ad ep.* 673. *p.* 323.

(*n*) ... πῶς ἄλλοις κηρύττων μὴ χρῆναι μίχρι δυσμῶν ἡλίου λύτρον φυλάττειν, αὐτὸς ἐν πολλοῖς ἡλίοις ἐφύλαξας. *Ep.* 1586. *p.* 721.

(*o*) Vult omnino illa S. Pauli Eph. iv. 26. Ex his, itemque aliis locis, patet, Libanium ſacros Novi Teſtamenti libros evolviſſe. *Wolf. lb. in not. p.* 721.

(*p*) *See before. p.* 46.

as it was, upon only a very general knowledge of Christianity, of which he could not be destitute. In short, our Sophist, with all his discernment in many other things, being prejudiced, and conceited, shut his eyes against the evidences of the Christian Religion, and would not examine them: nor vouchsafe to read, with any attention, the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, who had not the reputation of being skilled in Greek learning. A. D. 379.

III. I shall now make some extracts out of his other works. *Extracts from his other Works.*

1. In a panegyrick upon Julian, at the begining of the year 363. when Julian was for the fourth time Consul, he says of him: "By "(q) the guidance of philosophie he soon wiped off the reproach of "impiety, and learned the truth, and acknowledged those for Gods, "who were such indeed, instead of him, who was only thought to "be so. That day I call the begining of liberty to the world."

2. In a funeral Oration upon Julian, he gives this account of his conduct in religious matters, when he came to be sole Emperour, after the death of Constantius. "Having, (r) as he says, paid all "honours due to Constantius, he began with remedying matters re-"lating to the Gods, sacrificing in the view of all, and expressing "his satisfaction in those who followed him, and deriding those who "did not, and endeavouring to persuade them to imitate him, but "without compulsion. Indeed, they who were in wrong senti-"ments, were filled with fear, and expected pulling out of eyes, "beheadings, and rivers of bloud, flowing from innumerable slaugh-"ters: and that this new Lord would find out new ways of torture: "and

(q) Φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἡμῖν, ᾗ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκείνης παρακύψαντα λειμῶνα, δόξαν περὶ τῶν θεῶν παράσημον οὐκ ἐπὶν περιφέρειν· ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τὴν κηλίδα διέρρυψε, καὶ τοὺς ὄντας, ἀντὶ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐπέγνω· πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγαμένη φιλοσοφίᾳ χρησάμενος. Ἐκείνην ἐγὼ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας τῇ γῇ καλῶ. κ. λ. *Panegyr. Imp. Juliano Cos. dictus, Or.* 8. *T.* 2. *p.* 234. *C. Conf. Or.* 10. *p.* 265. *A.*

(r) *Concio Funebr. super Juliani Imp. nece Or.* x. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 289. *D.* 290. 291. *et ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. vii. Parentalis in Julian. Imp. cap.* 58. 59. *p.* 283. *&c.*

A. D. 370. "and that fire and ſword, and drowning, and burying alive, and amputation of limbs, would be trifling things. Such (s) things had been practiſed by thoſe who went before. But now more grievous things were exſpected. But Julian diſſented from thoſe who had practiſed ſuch things, as not obtaining the end aimed at: and he was ſenſible, that no benefit was to be exſpected from ſuch violence. For men laboring under diſeaſes of the body, may be relieved by bandages. But a falſe opinion about the Gods is not to be expelled by cutting and burning. And if the hand ſacrificeth, the mind reproves the hand, and condemns the infirmity of the body, and ſtill approves what it approved before. There is only an appearance of a change, but no real alteration of ſentiment. Moreover, they who comply, are pardoned afterwards, and they who dye [under torture] are honoured as Gods."

"Conſidering (t) therefore theſe things, and obſerving likewiſe, that their affairs had been encreaſed by ſlaughters, he declined what he could not approve of. Thus he brought over all to the truth, who were to be perſuaded: but did not compell thoſe who were in love with falſhood. However, he did not ceaſe to call to them, and ſay: Whither do you run? Are you not aſhamed to think darkneſſe brighter than light? ... They who were of the ſame ſentiments, were dearer to him than his kindred: eſteeming him his friend, who was a friend to Jupiter, and him his enemie, who was an enemie to Jupiter: or rather eſteeming him his friend, who was a friend to Jupiter, but not every one his enemie, who was an enemie to Jupiter. For ſuch as he thought might be changed in time, he did not reject, but by good uſage gained upon them. And though they refuſed at firſt, he brought them at length to danſe about the altars."

Upon

(s) Ταυτὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπράχθη τε πολὺ δὴ τότων ἀπωκίζετο χαλεπώτερα. κ. λ. p. 290. B.

(t) Ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθεὶς, καὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ ἐκόντων, ἐρυγεῖν ἃ κατεμέμφετο. p. 290. C.

Upon this paſſage I may be allowed to make ſome remarks. 1.) Here is an acknowledgement, that in times paſt, under Heathen Emperours, Chriſtians had undergone very ill uſage. 2.) And that under thoſe ſufferings their numbers had encreaſed, and their religion had proſpered. This could never be ſaid of Helleniſm. 3.) Here is a reference to ſome cuſtoms of the Chriſtians. They who were overcome by tortures, and other ſufferings, in time of perſecution, afterwards acknowledged their weakneſſe, and upon due humiliation were pardoned. They who perſevered and died for their religion, were honoured as Martyrs, or as Gods, as he repreſents it. 4.) Libanius has here produced good reaſons againſt perſecuting men upon account of religious ſentiments. 5.) It is intimated, that Julian, by his management prevailed upon many, and made more than a few converts to Gentiliſm. 6.) This account of Julian's conduct, as I apprehend, may be conſidered, as intended, partly at leſt, to be an apologie for him to Heathen people. Upon Julian's acceſſion, the Chriſtians feared a heavie perſecution. And there were alſo, as it ſeems, a good number of Heathens, who wiſhed, and expected to ſee the Chriſtians treated with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. And ſome there were, who gave ſuch counſel, and adviſed him to act in that manner. The better to ſatisfy ſuch perſons, Libanius argues againſt the ſeverities of perſecution, and ſhews, that milder methods were not without effect. A. D. 370.

IV. I muſt now give a particular account of an *Oration* of Libanius, entitled (*u*) *for the Temples*. It is addreſſed to *Theodoſius* the Firſt, or the Great, who then had for his collegue in the Empire *Valentinian* the Second, or the Younger. James Gothofred (*x*) the publiſher of this Oration, has endeavored to determine the time of it. He *His Oration for the Temples.*

(*u*) Λιβανιε λογος υπερ των ιερων.

(*x*) *Libanii Antiocheni pro Templis Gentilium non exſcindendis, ad Theodoſium M. Imp. Oratio: nunc primum edita a Jacobo Gothofredo J. C. notiſque illuſtrata Genevae.* 1634.

A. D. 370. He argues from divers notes of time in the Oration itſelf, that (*) it muſt have been writ after the year 388. and before 391. and very probably in the year 390. Nevertheleſs Mr. Tillemont has ſince argued, that (y) it might be writ in the year 384. And Gothofred himſelf has alſo ſince ſaid, that (‡) this Oration was writ in the year 387. if that be not a fault of the impreſſion, as I think it muſt be. I do not think it needful for me to enter here into a debate upon this point. Gothofred's argument in his Notes has an appearance of probability. And I may obſerve ſome characters of time in my own notes upon the Oration, as we paſs along.

Whether this Oration was ſpoken to Theodoſius, may be queſtioned. For though Libanius ſeems to ſpeak to the Emperour, as preſent; it cannot be thence certainly concluded, that he was ſo, becauſe Libanius expreſſeth himſelf in a like maner in ſome other orations, when it is plain, the Emperour was abſent, as Gothofred has obſerved.

The occaſion of the Oration was this. In the reign of Theodoſius ſeveral Heathen Temples, ſome of them very magnificent, were pulled down and deſtroyed in the cities, and eſpecially in countrey-places, by the Monks, with the conſent and connivance, as Libanius intimates, of the Biſhops, and without expreſs order of the Emperour to that purpoſe. Of this Libanius complains, and implores the Emperour's protection, that the Temples may be preſerved.

Throughout the whole Oration Libanius profeſſeth himſelf a Heathen, and worſhiper of the Gods, and takes great liberty with a Chriſtian Emperour. Nevertheleſs it will be of uſe to us upon many accounts. We ſhall ſee, particularly, the ſtate of Chriſtianity and Gen-

(*) *Vide Gothofred notas in Oration. Libanii. p.* 37. . . 40.

(y) *See H. E. L'Emp. Theodoſe. t. art. xviii. et note xvi.*

(‡) Quae [ſacrificia] paullo ante hanc Legem Romae ſtetiſſe Libanius diſerte teſtatur oratione, quam edidi ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, quae ſcripta eſt anno D. 387. *Goth. in Cod. Theod. T. 6. p.* 272.

Gentiliſm at that time: How the Heathens argued againſt the Chriſtians, and how the Chriſtians defended themſelves. A. D. 370.

As almoſt every part of this Oration is of ſome moment to us, and the original is uncommon, I intend to make a literal tranſlation of the whole **.

At the bottom of the pages, under the tranſlation, I ſhall place ſome notes, by way of explication, chiefly taken from *Gothofred*, the editor of it. I ſhall likewiſe put the pages of his edition in the margin, that the tranſlation may be the more eaſily compared with the original by ſuch of the curious, who are poſſeſſed of it. And at the end I ſhall add ſuch remarks, as are eſpecially ſuited to our deſign.

" Having already, o Emperour, often offered advice which has *P.* 6.
" been approved by You, even when others have adviſed contrarie
" things; I come to You now upon the ſame deſign, and with the
" ſame hopes, that now eſpecially You will be perſuaded by me.
" But if not, do not judge the ſpeaker an enemie to your intereſts,
" conſidering, beſide other things, the (z) great honour, which You *P.* 7.
" have

** *At firſt I intended to tranſlate the greateſt part of the Oration, and give an abſtract of the reſt. But upon conſulting my good friend, Dr.* WARD, *the late learned Profeſſor of Rhetorick at Greſham College, London; he recommended a tranſlation of the whole, and the publication of the original Greek with it, as the Oration is very ſcarce. Accordingly, I have followed his advice, ſo far as to tranſlate the whole. Which tranſlation was made by me, and then kindly reviſed and corrected by Dr. Ward, ſeveral years before his deceaſe, which happened in the year* 1758. *For this work has been long in hand: I may ſay, almoſt half a centurie.*

(z) The honour here referred to, as Gothofred obſerves, was that of *Praefectus Praetorio*, which Libanius had received by a commiſſion or patent from Theodoſius. It was the higheſt office at that time under the Emperour. After the diviſion of the Empire, there were four of theſe Prefects, two in the Eaſtern, and two in the Weſtern Empire, who commanded as Vicegerents of the Emperour.

But

A. D. 370. "have conferred upon me, and that it is not likely, that he who is "under ſo great obligations, ſhould not love his benefactor. And "for that very reaſon I think it my duty to adviſe, where I appre- "hend I have ſomewhat to offer, which may be of advantage. For "I have no other way of ſhewing my gratitude to the Emperour, "but by orations, and the counſel delivered in them."

"I ſhall indeed appear to many to undertake a matter full of "danger in pleading with You for the Temples, that they may ſuf- "fer no injurie, as now they do. But they who have ſuch appre- "henſions, ſeem to me to be very ignorant of Your true character.

P. 8. "For I eſteem it the part of an angrie and fevere diſpoſition, for "any one to reſent the propoſal of counſel, which he does not ap- "prove of: but the part of a mild, and gentle, and equitable diſ- "poſition, ſuch as Yours is, barely to reject counſel not approved "of. For when it is in the power of him, to whom the addreſſe "is made, to embrace any counſel, or not; it is not reaſonable to "refuſe a hearing, which can do no harm: nor yet to reſent and "puniſh the propoſal of counſel, if it appear contrarie to his own "judgement: when the only thing that induced the adviſer to men- "tion it, was a perſuaſion of it's uſefulneſſe."

"I entreat you, therefore, o Emperour, to turn Your counte- "nance to me, while I am ſpeaking, and not to caſt Your eyes "upon thoſe, who in many things aim to moleſt both You and "me: foraſmuch as oftentimes a look is of greater effect, than all "the force of truth. I would farther inſiſt, that they ought to per- "mit me to deliver my diſcourſe quietly, and without interruption: "and then, afterwards they may do their beſt to confute us by "what they have to ſay. [*Here is a ſmall breach in the Oration. "But he ſeems to have begun his argument with an account of the*

"ori-

But I ſuppoſe, that the honour conferred upon Libanius was only the title of an office, without the adminiſtration. This muſt be what Eunapius means. *Vita Libanii. ſub fin.* Τὸν γὰρ τῆς ἀνατῆς ὕπαρχον μέχρι προσηγορίας ἔχειν ἐκέλευον· ἐπὶ ἐδίξατο, φάσας, τὸν σοφιστὴν εἶναι μείζονα. *p.* 135.

" *origin of temples, that they were firſt of all erected in countrey-pla-* A. D.
" *ces.*] Men then having, *as he goes on*, at firſt ſecured themſelves 370.
" in dens and cottages, and having there experienced the protecti-
" on of the Gods, they ſoon perceived, how beneficial to mankind
" their favour muſt be. They therefore, as may be ſuppoſed, erec-
" ted to them ſtatues and temples, ſuch as they could in thoſe early
" times. And when they began to build cities, upon the encreaſe
" of arts and ſciences, there were many temples on the ſides of
" mountains, and in plains. And in every city [*as they built it,*]
" next to the walls were temples and ſacred edifices raiſed, as the
" begining of the reſt of the body. For from ſuch governours *P.* 9.
" they expected the greateſt ſecurity. And, if You ſurvey
" the whole Roman Empire, You will find this to be the caſe
" every where. For (*a*) in the city next to the *(b)* greateſt, there
" are ſtill ſome (*c*) temples, though they are deprived of their ho-
" nours: a few indeed out of many, but yet it is not quite deſti-
" tute. And with the aid of theſe Gods, the Romans fought, and
" conquered their enemies: and having conquered them, they em-
" proved their condition, and made them happier, than they were
" before their defeat: leſſening their fears, and making them part-
" ners in the privileges of the Commonwealth. And *(d)* when I
" was a child, he (*e*) who led the Gallic armie, overthrew him that

(*a*) . . . ἐπὶ καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν μεγίστην πρώτῃ.

(*b*) He means Conſtantinople, called by Libanius in other orations alſo, *the ſecond city after the greateſt of all: the greateſt city after Rome*, and the like. Hence it appears, that this Oration, was not written, or ſpoken at *Conſtantinople*, but at ſome other place.

(*c*) He means the ancient temples of *Byzantium*, before Conſtantin the Great enlarged it, and called it after his own name *Conſtantinople*.

(*d*) Libanius ſeems there to ſpeak of the *Licinian* war. And being born in the year 314. or 315. he muſt have been a child at that time, in 323.

(*e*) He means Conſtantin, who came from Gaul, with Gallic forces, when he conquered Maxentius in 312. The ſoldiers of the ſame country are here ſuppoſed by Libanius to have been the ſtrength of Conſtantin's armie, when he fought with Licinius.

A. D. 370. "had affronted him; they having firſt prayed to the Gods for ſucceſſe, before they engaged. But (f) having prevailed over him, "who at that time gave proſperity to the cities, judging it for his "advantage to have another Deity, ἡγησάμενος αὐτῷ λυσιτελεῖν ἕτερόν "τινα νομίζειν Θεόν, for the building of the city, which he then (g) "deſigned, he made uſe of the ſacred (h) money, but made no al-
P. 10. "teration in the legal worſhip. The temples indeed were empo-"veriſhed, but the rites were ſtill performed there. But when the "Empire came to his (i) ſon, or rather the form of Empire, for the "government was really in the hands of others, who from the be-"gining had been his maſters: and to whom he vouchſafed equal "power with himſelf. He therefore being governed by them, even "when he was Emperour, was led into many wrong actions, and "among others to forbid ſacrifices. Theſe his couſin (k) poſſeſſed "of every virtue, reſtored. What he did otherwiſe, or intended to "do, I omit at preſent. After his death in Perſia, the liberty of "ſacrificing remained for ſome time. But at the inſtigation of ſome "in-

(f) Libanius ſuppoſes Conſtantin not to have been converted to Chriſtianity, till after the defeat of Licinius in 323 though he really was a Chriſtian many years before. "But, *ſays Gothofred in* "*his notes at p.* 43. I know not how it "comes to paſs, the Gentil writers pre-"tend, that Conſtantin was not a Chri-"ſtian, till after the Licinian war. So "Zoſimus, lib. 2. p. 685. The reaſon "of which I ſuſpect to be, that, if Con-"ſtantin did not ſo long approve of ſouth-"ſaying, which yet Zoſimus ſays he did, "he bore with it, as ſeveral of his edicts "ſhew. *l.* 1. *Cod. Th. de Paganis. l.* 1. 2. "3. *C. Th. de Maleficis et Mathematicis:* "as alſo becauſe from that time he began "more earneſtly to oppoſe the Heathen "worſhip, and alſo left Rome, not "without ſome offenſe and diſguſt." *See more of this in our notes upon Zoſimus.*

(g) Meaning Conſtantinople.

(h) That is true, as Gothofred ſays, in his notes p. 43. Ceterum verum eſt, quod Libanius ſcribit, Conſtantinum M. in condenda urbe Conſtantinopolitana, ſacris pecuniis uſum, id eſt, reditibus et donariis Templorum Gentilitiorum. Adde et ſimulachris, quae templis ab eo detracta, atque in urbis ornatum tranſlata.

(i) *Conſtantius:* who, as Gothofred obſerves, p. 44. often forbid ſacrifices, as his edicts ſhew. l. 4. 5. 6. C. Th. de Paganis. ſacrif. and other writers ſay.

(k) *Julian.*

" innovators, ſacrifices were forbidden by the two *(l)* brothers: but A. D. 370.
" not incenſe. Which ſtate of things Your law (*m*) has ratified.
" So that we have not more reaſon to be uneaſie for what is denied
" us, than to be thankfull for what is allowed. You therefore have
" not ordered the Temples to be ſhut up, nor forbidden any to fre-
" quent them. Nor have you driven from the temples, or the al-
" tars, fire, or frankincenſe, or other honours of incenſe. But (*n*)
" thoſe black-garbed people, who eat more than elephants, and (*o*)
" demand a large quantity of liquor from the people *(p)* who ſend
" them drink for their chantings: but who hide their luxurie by *P.* III.
" their pale, artificial *(q)* countenances. Theſe men, o Emperour,
" even whilſt your law is in force, run to the Temples, bringing
" with them wood, and ſtones, and iron, and when they have not
" them, hands and feet. Then (*r*) follows a Myſian prey, the roofs
" are

(*l*) *Valentinian and Valens.*

(*m*) That law of Theodoſius is often mentioned, and inſiſted upon in this Oration by Libanius: a law, in which ſacrifices were expreſsly forbidden, but not incenſe. *Gothofred*, p. 45. thinks, that Libanius may refer to ſeveral laws of Theodoſius to that purpoſe: as l. 7. and 9. and perhaps 11. C. Th. de paganis. ſacrif. And, as he ſays, in the year 392. after the compoſing of this Oration, incenſe alſo was forbidden by the ſame Emperour. l. 12. C. Th. de Paganis.

(*n*) Οἱ δὲ μελανειμονοῦντες οὗτοι, ᾧ πλέω μὲν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσθίοντες, πόνου δὲ παρέχοντες τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τοῖς δὶ ἀσματῶν αὐτοῖς παραψάλμασι τὸ ποτὸν, συγκρύπτοντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀχρότητι τῇ διὰ τέχνης αὐτοῖς πεπορισμένῃ. κ. λ. p. 10. 11.

(*o*) By *black-garbed people*, undoubtedly Libanius means the Monks, who wore dark-coloured garments.

(*p*) Thereby, poſſibly, Libanius ridicules the liberality of well-diſpoſed Chriſtians, who made contributions for the ſupport of the Monks. And the ground of charging the Monks with demanding liquor for their hymns, might be the practiſe of ſome Heathen prieſts.

(*q*) It ſeems unreaſonable in Libanius to charge thoſe men with a luxurious life. The paleneſſe of their countenances was a good argument of abſtemiouſneſſe. I do not believe, that he had as good proof of the contrarie, or that they made uſe of art to procure paleneſſe.

(*r*) " Demoſthenes in his oration for
" Cteſiphon cap. 22. uſes this as a prover-
" bial expreſſion. And Harpocration ſays,
" it took it's riſe from the Myſians, who
" in

A. D. 370. " are uncovered, walls are pulled down, images are carried off, and " altars are overturned. The prieſts all the while muſt be ſilent up- " on pain of death. When they have deſtroyed one Temple, they " run to another, and a third, and trophees are erected upon tro- " phees. Which are all contrarie to (*your*) law. This is the prac- " tiſe in cities, but eſpecially in the countreys. And there are ma- " ny enemies every where. After innumerable miſchiefs have been " perpetrated, the ſcattered multitude unites and comes together, " and they require of each other an account of what they have " done. And he is aſhamed, who cannot tell of ſome great injurie, " which he has been guilty of. They therefore ſpread themſelves " over the countrey, like torrents, waſting the countreys together " with the Temples. For wherever they demoliſh the Temple of " a countrey, at the ſame time the countrey itſelf is blinded, declines, " and dyes. For, o Emperour, the Temples are the ſoul of the " countrey. They have been the firſt original of the buildings in " the countrey, and they have ſubſiſted for many ages to this time:

P. 12. " and in them are all the huſbandman's hopes, concerning men, and " women, and children, and oxen, and the ſeeds and plants of the " ground. Wherever any countrey has loſt it's Temples, that coun- " trey is loſt, and the hopes of the huſbandmen, and with them all " their alacrity. For they ſuppoſe, they ſhall labour in vain, when " they are deprived of the Gods, who ſhould bleſs their labours. " And the countrey not being cultivated, as uſual, the tribute is di- " miniſhed. This being the ſtate of things, the huſbandman is em- " poveriſhed, and the revenue ſuffers. For be the will ever ſo good, " impoſſi-

" in the abſence of their King *Telephus*, " being plundered by their neighbours, " made no reſiſtance. Hence it came to " be applied to any perſons, who were " paſſive under injuries. See likewiſe Sui- " das in voce. Μυσῶν λίμη." *That is a note received from Dr. Ward, before mentioned. I ſhall add the note of Gothofred from p.* 47. *Myſorum praeda.* Frequens illud proverbium in ore ſcriptiſque Libanii, hic, et in Orat. in Julianum Coſ. p. 236. et in Antiochico. p. 335. et in Juliani necem. p. 269.

" impoſſibilities are not to be ſurmounted. Of ſuch miſchievous A. D.
" conſequence are the arbitrarie proceedings of thoſe perſons in the 370.
" countrey: who ſay, *they fight with the Temples.* But that war is
" the gain of thoſe who oppreſs the inhabitants, and robbing theſe
" miſerable people of their goods, and what they had laid up of
" the fruits of the earth for their ſuſtenance, they go off as with the
" ſpoils of thoſe whom they have conquered. Nor are they ſatisfied
" with this. For they alſo ſeize the lands of ſome, ſaying, it is *P.* 13.
" ſacred. And many are deprived of their paternal inheritance up-
" on a falſe pretenſe. Thus (*s*) theſe men riot upon other peoples
" misfortunes, who ſay, *they worſhip God with faſting.* And if they
" who are abuſed, come to the Paſtor in the city: (for ſo they call
" a man who is not one of the meekeſt) complaining of the injuſ-
" tice that has been done them, this Paſtor commends theſe, but re-
" jects the others: as if they ought to think themſelves happy,
" that they have ſuffered no more. Although, o Emperour, theſe
" alſo are your ſubjects, and ſo much more profitable than thoſe who
" injure them, as laborious men are than the idle. For they are like
" bees, theſe like drones. Moreover if they hear of any land, which
" has any thing that can be plundered, they cry preſently: *Such an*
" *one ſacrificeth, and does abominable things, and an armie ought to be*
" *ſent againſt him.* And (*t*) preſently the reformers are there. For
" by this name they call their depredations, if I have not uſed too
" ſoft a word. Some of theſe ſtrive to conceal themſelves, and deny
" their proceedings. And if you call them robbers, you affront
" them. Others glory, and boaſt, and tell their exploits to thoſe
" who are ignorant of them, and ſay, they are more deſerving than
" the huſbandmen. Nevertheleſs, what is this, but in time of peace, *P.* 14.
" to wage war with the huſbandmen? For it by no means leſſens
" theſe

(*s*) Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἑτέρων τρυφῶσι κακῶν, οἱ τῷ σωθῆναι ὡς φασι θεραπεύοντες Θεόν. Ἦν δ' οἱ σεσορθημένοι παρὰ τὴν ἐν ἅπασι σωμένα (καὶ λῦσι γὰρ ὄντως ἄνδρα ὁ πάνυ χρηστὸν) κ. λ. *p.* 13.

(*t*), Καὶ πάρεισιν οἱ σωφρονισταί. *p.* 13.

A. D. 370. "these evils, that they suffer from their countreymen. But it is "really more grievous to suffer the things, which I have mention- "ed, in a time of quiet, from those who ought to assist them in a "time of trouble. For You, o Emperour, in case of a war collect "an armie, give out orders, and do every thing suitable to the emer- "gence. And the new works, which You now carry on, are de- "signed, as a farther security against our enemies, that all may be "safe in their habitations, both in the cities and in the countrey: "and then if any enemies should attempt inroads, they may be sen- "sible, they must suffer losse, rather than gain any advantage. How "is it then, that some under your government disturb others, equal- "ly under your government, and permit them not to enjoy the P. 15. "common benefits of it? How do they not defeat your own care "and providence, and labours, o Emperour? How do they not "fight against your law by what they do?"

"But they say, *We have only punished those who sacrifice, and there- "by transgress the law, which forbids sacrifices.* O Emperour, when "they say this, they lye. For no one is so audacious, and so ig- "norant of the proceedings of the courts, as to think himself more "powerfull than the law. When I say, the law, I mean the law "against sacrificers. Can it be thought, that they who are not able "to bear the sight of a Collector's cloak, should despise the power "of Your government. This is what they say for themselves. "And they have been often alleged to (u) *Flavian* himself, and "never have been confuted, no, not yet. For I appeal to the "Guardians of this (x) law. Who has known any of those whom "you have plundered to have sacrificed upon the altars, so as the "law does not permit? What young, or old person, what man, "what woman? Who of those inhabiting the same countrey, and P. 16. "not agreeing with the sacrificers in the worship of the Gods? Who "of their neighbours? For envie and jealousie are common in "neigh-

(u) *Bishop of Antioch at that time.*

(x) Ἰδοὺ γὰρ δὴ προκαλοῦμαι τοὺς κινδυνευομένους τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου. *p.* 15. Libanius here evidently appeals to Christians, whom he calls *guardians of this law.*

" neighborhoods. Whence ſome would gladly come as an evi- A. D. 370.
" dence, if any ſuch thing had been done. And yet no one has ap-
" peared neither from the one, nor from the other: [that is,
" neither from the countrey, nor from the neighborhood.] Nor
" will there ever appear for fear of perjurie, not to ſay, the puniſh-
" ment of it. Where then is the truth of this charge, when
" they accuſe thoſe men of ſacrificing contrarie to law?

" But this ſhall not ſuffice for an excuſe to the Emperour.
" Some one therefore may ſay: *They have not ſacrificed. Let it*
" *be granted. But oxen have been killed at feaſts and entertain-*
" *ments, and merry-meetings.* Still there is no altar to receive the
" bloud, nor a part burned, nor do ſalt-cakes precede, nor any
" libation follow. But if ſome perſons meeting together in ſome
" pleaſant field, kill a calf, or a ſheep, or both, and roaſting part,
" and broiling the reſt, have eat it under a ſhade, upon the
" ground: I do not know, that they have acted contrarie to any (*y*)
" laws. For neither have you, o Emperour, forbid theſe things by
" your law: but mentioning one thing, which ought not to be
" done, You have permitted every thing elſe. So that though they
" ſhould have feaſted together with all ſorts of incenſe, they have
" not tranſgreſſed the law, even though in that feaſt they ſhould all *P.* 17.
" have ſung, and invoked the Gods. Unleſs You think fit to ac-
" cuſe even their private method of eating: by which it has been
" cuſtomarie for the inhabitants of ſeveral places, in the countrey,
" to aſſemble together in thoſe [places] which are the more conſi-
" derable, on holidays, and having ſacrificed, to feaſt together.
" This they did, whilſt the law permitted them to do it. Since
" that the liberty has continued for all the reſt, except ſacrificing.

" When

(*y*) Theſe things were allowed by ſome edicts of Chriſtian Emperours about this time, and ſomewhat later. *l.* 17. *C. Th. de paganis.* But were totally forbidden afterwards. *l.* 19. *eod. tit. as Gothofred obſerves, p.* 51.

A. D. 370. "When therefore a feſtival day invited them, they accepted the in-
"vitation, and with thoſe things which might be done, without of-
"fenſe or danger, they have honoured both the day and the place.
"But that they ventured to ſacrifice, no one has ſaid, nor heard,
"nor proved, nor been credited. Nor have any of their enemies
"pretended to affirm it upon the ground of his own ſight, or any
"credible account he has received of it.

"They will farther ſay: *By this means ſome have been converted,*
"*and brought to embrace the ſame religious ſentiments with themſelves.*
"Be not deceived by what they ſay. They only pretend it, but
"are not convinced. For they are averſe to nothing more than this:
"though they ſay the contrarie. For the truth is, they have not
"changed the objects of their worſhip, but only appear to have
"done ſo. They joyn themſelves with them in appearance, and
"outwardly perform the ſame things that they do. But when
"they are in a praying poſture, they addreſs to no one, or elſe
P. 18. "they invoke the Gods: not rightly indeed, in ſuch a place:
"but yet they invoke them. Wherefore, as in a tragedie he
"who acts the part of a King, is not a King; but the ſame per-
"ſon, he was, before he aſſumed that character: ſo every one of
"theſe keeps himſelf the ſame he was, though he ſeems to them to
"be changed. And what advantage have they by this, when the
"profeſſion only is the ſame with theirs, but a real agreement with
"them is wanting? For theſe are things, to which men ought to
"be perſuaded, not compelled. And when a man cannot accom-
"plish that, and yet will practiſe this, nothing is effected, and he
"may perceive the weakneſſe of the attempt. It (z) is ſaid, that
"this is not permitted by their own laws, which commend perſua-
"ſion, and condemn compulſion. Why then do you run mad a-
"gainſt

(z) Ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ ἐν τοῖς τοῦτο αὐτῶν νόμοις. Τοὺς μὲν πειθοῦς ἐπαινοῦντας, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκάζειν καταδικάζοντας· εἶτα τί θεῖτε κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν; Εἰ τὸ πεθεῖν μὴν οὐ θεῖν, ῥᾳδίως δὲ, σαφὲς μὴν ὄντως, ἀλλὰ δοκοῦν μόνον τὸ πεθεῖν, ἀνύτων παραβαίνετε νόμους. P. 18.

" gainſt the Temples? When you cannot perſuade, you uſe force. A. D. 379
" In this you evidently tranſgreſs your own laws."

But they ſay, *It is for the good of the world, and the men in it, that there ſhould be no Temples.* " Here, O Emperour, I need freedom P. 19.
" of ſpeech: for I fear, leaſt I ſhould offend. Let (*a*) then any of
" them tell me, who have left the tongs, and the hammer, and the
" anville, and pretend to talk of the heavens, and of them that dwell
" there, what rites the Romans followed, who aroſe from ſmall and
" mean beginnings, and went on prevailing, and grew great: theirs,
" or theſe, whoſe are the Temples and the altars, from whom they
" knew by the ſouthſayers, what they ought to do, or not to do?
" [*Here Libanius inſtanceth in the ſucceſſes of Agamemnon againſt Troy: and of Hercules, before, againſt the ſame place: and ſome other things.*] And many other wars might be mentioned, which
" have been ſucceſsfully conducted, and after that peace obtained,
" by the favour, and under the direction of the Gods. But what P. 20.
" is the moſt conſiderable of all, they who ſeemed to deſpiſe this
" way of worſhip, have honoured it againſt their will. Who are
" they? They (*b*) who have not ventured to forbid ſacrifices

(*a*) The note of Gothofred upon this place, at p. 53. is this. Commune hoc argumentum et delirium Gentilium hoc ævo fuit, quam religionibus Romanis imperium in eam magnitudinem excreviſſet. Quod refutare paſſim Chriſtiani. Vide vel Tertullianum, Arnobium, Symmachum, Prudentium.

(*b*) Libanius muſt needs miſtake, or miſrepreſent the caſe, and conſequently, he argues upon a wrong foundation. The Chriſtians had no reſpect for the Heathen Deities, nor were they apprehenſive of any evil from a neglect of them, *Vid. Euſeb. de Vita Conſtantin. l. 4. cap. 25. Theodor. H. E. l. 5. cap. 22. p. 229. d.* Libanius owned juſt now, that they ſaid, *it was for the good of the world, that there ſhould be no temples:* that is, in other words, that Heathen ſuperſtition and idolatrie ſhould ceaſe, and the true Deity only be worſhiped. If therefore they approved, or conſented to, the permiſſion of ſacrifices, or other Heathen rites in ſome places, it could not be for the reaſon aſſigned by Libanius: but either becauſe they were unwilling to do any thing that had the appearance of perſecution, or of force and compulſion: or becauſe they were apprehenſive of tumults of the Heathen people, and perhaps more in ſome places, than in others. Cum, uti dixi, haec

A. D. 378. "(c) at Rome. But if all this affair of ſacrifices be a vain thing, why "has not this vain thing been prohibited? And if it be hurtfull likewiſe, why not much more? But if in the ſacrifices there performed conſiſts the ſtability of the Empire, it (d) ought to be reckoned beneficial, to ſacrifice every where: and to be allowed, that "the demons at Rome confer greater benefits, theſe in the countrey, and other cities leſs. This is what may be reaſonably granted. For in an armie all are not equal. Yet in a battle the help "of each one is of uſe: the like may be ſaid of rowers in a veſſel. "So one [demon] defends the ſceptre of Rome, another protects a "city ſubject to it, another preſerves the countrey, and gives it feli-
P. 21. "city. Let there then be Temples every where. Or let thoſe men "confeſs, that you are not well affected to Rome in permitting it "to do things, by which ſhe ſuffers damage. But neither is it at "Rome only, that the liberty of ſacrificing remains: but alſo in (e) "the city of Serapis, that great and populous city, which has a "multitude of Temples, by which it renders the plenty of Egypt "common to all men. This [plenty] is the work of the Nile. It "therefore celebrates the Nile, and perſuades him to riſe, and overflow the fields. If thoſe rites were not performed, when, and "by whom they ought, he would not do ſo. Which they themſelves

haec indulgentiae ſingularis fuerint, et quidem in duabus maximis et populoſiſſimis urbibus, [Româ et Alexandriâ] moriſque veteris vetuſtiſſimis: ubi non tam facile, certe non ſimul et ſemel mores vertuntur, vertive poterant. Quod mox tamen effectum. *Gothofred. ib. p.* 53.

(d) That is reckoned to be one mark of time in this Oration. Sacrifices were ſtill permitted at Rome. But they were prohibited there by Valentinian the Younger, with the advice of Theodoſius the Great. A. D. 391. *l.* 10. *C. Th. de paganis, ſacrificiis.* So ſays *Gothofred. p.* 53.

(d) . . . ἀναγκαῖα δὲ νομίζειν τελεῖν τὰ θύεα, καὶ διδόναι τὰς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βελτίονας τὰ μείζω, τὰς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστεσι ἐλάττω. κ. λ. *p.* 20.

(e) *By the city of Serapis* is meant Alexandria. This is another note of the time of this Oration. For the temple of Serapis was deſtroyed in 391. *l.* 11. *C. Th. de paganis, ſacrif. et templis. Vid. et Socrat. H. E. l.* 5. *cap.* 16. 17. *Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* 5 *Theod. l.* 5. *cap.* 22.

"ſelves ſeem to be ſenſible of, who willingly enough aboliſh ſuch A. D. 370.
"things, but do not aboliſh theſe; but permit the river to enjoy his
"ancient rites, for the ſake of the benefit he affords."

"What then, ſome will ſay. *Since there is not in every country*
"*a river to do what the Nile does for the earth, there is no reaſon for*
"*Temples in theſe places. Let them therefore ſuffer what theſe good*
"*people think fit.* Whom I would willingly aſk this queſtion. Whe-
"ther changing their mind, they will dare to ſay, Let there be an
"end of theſe things done by [or for] the Nile. Let not the earth P. 22.
"partake of his waters, let nothing be ſown, nor reaped. Let him
"afford no corn, nor any other product, nor let the mud overflow
"the whole land, as at preſent. If they dare not own this, by what
"they forbear to ſay, they confute what they do ſay. For they
"who do not affirm, that the Nile ought to be deprived of his
"honours, confeſs, that the honours paid to the Temples are uſe-
"full." (*)

"And ſince they mention him *(f)* who ſpoiled the Temples [of
"their revenues and gifts] we ſhall omit obſerving, that he did not
"proceed to the taking away the ſacrifices. But who ever ſuffered
"a greater puniſhment for taking away the ſacred money, [out of
"the temples] partly in what he brought upon *(g)* himſelf; partly
"in what he ſuffered after his death, inſomuch that his familie *(b)*
"deſtroyed

(*) All this argument is vain and trifling. If the Heathen Prieſts at Alexandria were ſtill permitted to perform the ancient rites; it was not for the ſake of any benefit they were of. For every Chriſtian ſuppoſed them uſeleſs and inſignificant. They were permitted therefore for ſome ſuch reaſons, as thoſe hinted above.

(f) Conſtantin the Great.

(g) Libanius refers to Conſtantin's ſon *Criſpus*, and his wife *Fauſta*, who were put to death by him.

(b) Libanius intends the brothers, nephews, and ſons of Conſtantin the Great. For after his death, his ſon Conſtantius put to death two of his father Conſtantin's brothers, and ſix of their children. [Vid. Julian. Orat. ad S. P. 2. Athenienſ. 497. Vid. et Victorem, Julian. Orat. 7. p. 428. Eutropium, Zoſimum l. 2. Socrat. l. 3. c. 1. imo et Libanium noſtrum Orat. 7. in Julian.

A. D. 370. "destroyed one another, till (i) there were none left. And it had "been much better for him, that some of his posterity should reign, "than to enlarge with buildings a city of his own name: for the "sake of which city itself all men still curse his memorie, except "those who live there in wicked luxurie, because by their poverty "these have their abundance. And since next to him, they men-"tion (k) his son, and how he destroyed the temples, when they
P. 23. "who pulled them down (l) took no less pains in destroying them, "than the builders had done in raising them: so laborious a work "was it to separate the stones cemented by the strongest bands. Since, "I say, they mention these things, I will mention somewhat yet "more considerable. That he indeed made (m) presents of the "temples to those who were about him, just as he might give a "horse, or a slave, or a dog, or a golden cup. But they were un-"happy presents to both the giver and the receivers of them. For "he spent all his life in fear of the Persians, dreading all their mo-"tions, as children do bugbears. Of these some were childless, "and died miserably intestate. And others had better never have "had children: with such infamie and mutual discord do they live "together, who descend from them: whilst they dwell among sa-"cred pillars, taken from the temples. To whom I think these "things are owing, who knowing how to enrich themselves, have "taught their children this way to happinesse! And at this time "their distempers carry some of them to (n) Cilicia, needing the help "of

Julian. Imp. Cos. p. 236. et Orat. in Juliani necem. p. 262.] Of his sons, Constantin the younger was killed in the war with his brother Constans: and Constans himself in the tyrannie of Magnentius. *Gothofred. p.* 54.

(i) Constantin's issue was at an end in Constantius. Constantini M. stirps in Constantio defecit. *Gothofred. p.* 55.

(k) *Constantius.*

(l) Theodoret H. E. l. 5. cap. 21. takes particular notice of the difficulty of pulling down the temple of Jupiter at Aspamea, which was destroyed about this time.

(m) For this Gothofred. p. 55. 56. refers to Orat. in Juliani necem p. 253. 266. et l. 8. C. Theod. de Jure fisci.

(n) He seems to mean the temple of Aesculapius

" of Aeſculapius. But inſtead of obtaining relief, they meet with A. D. 370.
" affronts only for the injurie done to the place. How can ſuch re- *P.* 24.
" turn without curſing the author of theſe evils? But let the conduct
" of this Emperour be ſuch, as to deſerve praiſes living and dead:
" ſuch as we know, he (*o*) was, who ſucceeded him: who had
" overturned the Perſian Empire, if treacherie had not prevented it.
" Nevertheleſs he was great in his death. For he was killed by (*p*)
" treacherie, as Achilles alſo was: and is applauded for that, as well
" as for what he did before his death. This has he obtained from
" the Gods, to whom he reſtored their rites, and honours, and
" temples, and altars, and bloud: from whom having heard, *that*
" *he ſhould humble the pride of Perſia, and then dye*, he purchaſed the
" glorie of his life, taking many cities, ſubduing a large tract of land,
" teaching his purſuers to fly: and was about to receive, as (*q*) all
" know, an ambaſſie, which would have brought the ſubmiſſion of
" the enemie. Wherefore he was pleaſed with his wound, and
" looking upon it rejoyced, and without any tears rebuked thoſe
" who wept, for not thinking, that a wound was better to him than
" any old age. So that the ambaſſies ſent after his death, were all
" his right. And the reaſon, why the (*r*) Achemenidae for the fu- *P.* 25.
" ture

Aeſculapius at Aegis in Cilicia. This temple, according to Euſebius, vit. Conſtantin. l. 3. c. 56. and Sozomen, l. 2. c. 5 was deſtroyed by Conſtantin. Libanius is here ſuppoſed to aſcribe it to Conſtantius. But I do not think it neceſſary ſo to underſtand him. It is ſufficient for his argument, if ſome of thoſe, to whom Conſtantius had made preſents of ſacred things, or ſome of their deſcendents, went in vain to this place, by whomſoever the temple there was deſtroyed.

(*o*) *Julian.*

(*p*) Libanius intimates, that Julian was killed by ſome Chriſtian, one of his own ſoldiers.

(*q*) Gothofred obſerves, (p. 57.) that here, and in ſome other places, Libanius affirms, or intimates, that Julian had actually overcome the Perſians: Perſas jam devictos a Juliano Imp. cum is percuſſus fuit, aſſerit hic Libanius, ut et Oratione *in Juliani necem.* p. 303. et 308. Legatoſque a Perſis pacis oratum jam decretos: idque omnibus notum eſſe: quod et ipſum duobus aliis locis prodit: puta, *Orat. in Juliani necem. p.* 303. *et de vita ſua. p.* 45.

(*r*) *Another name for the Perſians*, ſo called again by Libanius. Orat. in Julian. necem. p. 268. *Gothofred. p.* 57.

A. D. 370. "ture made uſe of entreaties inſtead of arms, was, that the fear of "him ſtill poſſeſſed their minds. Such an one was he, who reſto- "red to us the temples of the Gods: who did things too good to "be forgotten, himſelf above all oblivion. But I thought, that (*s*) "he who reigned lately would pull down, and burn the temples of "thoſe who were of the oppoſite ſentiment, as he knew how to de- "ſpiſe the gods. But he was better than expectation, ſparing the "temples of the enemies, and not diſdaining to run ſome hazards "for preſerving thoſe of his own dominions, which had been long "ſince erected with much labour, and at vaſt expenſe. For if ci- "ties are to be preſerved every where, and ſome cities outſhine o- "thers, by means of their temples, and theſe are their chief orna- "ments, next to the Emperours palaces: how is it, that no care "muſt be taken of theſe, nor any endeavours uſed to preſerve them "in the body of the cities?"

"But it is ſaid: *There will be other edifices, though there ſhould be* "*no temples.* But (*t*) I think, tribute to be of importance to the trea- "ſurie. Let theſe ſtand then, and be taxed. Do we think it a P. 26. "cruel thing to cut off a man's hand, and a ſmall matter to pluck "out the eyes of cities? And do we not lament the ruins made "by earthquakes? and when there are no earthquakes, nor other "accidents, ſhall we ourſelves do what they are wont to effect? "Are (*u*) not the Temples the poſſeſſion of the Emperours, as well "as other things? Is it the part of wiſe men to ſink their own goods? "Does not every one ſuppoſe him to be diſtracted, who throws his "purſe

(*s*) *Valens.*

(*t*) Secundum hoc paganorum argumentum, quo ſub Chriſtianis Imperatoribus perſuadere conabantur, ne Templa exſcinderentur, ab *utilitate* deſumptum eſt: nempe quod vectigalia ex locatione Templorum colligi poſſent, eaque in alios uſus transferri &c. *Gothofred. p.* 58.

(*u*) That is, as Gothofred ſuppoſes, the Temples, when diverted from their ſacred uſe, and brought into the public treaſurie, come under the ſame laws with other things, belonging to the Emperour's revenue. Templa, ſemel religioni vel ſuperſtitioni detracta, fiſcoque delata, pari jure, quo ceteras res fiſcales haberi definit Libanius, *Goth. p.* 58.

" purſe into the ſea? or, if the maſter of a ſhip ſhould cut thoſe A. D.
" ropes, which are of uſe to the ſhip: or, if any one ſhould order 370.
" a mariner to throw away his oar, would you think it an abſurdi-
" ty? And yet think it proper for a magiſtrate, to deprive a city of
" ſuch a part of it? What reaſon is there for deſtroying that, the
" uſe of which may be changed? Would it not be ſhamefull for an
" armie to fight againſt it's own walls? and for a General to excite
" them againſt what they have raiſed with great labour: the finiſh-
" ing of which was a feſtival for them who then reigned? Let no
" man think, Emperour, that this is a charge brought againſt You.
" For there lies in ruins, in the Perſian borders, a (*x*) Temple, to
" which there is none like, as may be learned from them who ſaw
" it, ſo magnificent the ſtone-work, and in compaſſe equal to the *P.* 27.
" city. Therefore in time of war the citizens thought their enemies
" would gain nothing by taking the town, ſince they could not take
" that likewiſe, as the ſtrength of it's fortifications bid defiance to
" all their attacks. . . . At length, however, it was attacked, and
" with a fury equal to that of the greateſt enemies, animated by the
" hopes of the richeſt plunder. I have heard it diſputed by ſome,
" in which ſtate it was the greateſt wonder: whether now that it is
" no more, or when it had ſuffered nothing of this kind, like the
" temple of Serapis. But that Temple, ſo magnificent and ſo large,
" not to mention the wonderfull ſtructure of the roof, and the ma-
" ny braſs ſtatues, now hid in darkneſſe out of the light of the ſun,
" is quite periſhed: a lamentation to them who have ſeen it, a plea-
" ſure to them who never ſaw it. For the eyes and ears are not alike
" affected with theſe things. Or rather to thoſe who have not ſeen
" it, it is both ſorrow and pleaſure: the one, becauſe of it's fall,
" the other, becauſe their eyes never ſaw it. Nevertheleſs, If it be *P.* 28.
" rightly

(*x*) *It is uncertain, what Temple our Author means. Gothofred is inclined to think, it was the Temple at Aedeſſa. Goth. p.* 59.

A. D. 370. " rightly conſidered, this work is not yours, but the work of a man " (y) who has deceived You: a profane wretch, an enemie of the " Gods, baſe, covetous, ungratefull to the earth that received him " when born, advanced without merit, and abuſing his greatneſſe, " when advanced, a ſlave to his wife, gratifying her in any thing, " and eſteeming her all things: in perfect ſubjection to them (z) " who direct theſe things: whoſe only virtue lies in wearing the " habit of mourners: but eſpecially to thoſe of them, who alſo weave " coarſe garments. This (a) work-houſe deluded, impoſed upon him, " and miſled him. [And it is ſaid, that (b) many Gods have been de- " ceived by Gods:] for they gave out, *that the Prieſts ſacrificed, and* " *ſo near them, that the ſmoak reached their noſes:* and after the man- " ner of ſome ſimple people, they enlarge and heighten matters, " and vaunt themſelves, as if they thought nothing was above their " power. By ſuch fiction, (c) and contrivance, and artfull ſtories, " proper

(y) Gothofred, p. 59. ſuppoſeth the perſon, againſt whom Libanius here rails ſo heartily, to be *Cynegius*, Prefect of the Praetorium in the Eaſt, or the Emperour's Lieutenant, from 384. to 388.

(z) Monks, who wove Garments for themſelves, and for the uſe of poor people. For which reaſon he alſo preſently afterwards calls their monaſtrie a *work-houſe*.

(a) Τοῦτον ἐργαστήριον ὑπέδυσαν, ἐφύσησαν, ἐσκυλεύθησαν, παρακρούσαντο. *p.* 28. *M.*

" Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ,
" Riſit Apollo. *Car. i. ode* 10.

" And Virgil, referring to Juno.
" Adnuit, atque dolis riſit Cytherea repertis.
Aen. iv. ver. 128."

(b) *Upon this place Dr. Ward obſerved as follows.* " Here ſeems to be a com- " pliment deſigned upon the Emperour, " to ſoften the charge of his being impo- " ſed upon: ſince it was not an unuſual " thing for the Gods to impoſe upon one " another. So Juno in Homer calls Jupi- " ter δολομήτης. *Il. a ver.* 540. And " Horace, ſpeaking of Mercurie.

(c) He inſinuates, that the Monks ſcrupled not to ſay any thing againſt the Gentils,

" proper to excite diſpleaſure, they perſuaded the mildeſt *(d)* father A. D.
" [*of his people*] among the Emperours. For theſe were really his 370.
" virtues, humanity, tenderneſſe, compaſſion, mildneſſe, equity, *P.* 29.
" who (*e*) had rather ſave than deſtroy. But there were thoſe who
" gave juſter counſel: that if ſuch a thing had been done, the *(f)*
" attempt ſhould be puniſhed, and care taken to prevent the like
" for time to come. Yet he who thought he ought to have a *(g)*
" *Cadmean* victorie, carried on his conqueſt. But after he had ta-
" ken his own pleaſures, he ſhould have provided for his people,
" and not have deſired to appear great to thoſe, who ſhun the la-
" bours of the countrey, and converſe in the *(h)* mountains, as they
" ſay, with the former of all things. But let Your actions appear
" excellent and praiſeworthie to all men. There are at this time
" many, ſo far friends, as to receive and empty your treaſures, and
" to whom Your empire is dearer than their own ſouls. But when
" the time comes, that good counſel and real ſervices are wanted,
" they have no concern upon them, but to take care of themſelves.
" And if any one comes to them, and inquires, *what this means*,
" they excuſe themſelves as free from all fault. They diſown what
" they have done, or pretend, *that they have obeyed the Emperour's*
" *order. And if there is any blame, he muſt ſee to it.* Such things *P.* 30.
" they ſay, when it is they who are guilty, who can give no account
" of their actions. For what account can be given of ſuch miſ-

tils, to incenſe the Emperours: charging them with conſpiracies, and treaſonable deſigns.

(*d*) Gothofred ſuppoſeth, our author to intend *Valens. Got. p.* 61.

(*e*) Τὸ σώζειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολλύναι.

(f) Gothofred p. 61. *ſuppoſes, Libanius to refer to the conſultations of the Heathen magicians and ſouthſayers about a ſucceſſor to Valens: of which there are accounts in divers authors. Ammianus M. l.* 29. *Zoſimus. l* 4. *Sazom. l.* 6. *c.* 35. *lex* 8. *C. Th. de Maleficis. Tom.* 3. *p.* 127. *And ſee hereafter in this volume the ſtate of Gentiliſm, &c. Sect. iv.*

(*g*) By a *Cadmean victorie* is to be underſtood a victorie, prejudicial to the Conquerour.

(*h*) *The monaſteries were generally at ſome diſtance from cities, in ſolitarie places. He particularly refers to the Monks, not far from Antioch.*

A. D. 370. " chiefs? Theſe men before others deny this to be their own work. " But when they addreſs You alone, without witneſſes, they ſay, " *they have been in this war ſerving Your familie.* They would de- " liver your houſe from thoſe who by land and ſea, endeavor to de- " fend your perſon: than which there is nothing greater You can " receive from them. For theſe men under the name of friends, " and protectors, telling ſtories of thoſe, by whom they ſay they " have been injured, emprove your credulity into an occaſion of do- " ing more miſchief."

" But I return to them, to demonſtrate their injuſtice by what " they have ſaid: Say then, for what reaſon you deſtroyed that great " Temple? Not, becauſe the Emperour approved the doing it. " They who pull down a Temple, have done no wrong, if the Em- " perour has ordered it to be done. Therefore they who pulled it " down did not do wrong by doing what the Emperour approved " of. But he who does that which is not approved by the Empe- " rour, does wrong. Does he not? You then are the men, who
P. 31. " have nothing of this to ſay for what You have done. Tell me, " why (*i*) this Temple of Fortune is ſafe, and the temple of Jupiter, " and of Minerva, and of (*k*) Bacchus? Is it, becauſe You would " have them remain? No. but becauſe no one has given you pow- " er over them: which nevertheleſs you have aſſumed againſt thoſe, " which you have deſtroyed. How, then, are you not liable to " puniſhment? or, how can you pretend, that what you have done " is right, when the ſufferers have done no harm? Of which charge " there would have ſeen ſome appearance, if You, o Emperour, had " publiſhed an edict to this purpoſe: *Let no man within my Empire* " *believe in the Gods, nor worſhip them, nor aſk any good thing of* " *them,*

(*i*) Ἐστί μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο σῶόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου· ἆρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν αὐτὰ μένειν; Οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν. κ. λ. *p.* 31. *in.*

(*k*) *Theſe were Heathen Temples at Antioch. Therefore this paſſage affords a good argument, that this Oration was compoſed in that city.*

" *them, neither for himſelf, nor for his children, unleſs it be done in* A. D.
" *ſilence and privatly: But let all preſent themſelves at the places where* 370.
" *I worſhip, and joyn in the rites there performed. And let them offer*
" *the ſame prayers, which they do, and bow the head at (l) the hand of*
" *him, who directs the multitude. Whoever tranſgreſſes this law, ſhall*
" *be put to death.* It was eaſie for You to publiſh ſuch a law as
" this. But (*m*) You have not done it. Nor have You in this mat-
" ter laid a yoke upon the ſouls of men. But though You think
" one way better than the other, yet You do not judge that other
" to be an impiety, for which a man may be juſtly puniſhed. Nor *P.* 32.
" have You excluded thoſe of that ſentiment from honours, but (*n*)
" have conferred upon them the higheſt offices, and have given
" them acceſſe to Your table, to eat and drink with You. This You
" have done formerly, and at this time, beſide others, You have aſ-
" ſociated to Yourſelf (thinking it advantageous to Your government)
" a man, who (*o*) ſwears by the Gods, both before others, and be-
" fore Yourſelf: And You are not offended at it. Nor do You
" think Yourſelf injured by thoſe oaths: nor do You account him
" a wicked man, who placeth his beſt hopes in the Gods. When
" therefore You do not reject us, as neither did he who ſubdued the
" Perſians by arms, reject thoſe of his ſubjects who differed from
" him

(*l*) The Deacons directed, and regulated the behaviour of the people in Chriſtian aſſemblies. See *Bingham's Antiquities, &c. B.* 15. *ch. i. Vol.* 6. *p.* 574. octavo edition, and elſewhere. At Heathen Sacrifices there was a perſon, who had a like office. To this Libanius here alludes. Gothofred's note, p. 63. is different. But I think not ſo right.

(*m*) Υ̓ μὲν ἀξιώσας γε, οὐδ' ἐποίησας ζυγὸν ἐνταῦθα ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς. *p.* 31.

(*n*) . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὰς δέδωκας, καὶ συνεστιᾶν ἐποίησας.

(*o*) *A man, who ſwears by the Gods, before others, and before Yourſelf.*] What Libanius ſays here, is very true. This paſſage itſelf may be reckoned one inſtance of that freedom. I ſhall here allege another from another Oration to the ſame Theodoſius, where he ſwears by Jupiter, and all the Gods. Δακρύεις, ὦ βασιλεῦ. Πολλὰ ἀγαθά σοι γένοιτο διὰ τὴν ἄγαν χρηστότητα· καὶ ἔγωγε, νὴ τὸν Δία, καὶ πάντας τοὺς Θεοὺς, τὸν ὀμόσαι προσδόκων. *De Vindictis. p.* 57. *Genevae.* 1631.

A. D. 370.

" him in this matter, what pretenſe have theſe to reject us? How " can theſe men reject their fellow-ſubjects, differing from them " in this matter? By what right do they make theſe incurſions? " How do they ſeize other mens goods with the indignations of the " countreys? How do they deſtroy ſome things, and carry off o- " thers? adding to the injurie of their actions the inſolence of glo- " rying in them. We, o Emperour, if You approve, and permit " theſe things, will bear them; not without grief indeed: but yet we " will ſhew, that we have learned to obey. But if You give them " no power, and yet they come, and invade our ſmall remaining " ſubſtance, or our walls: know, that the owners of the countreys " will defend themſelves."

That is the whole Oration of this learned Sophiſt, *for the Temples, that they may be preſerved.* And it may be conſidered as a labored Apologie for Gentiliſm.

The tranſlation has been made with the utmoſt care. And it has been a difficult taſk. And though I have had the aſſiſtance of a learned friend: I hardly dare to be poſitive, that it is right every where. There are ſome ambiguous expreſſions, about which learned critics may heſitate, which is the true meaning. However, I hope, the tranſlation is generally exact and right.

Concluding obſervations upon this Oration.

V. It is very fit, that ſome remarks ſhould now be made upon this Oration. But it is not neceſſarie to obſerve particularly, what confirmation Libanius affords to the accounts given by Chriſtian Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, in his agreement with them about the ſucceſſion of the Roman Emperours, from Conſtantin to that time, whom, though Libanius has not expreſsly named them, he has ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by ſome characters. The great averſion for *Conſtantin*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperour, and the affection for *Julian* upon account of his Gentiliſm, are apparent. The credulity and ſuperſtition of our learned author, even to old age, and the laſt period of life, are alſo obvious. Nor will any omit to obſerve the great freedom

dom of ſpeech, uſed with a Chriſtian Emperour throughout the Oration. There are however ſeveral things, of which I would remind the reader, and put them together briefly, in the following order. A. D. 370.

1. In this Oration we ſee the ſtate of Chriſtianity and Gentiliſm. Chriſtianity was the prevailing religion. Heatheniſm was declining, and under many diſadvantages and diſcouragements. Sacrifices were generally forbidden, and allowed of in but few places: though incenſe, and other rites, were not totally prohibited.

2. Libanius mentions a general title and character of Chriſtian Biſhops, who by his account had the higheſt office among them. They were called *Paſtours*. And he particularly mentions *Flavianus*, at that time Biſhop of Antioch.

3. Here is much diſcourſe of a ſort of people, who were called *Monks* by the Chriſtians. According to our Author's account, they were numerous in the Eaſtern part of the Empire, which we alſo know very well otherwiſe. They were diſtinguiſhed from other Chriſtians by a black, or ſad-coloured garment, by their faſtings and abſtemiouſneſſe, by ſinging hymns or prayers in their worſhip. They dwelt in diſtinct ſocieties, in the mountains, or other places, at ſome diſtance from cities. They ſometimes laboured with their hands, particularly, in weaving garments, probably for themſelves, and other poor people. Here is a hint, that they had their ſupport, partly at leſt, from the charitable contributions of others, as an encouragement and recompenſe for their extraordinarie devotions: and that upon account of their reputation for piety, they had a good deal of power and influence: but nevertheleſs were ſubject to the Biſhop, or Paſtour of the neighboring city, which was next to their dwellings: to whom application was made by thoſe, who had any complaints againſt them.

4. About this time there were ſome Heathen Temples demoliſhed, and ſome other offenſes offered to the Heathens by thoſe people, whom Libanius particularly deſcribes by their *black garments*, or the

habit

A. D. 390. *habit of mourners.* Undoubtedly, this conduct is not to be justified. They ought not to have demolished temples without the Emperour's order. Such a thing could hardly be done by virtue of an Imperial Edict, but it would occasion some tumults and disturbances, much more, if they acted in this matter without authority. And if they plundered the Heathen people of any of their goods upon false pretenses, that is another thing, for which they were justly blamable. It may be reasonably supposed, that Libanius aggravates things. But at the same time, it is to be feared, that they, whose zeal outrun the laws in demolishing temples, did not rigorously observe the rules of justice and equity in other matters.

5. Libanius considers several arguments of the Christians for destroying the Temples, and offers divers things by way of answer: *That the Heathen people sacrificed in them,* contrarie to law. Which he denyes. *That they killed oxen in the countreys, at the festivals,* in which he denyes, that they did any thing contrarie to law. *That by destroying the Temples many had been converted to Christianity, and more would be so, if all the Temples were destroyed.* In answer to which, he denyes, that any sincere converts were made by that method. *That it was for the benefit of mankind, that the Temples should be destroyed, and that if there were an end put to Heathen sacrifices, and all their rites, it would conduce to the prosperity of the Empire.* Which he not only denyes, but affirms, that the grandeur and prosperity of the Roman Empire were owing to the worship of the Gods: and that all late calamities, which had befallen the Empire, were owing to the neglect of them.

6. In his answer to those arguments of the Christians, and in the course of his Oration, he offers a variety of arguments for the preservation of the Temples. That in them, and the rites belonging to them, consisted the prosperity and safety of the people, the countreys, the cities, and the stability of the Empire: That they who had destroyed any temples, or deprived them of their ornaments, and applied them to other uses, had been punished in themselves,

or

or their poſterity: That the Temples at leſt might be ſaved, and applied to other uſes: That they were ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the cities: That to deſtroy them, and forbid the rites belonging to them, was perſecution: which is unreaſonable in itſelf, and contrarie to the Chriſtian doctrine: Finally, that the Chriſtians themſelves were ſenſible of the benefit of Temples, and the ſacrifices performed in them: particularly, that they were beneficial at Rome, and at Alexandria in Egypt: inſomuch that they dared not to deſtroy the Temples in thoſe cities. Conſequently, they ought to allow them to be beneficial every where, and therefore they ought to be preſerved. A. D. 370.

It is not neceſſarie for me to inquire into the validity of theſe arguments. But in the notes, at the bottom of the pages, ſome obſervations have been made, eſpecially upon the argument laſt mentioned.

7. And I would here farther obſerve concerning one of theſe arguments, that it ſeems to be weakly, and imprudently inſiſted upon at this time: *That the Chriſtians were ſenſible, the Temples were beneficial in ſome places, and that they dared not to deſtroy them, fearing the bad conſequences of it, as to the proſperity of the Empire, and the fruitfullneſſe of the earth.* For, as this was certainly a miſtake, ſo the open pleading of this argument would, in all probability, haſten the ruin of the temples. And the zealous Chriſtians would hereupon endeavor to perſuade the Emperour to grant effectual orders for deſtroying them, as neceſſarie to ſhew, they deſpiſed their deities: and as the only means of removing a pretenſe, by which the Heathen people were ſupported and encouraged in their erroneous and abſurd ſuperſtition.

8. Libanius condemns force and compulſion in matters of religion. It had been well, if Heathen people had been always of this opinion. But time was, when the beſt arguments for moderation and toleration were rejected by them. And they not only denied Chriſtians the uſe of their temples, but compelled them to worſhip

A. D. 370.

the Gods, though contrarie to their consciences, by the terrour of the greatest evils, and inflicting upon them pains and punishments, disgracefull to the Roman government, and contrarie to all the principles of reason, and the sentiments of humanity.

9. Libanius owns, that the Christians also condemned persecution: He says, *it was not permitted by their own lawes, which commend perswasion, and condemn* (*) *compulsion.* That is a proof, it was their avowed sentiment. Libanius seems not much to have studied the books of the New Testament. He took his notion of the Christian lawes, and the Christian Religion, from the professors and teachers of them.

And it might be easily shewn, that the Christians of old had alleged the same reasons and arguments against persecution, with those now made use of by this learned Sophist. They argued, that compulsion did not make real converts, but hypocrites only. So said Lactantius, (†) whom I shall transcribe, briefly, below.

10. The moderation of the Christian Emperours, of *Theodosius* in particular ought to be observed. That Emperour advanced several, yea many Heathens to governments and magistracies. And shewed favour to our *Libanius*, though he was so open in his zeal for Gentilism.

11. We may observe what we have seen upon many occasions in many others, that our Orator displays that popular argument, taken from the successes and victories of Rome, whilst a worshiper of the Gods. This was an argument, very proper to work upon the passions.

(*) *See above. p.* 146.

(†) "Res est enim praeter ceteras voluntaria, nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat, quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsitan simulare, non potest velle. Denique cum metu tormentorum aliqui aut cruciatibus victi ad execranda sacrificia consenserint, numquam ultro faciunt, quod necessitate fecerunt: sed data rursus facultate, ac reddita libertate, referunt se ad Deum, eumque et precibus et lachrymis placant. . . . Quid ergo promovet, qui corpus inquinat, quando immutare non potest voluntatem?" *Lactant. Epit. cap.* 54.

sions. The greatneſſe of the Roman Empire had been attained, before the riſe of the Chriſtian Religion. It was eaſie to inſinuate the danger of innovation, and to terrify men with the apprehenſion of the conſequences of it. Doubtleſs this argument had a great influence upon many. But there were thoſe, who were ſo far influenced by reaſon, as to believe, that the world had been in all times governed by the providence of the one God, creator of the heavens and the earth, not by inanimate images, or demons. Theſe were the Chriſtians. And upon the ground of this moſt juſt and reaſonable perſuaſion, they ſtood the charge of their Heathen neighbours, and bore all the hatred, which they loaded them with, as enemies to the welfare of the Empire, and of the world in general, by forſaking the ancient worſhip of the Gods. A. D. 370.

12. Nor has Libanius omitted the old and common reflexion upon the Chriſtians, as if they had been all mean and ignorant mechanics. This reflexion had been always falſe and unjuſt, becauſe there were in all times among the profeſſors of Chriſtianity ſome men of learning and good condition. But this argument ſhould have been dropt, before this time. It might be turned againſt the Heathens. The Emperours themſelves were now Chriſtians, and had been ſo for ſome while, except *Julian*. Governours and Magiſtrates were now generally Chriſtians. And there were many eminent wits, philoſophers, and orators, among the Biſhops and Chriſtian people. To this greatneſſe and ſplendour had the Chriſtian Church attained, from mean and ſmall beginings indeed, by the force of truth, and a rational evidence, without, and againſt worldly terrours and allurements. A greater wonder this, and a work of greater power, as well as of more virtue, than the magnificence of Rome, and the grandeur of her Empire!

CHAP. L.

EUTROPIUS.

I. *His Work, and Time.* II. *His Character of Conſtantin, with Remarks.* III. *His Character of Julian.*

A. D. 370. *His Work and Time.*

I. EUTROPIUS (*a*) is called by Suidas (*b*) an Italian Sophiſt. He ſays, "he wrote an Abridgement, or Summarie of the Roman Hiſtorie, in the Latin tongue, and other things." That (*c*) Summarie of the Roman Hiſtorie, from the foundation of Rome to the death of Jovian, is ſtill exſtant. He ſerved under Julian in the Perſian expedition, as he ſays (*d*) himſelf.

His Summarie was writ in the time of Valentinian and Valens. But it is inſcribed to Valens only, and muſt have been writ about the year 370.

Our writers of Univerſal Ancient Hiſtorie ſay, after Tillemont: "He (*e*) ſeems to have been of the Senatorial order. For at the "head of his work he is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Clariſſimus*, "which

(*a*) *Vid. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. lib.* 2. *cap. viii. Fabr. Bib. Lat. lib.* 3. *cap. ix. Tom.* 2. *p.* 576. *&c. Tillem. Valens. art.* 24.

(*b*) Ευτροπιος Ιταλος, σοφιστης· Την Ρωμαικην ιστοριαν συνετομωτερον τη Ιταλων φωνη ἑρμηνευσε· και ἀλλα. *Suid.*

(*c*) Hiſtoriae Romanae Breviarium.

(*d*) Hinc Julianus rerum potitus eſt; ingentique apparatu Parthis intulit bellum: cui expeditioni ego quoque interfui. *Brev. l.* 10. *cap. xvi.*

(*e*) *Univ. Hiſt. vol. xvi. p.* 352.

" which was peculiar to Senators." Nevertheleſs I do not ſee that title in any of the editions of his work, which I have: nor in the Greek paraphraſe of *Paeanius*, though I have two editions of it. A. D. 370.

He is generally reckoned a Heathen. I think he muſt be ſo eſteemed. If he had been a Chriſtian, there would have appeared ſome intimations of it in the hiſtorie of Diocletian, and Conſtantin: eſpecially when it is conſidered, that he wrote in the time of Chriſtian Emperours.

II. Eutropius enlargeth in the hiſtorie and character of Conſtantin: but without taking any notice of his Chriſtianity. He ſays, " that *(f)* Conſtantin had a great and aſpiring mind. He aimed at " no leſs than to be ſole Governour of the whole world. He blames " him for his wars with *Licinius*, though he was related to him by " marriage. And then cenſures him for putting *Licinius* to death, " after he had overcome him, though he had promiſed him his life " with the ſolemnity of an oath. He adds, that for a while Con- " ſtantin's reign was mild, and generally acceptable. But the long " continuance of proſperity in ſome meaſure perverted him. And " he then put to death ſeveral of his own relations, one an excellent " man, [*meaning his ſon Criſpus*] and his ſiſter's ſon, a hopefull youth, " [*meaning Licinianus*, or *young Licinius*] then his wife, and after " that many of his friends." *His Character of Conſtantin.*

With regard to all which it will be readily allowed, that we do not aim to juſtify any bad actions of Conſtantin. When I formerly wrote

(f) Conſtantinus tamen, vir ingens, et omnia efficere nitens quae animo praeparaſſet, ſimul principatum totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit: quamvis neceſſitudo illi et affinitas cum eo eſſet. Nam ſoror ejus Conſtantia, nupta Licinio erat. Varia deinceps inter eos bella, et pax reconciliata ruptaque eſt. Poſtremo *Licinius* navali et terreſtri proelio victus apud Nicomediam ſe dedidit, et contra religionem ſacramenti Theſſalonicae privatus occiſus . . . Verum inſolentia rerum ſecundarum aliquantum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum neceſſitudines perſecutus, egregium virum, et ſororis filium, commodae indolis juvenem, interfecit, poſt numeroſos amicos. *Eutrop. Brev. l.* 10. *cap. v. vi.*

A. D. 306.

wrote the history of this (g) Emperour, all these things were particularly considered. And I also alleged the judgements of divers learned men, some favorable, others less favorable to him.

The case of Licinius is there (h) particularly considered, and the judgements of divers learned men produced. I now add here the judgement of Mr. *Mosheim*. Who (i) first gives an account of the wars between Constantin and Licinius, and the event of them. And then in a note refers to Julian's Cesars. And he observes, "that (k) Julian himself, than whom no man was less favourable to Constantin, has represented Licinius, as a great tyrant, and a very vicious man." Mr. Motheim is also of opinion, that (l) Aurelius Victor has referred to Licinius's persecution of the Christians, and severely condemned the cruelty of it: I place his words below, that the curious and learned reader may the better consider the justness of his observation.

And I shall now refer to a place in Pagi, which also was omitted formerly. He is very particular in his answers to the several complaints

(g) *See Credib. P. 2 chap. 70. vol. 7. p. 403. . . 420.*

(h) *p. 407. . . 409.*

(i) *Vid. Inst. S. 4. P. i. cap. i. § x. p. 145. 146.*

(k) Ipse Julianus, quo nemo iniquior fuit in Constantinum, non potuit, quin Licinium infamem tyrannum, vitiisque et sceleribus obrutum, diceret. *Mosheim. ibid.*

I think it best for me to transcribe here the passages of Julian, in his own original language. Ἀλλὰ μὴν μέχρι τῶν τρόπων ἀλλότρια, πολλὰ δ' ἄντικρυς ἀπηρμοσμένα, τοιαῦτα ὅλως ἐξήλεγχεν. *Julian. Caes. p. 315. Spanhem.*

Δύο γὰρ τούτων [*Maximinum et Licinium.*] (ἔστω χρὴ τ' ἀληθῆ φάναι) κακίστην· τὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμερότητος τὸν δὲ, ἀθεώτατόν τε, καὶ διὰ τὸ γράφειν, ἀμουσότατόν τε θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐχθίστων. *Id. ib. p. 329.*

(l) Liceat mihi hic observare, quod neglectum esse adhuc video, Aurelium Victorem, libro de Caesaribus cap. 41. Licinianae hujus vexationis mentionem his fecisse verbis. *Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosopharum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere.* Philosophi, quos hic excruciasse Licinius dicitur, Christiani sine dubio sunt: quos multi, disciplinae nostrae parum gnari, Philosophorum sectam esse, opinati sunt. Intactum dimiserunt hunc locum Aurelii interpretes. *Mosheim. ibid.*

plaints before mentioned. "We (*m*) know not, he says, the reason, A. D. 319.
"why young *Licinius* was put to death: but possibly he was in
"accomplice with his father. In the death of *Crispus*, Constantin
"may have been rather unhappy, than criminal. *Fausta* may have
"been condemned by a just sentence. As for *his many friends*, Eu-
"tropius has named none. But some of them may at length have
"been brought to condign punishment for having abused the Em-
"perour's credulity by their malicious accusations of others. Nor
"has any one been named, who suffered from him for not being a
"Christian, or that had one hair of his head touched upon that ac-
"count."

So Pagi, whom I have transcribed below in his own words, that they who please may attend to these observations. Undoubtedly, Heathen people in general were much prejudiced against Constantin, the first Roman Emperour, who made an open profession of Christianity. And we may be allowed to apologize for him, so far as can be done upon good foundations.

I may not omit to observe, that after all that has been already transcribed from him, Eutropius adds, still speaking of Constantin:

"For

(*m*) Et haec quidem Eusebius [*lib. 4. cap. 54. de Vita Constantini.*] universim de cunctis, in quibus Constantinus ut cumque culpabilis videbatur aliquibus. De caedibus autem, si rationem in particulari reddere voluisset, dixisset forsitan cum ipso Baronio, Licinium Juniorem ex sorore Constantiâ natum, etsi causa vulgo ignoraretur, verosimiliter tamen complicem patri suo fuisse: in Crispo filio infelicem magis quam reum: in Fausta conjuge etiam justum judicem appellandum. Numerosos amicos, quos successive interfectos scribit Eutropius. lib. 10. . . . credendum, plerosque id commeritos, quod nimiâ principis credulitate tandem deprehenderentur fuisse abusi *ob suam exuberantem malitiam*, ut loquitur Eusebius, *et insatiabilem cupiditatem*, qualis proculdubio fuit Sopater ille philosophus, tandem Ablabio agente interfectus: idque justa Dei dispensatione, quia Constantinum conatus a vera religione abalienare. . . . Et si plures quam alias tunc fuissent, quid hoc ad Fidem Christianam spectat, impingendumque Constantino nomen persecutoris, quamdiu nec unus quidem nominatur, cui ea de causa vel pilus capitis tactus fuerit? *Pagi ann.* 324. *n.* xii.

A. D. 379. "For (n) the former part of his reign he deſerves to be reckoned "among the beſt princes, and for the later part he muſt be ranked "with thoſe of a midle ſort. He was diſtinguiſhed by many good "qualities of body and mind. He was eſpecially deſirous of mili-"tarie honour: and indeed was proſperous in his wars. Nor was "his ſucceſſe therein beyond the merit of his abilities."

That is the judgement of *Eutropius*, whom I take to be rather a militarie man, than a Sophiſt. In his opinion Conſtantin was a great man, and no bad prince.

His Character of Julian.

III. In his character of Julian, beſide other things, he ſays, "he "(o) was very ambitious of glorie and honour: an enemie to the "Chriſtian Religion: however, ſo as to abſtain from bloud."

In ſome editions there is a word denoting that Julian, was *too great* an enemie to the Chriſtians. But ſome learned editors are of opinion, that that word is an interpolation. And, probably, it is ſo. Without it, it is here implied, that Julian in his enmity to the Chriſtian Religion bore hard upon the Chriſtians, and incommoded them in divers reſpects, though he did not put them to death, as ſome other Emperours had done.

This is all I think needfull to take from *Eutropius*. I ſhould have been well pleaſed to find more in a work, which is ſo filled with a variety of events in many reigns, ſome ſince the riſe of Chriſtianity, and others before it.

(n) Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Innumerae in eo animi corporiſque virtutes clarebunt: militaris gloriae appetentiſſimus, fortuna in bellis proſpera fuit: verum ita, ut non ſuperaret induſtriam. *Id. ib. l.* 10. *cap. vii.*

(o) Gloriae avidus, ac per eam animi plerumque immodici: nimius religionis Chriſtianae, inſectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abſtineret. *Lib.* 10. *cap. xvi.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

I. *His Time, and Work, and Character.* II. *Extracts from him.*

I. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (*a*) was a Greek, of a good familie at Antioch, who lived under Conſtantius, and the following Emperours, to the reign of Theodoſius, and near the end of the fourth centurie. He had early a militarie poſt, called *Domeſtic Protector*: which is reckoned to be an argument, that he was of a good familie. From the year 350. to 359. he ſerved in divers places under *Urſicinus*, Maſter of the Horſe to Conſtantius. He was with Julian in his Perſian expedition in 363. After which he ſeems to have continued in the Eaſt, and to have lived pretty much at Antioch, in which he was born. Which place he did not leave before the year 374. when he went to Rome, where he wrote his Hiſtorie, as appears from ſeveral parts of his work. Which is the hiſtorie

A. D. 380. *His Time, and Work.*

(*a*) *Vide Auctorem ipſum. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Latin. lib. 2. cap. ix. Vales. Praef. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 612. et T. 3. p. 113. Pope Blount Cenſura Auctorum. p. 181. Tillemont H. E. Valent. art. 23. Bayle Diction. Hiſt. Crit. Marcellin. The Writers of Univerſal Ancient Hiſtorie. vol. xvi. p. 351. 352.*

A. D. 380. hiſtorie of the Roman affairs from Nerva to the death of Valens in 378.

This Hiſtorie conſiſted of one and thirty books, the firſt thirteen of which are loſt, and the laſt eighteen only remaining: which begin at the 17. year of Conſtantius, of our Lord 353.

His ſtile is remarkably rough. But it is not ſtrange, that the ſtile of a ſoldier, and a Greek, writing in Latin, ſhould have ſome faults. Which however are fully compenſated by his faithfullneſſe and impartiality.

Some have thought him a Chriſtian. But that is evidently a miſtake, and they have had very few followers. They who have any doubts about this matter, may do well to conſult the preface of (*b*) *Adrian Valeſius* to his edition of this Author, and (*c*) Mr. *Bayle*'s Dictionarie. As he wrote under Chriſtian Emperours, he might not judge it proper to profeſs his religion unſeaſonably, and might think fit to be ſomewhat cautious in his reflexions upon Chriſtianity.

Says Tillemont, "It (*d*) is manifeſt, that he is zealous for idols, and for ſuch as worſhiped them: and particularly for Julian the Apoſtate, whom he makes his hero, and on the contrarie he appears to be a great enemie to Conſtantius. Nevertheleſs he often ſpeaks with ſome equity both of one and the other." ***

He

(*b*) Sed qui attente legerit, quae praeter cetera in fine libri xiv. de Adraſtia et Nemeſi, quae in libro xvi. de Mercurio, quae in libro xxi. de numine Themidis, de Haruſpicina, de Auguriis, variiſque artibus futura praenoſcendi, veteres Theologos ſuos et Phyſicos ac Myſticos ſecutus ſcripſit: profecto fateri cogetur, eum cultui Deorum addictum ac devotum fuiſſe. *A. Valeſ. Praef.*

(*c*) *See Ammian. Marcellin. note* (*B*).

(*d*) *L'Emp. Valens. art.* 23.

*** The late learned and excellent Mr. Moſheim was of opinion that *Marcellinus*, and ſome other learned men about this time, were a ſort of neuters. They neither rejected the Chriſtian religion, nor forſook the religion of their anceſtors. His argument may be ſeen quoted above. Vol. 3. p. 195. 196. Which appears to me a particularity in that great man. To me it ſeems, that *Ammianus* was as much a Heathen, as he would have been, if Chriſtianity had never appeared

A. D. 380.

He is plainly an admirer of Julian. Nevertheleſs, he deſerves, in my opinion, the character, which he gives of himſelf at the concluſion of his work *(f)* of a faithfull Hiſtorian. If I ſhould have occaſion to complain of ſome inſtances of partiality, I ſhall take the liberty to mention them.

Says Sueur: (*g*) "Ammianus Marcellinus is a celebrated Hiſtori-"an, who was in divers honourable militarie offices in the reigns of "ſeveral Emperours. He ſpeaks as an eye-witneſſe of many things, "of which he writes, and oftentimes of having a part in them. "Though he was a Pagan, he ſhews no animoſity againſt the Chri-"ſtian Religion, but expreſſeth himſelf with a great deal of mo-"deſtie, and repreſents things faithfully, and equitably, with great "care, and in good order."

As it appears from ſome things ſaid in the work itſelf, that it was not finiſhed before the year of Chriſt 390. I have placed him no earlier, than 380. though he had then flouriſhed a great while: as is evident from what has been juſt ſaid of him.

II. Having given this account of the Author himſelf, and his work, I now proceed to make extracts from him.

1. Ammianus informs us, "that (*b*) Conſtantin, deſirous to know

peared in the world. I refer to a quotation of Valeſius at p. 169. note (*b*) and particularly to Ammianus's defenſe and recommendation of Heathen Augurie, and other like methods of inveſtigating futurities, which are at the begining of the 21. book of his Hiſtorie. And there are many other places, proper to ſupport the ſame judgement concerning him.

(*f*) Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Nervae exorſus, ad uſque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi menſura: opus veritatis profeſſum nunquam, (ut arbitror,) ſciens ſilentio auſus corrumpere vel mendacio. *Ammian. l. 31. cap. xvi. ſub fin.*

(*g*) *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe et de l'Empire. A. 384. p. 446.*

(*b*) Domitiano crudeli morte conſumpto, Muſonius ejus ſucceſſor Orientem Praetoriani regebat poteſtate Praefecti, facundiâ ſermonis utriuſque clarus: unde ſublimius quam ſperabatur eluxit. Conſtantinus enim, cum limatius ſuperſtitionum

A. D. 380. " exactly the opinions of ſeveral ſects, the Manicheans in particular, " and the like, and not finding any one fit for that purpoſe, he ac- " cepted, and employed *Strategius*, who had been recommended to " him. And he diſcharged that office ſo much to ſatisfaction, that " the Emperour ordered, that for the future he ſhould be called *Mu- " ſonianus*."

That muſt be reckoned a curious paſſage: though we are not acquainted with the report made after inquiry. Nor do I know, that this is mentioned any where elſe by any other ancient writer now extant.

Strategius, who now approved himſelf to Conſtantin, was afterwards in ſeveral high offices. In the reign of Conſtantius he was for a while Proconſul of Achaia, and in the year 354. was made by the ſame Emperour, Prefect of the Praetorium in the Eaſt.

I tranſcribe in the margin more of this paragraph of Ammianus, than I have tranſlated. He ſays, that Strategius was noted for his ſkill in both languages, meaning Greek and Latin. And he commends him for the moderation, and mildneſſe, with which he governed the people of the provinces, who had been committed to his care. As does alſo *(i)* Libanius. I muſt likewiſe refer to *(k)* Gothofred.

2. In the hiſtorie of affairs in the year 355. he ſays, " that *(l)* *Le-* " *ontius*,

num quaereret ſectas, Manichaeorum, et ſimilium, nec interpres inveniretur idoneus, hunc ipſum commendatum, ut ſufficientem elegit: quem officio functum perite, Muſonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum. Et ex eo percurſis honorum gradibus multis adſcendit ad praefecturam; prudens alia, tolerabiliſque provinciis, et mitis, et blandus. &c. *Ammian. l. 15. cap. xiii.*

(i) Liban. de Vita ſua p. 29. C. D.

(k) Vid. Muſonianus. in Proſopogr. Cod. Theodoſ.

(l) Hoc adminiſtrante Leontio, Liberius, Chriſtianae legis antiſtes, a Conſtantio ad Comitatum mitti praeceptus eſt, tamquam Imperatoris juſſis, et plurimorum fui conſortium decretis obſiſtens, in re, quam brevi textu percurram. Athanaſium epiſcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam, ultra profeſſionem altius ſe efferentem, ſciſcitarique conatum externa, ut pro-

" *ontius*, who was then Preſect of Rome, having performed an act of A. D.
" juſtice becoming his office, he received an order from Conſtantius, 380.
" to ſend to him, at Milan, *Liberius*, a Prieſt of the Chriſtian law,
" [*Biſhop of Rome*] as having been diſobedient to the commands of
" the Emperour, and the decrees of many of his brethren. And I
" ſhall give a ſhort account of the affair. Athanaſius, Biſhop of A-
" lexandria at that time, taking more upon him, than became his
" character, as was confidently reported, was depoſed by a nume-
" rous aſſemblie, which they called a ſynod. For by his great ſkill
" in the augurie of birds, and other arts of prognoſtication, he was
" ſaid to have often foretold future things. He was alſo charged
" with other things contrarie to the Chriſtian law. When Libe-
" rius was deſired by the Emperour to aſſent to the reſt, and to ſub-
" ſcribe to the ſentence for removing him [*Athanaſius*] from the Sacer-
" dotal See, he obſtinatly refuſed to comply, again and again declar-
" ing, that it was the height of wickedneſſe to condemn a man un-
" ſeen and unheard: thus openly withſtanding the Emperour's will
" and pleaſure. For he being ever averſe to Athanaſius, though he
" knew the thing was already done effectually, yet he was very de-
" ſirous to have it confirmed by the authority alſo of that ſuperior
" power, which belongs to the Biſhops of the eternal City. Liberius
" not complying, he was ſent for to come to the Court. And was at
" length

prodidere rumores aſſidui, caetus in unum quaeſitus ejuſdem loci multorum (ſynodus ut appellant) removit a ſacramento quod obtinebat. Dicebatur enim fatidicarum ſortium fidem, quaeve augurales portenderent alites, ſcientiſſime callens, aliquoties praedixiſſe futura. Super his intendebantur et alia quoque a propoſito legis abhorrentia, cui praeſidebat. Hunc per ſubſcriptionem abjicere ſede Sacerdotali, paria ſentiens ceteris, jubente Principe, Liberius monitus perſeveranter renitebatur, nec viſum hominem, nec auditum damnare, nefas ultimum ſaepe exclamans, aperte ſcilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille, Athanaſio ſemper infeſtus, licet ſciret impletum, tamen auctoritate quoque, quâ potiores aeternae Urbis Epiſcopi, firmari deſiderio nitebatur ardenti. Quo non impetrato, Liberius aegre populi metu, qui ejus amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit abſportari. *Lib.* 15. *cap. vii.*

A. D. 380. " length carried away [to Milan] under a ſtrong guard in the night " time, for fear of the people, by whom he was dearly beloved."

So writes Ammianus, repreſenting this part of the conduct of Liberius, not diſagreeably to the accounts of our Eccleſiaſtical (*m*) writers. Liberius however was not always ſteady. But there is no neceſſity, that I ſhould now concern my ſelf any farther in his hiſtorie.

3. We muſt take another paſſage concerning Conſtantius. In his character of this Emperour, at the end of his reign, Ammianus ſays: " The (*n*) Chriſtian Religion, which in itſelf is plain and ſimple, " he adulterated with a childiſh ſuperſtition. For ſtudying it with " a vain curioſity, inſtead of ſober modeſtie, he raiſed many diſſen- " ſions, which when cauſed, he cheriſhed, and encreaſed by a ſtrife " about words. And the public carriages were even worn out by " the troops of Prieſts galloping from all quarters to their ſynods, " as they call them, to bring the whole ſect to their particular opi- " nion."

Moſt perſons will allow this to be a judicious paſſage. *Firſt*, he calls the Chriſtian Religion *a plain and ſimple religion*. They who beſt underſtand the New Teſtament, will moſt admire the juſtneſſe of this obſervation. *Secondly*, the *ſtrife about words*, very probably has a reference to thoſe two words, *homoüſius*, and *homoioüſius*, *of the ſame*, and *the like ſubſtance*, which cauſed ſo much diſturbance among Chriſtians in the fourth centurie. *Thirdly*, we plainly ſee, that the Arians rendred themſelves ridiculous, and expoſed the Chriſtian

(*m*) *Vid. Theodoret. l.* 2. *cap.* 16. *Sozom. l.* 4. *cap.* 9. *Athanaſ. Hiſtor. Arian. ad Monachos. p.* 364. . . . 368. *edit. Bened. Ruſin. H. E. l.* 1. *cap.* 20. *Sulp. Severi. Hiſt. l.* 2. *cap.* 39. *al cap.* 55. *et* 56.

(*n*) Chriſtianam religionem abſolutam et ſimplicem anili ſuperſtitione confundens: in qua ſcrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius, excitavit diſcidia plurima: quae progreſſa ſuſius aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis Antiſtitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque diſcurrentibus per ſynodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad ſuum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehicularis ſuccideret nervos. *Amm. M. l.* 21. *cap. xvi. ſeu ult.*

ſtian Religion, by the multitude of their ſynods in this (o) reign. Nor were the Heathen people only, but the Catholicks likewiſe were concerned for the poor poſt-horſes: as appears from a paſſage of Hilarie (p) obſerved by Valeſius in his notes upon this place of Ammianus. I ſhall alſo tranſcribe below a part of the conference at Milan between Liberius, and the Emperour Conſtantius, and Euſebius, his great Chamberlain, as it ſtands in (q) Theodoret. *Fourthly*, the deſign of theſe Councils was impertinent, namely, to bring all Chriſtians to an agreement in ſome words and phraſes, which were the invention of a vain and eager curioſity: when it was ſufficient for Chriſtians to agree in the main things of religion. *Laſtly*, take away the additions of human invention, and Chriſtians might agree, and be of one mind. Which is a very deſirable thing, and is the command and earneſt requeſt of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. But till that is done, unity is in vain exſpected, and Chriſtianity will be reproached. A. D. 380.

4. In the year 355, Conſtantius made Julian Ceſar, and ſent him into Gaul. "When (r) he came to Vienne, he was received with "great rejoycings. And, ſays Ammianus, at that time an old wo- "man, who had loſt her ſight, aſked, who it was, that was then "making his entrance into the city. And being informed, that it "was *Julian, the Ceſar*, ſhe cried out: *This man will repair the* "*temples of the Gods.*"

5. Am-

(o) Some notice was taken of their numerous creeds, and ſynods, formerly. *Credib. vol. vii. ch.* 69. §. *vi. p.* 273. . . . 276. Where alſo this ſame paſſage of Ammianus is quoted.

(p) Curſuſque ipſe publicus attritus ad nihilum reducitur. *Hilar. Fragmentum iii. p.* 1320. *C. Pariſ.* 1693.

(q) Ἐκίνητος ἐπίσκοπος ἔφην. Ἀλλ' ὁ δρόμος τῶν δημοσίων οὐχ ὑποστήσεται τὴν χρείαν τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων παρόδου. Λιβέριος· ὁ χρείαν ἔχει τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δημόσιν δρόμου. κ. λ. *Theod. l.* 2. *cap. xvi. p.* 94. *B.*

(r) Cumque Viennam veniſſet, ingredientem optatum quidem et impetrabilem [al. *Imperatorem*] honorifice ſuſceptura omnis aetas concurrebat et dignitas. . . . Tunc anus quaedam orba luminibus, cum percontando quinam eſſet ingreſſus, Julianum Caeſarem comperiſſet, exclamavit, hunc Deorum templa reparaturum. *Id. l.* 15. *cap. viii. fin.*

A. D. 380.

5. Ammianus gives this account of Julian's diſſimulation of his real ſentiments, even after he was declared Emperour and Auguſtus by the ſoldiers at Paris, and after he had accepted of thoſe titles. It is in the hiſtorie of affairs at the begining of the year 361. Julian was then marching toward Conſtantinople, and was got as far as Vienne in Gaul.

"In (s) the mean time, ſays Ammianus, making no alteration in "the preſent ſtate of things, but with a ſedate and compoſed mind "diſpoſing matters according as incidents led him, and by degrees "confirming his authority, that the encreaſe of his power might be "proportionable to the encreaſe of his dignity. And that he might "ſecure the affections of all, he pretended to be ſtill a Chriſtian, "though he had for ſome good while before ſecretly forſaken that "religion, and practiſed ſouthſaying, and augurie, and other things, "which are always performed by the worſhipers of the Gods. But "thoſe things were done privatly, and were known to a very few "only, who were acquainted with all his ſecrets. And that this "change might be ſtill concealed for a while, on a holiday, which "the Chriſtians keep in the month of Januarie, and call the Epi-"phanie, he went to their church, and publicly worſhiped the De-"ity, according to their cuſtom."

By Zonarus the ſame ſtorie is told in this manner. "Though "(t) Julian had long ſince renounced Chriſtianity, fearing the ſol-"diers,

(s) Agebat itaque nihil interim de ſtatu rerum praeſentium mutans, ſed animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta diſponens, paullatimque ſe corroborans, ut dignitatis augmento virium quoque congruerent incrementa. Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad ſui favorem illiceret, adhaetere cultui Chriſtiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte deſciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruſpicinae, augurliſque intentus, et ceteris, quae Deorum ſemper fecere cultores. Et ut haec interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes menſe Januario Chriſtiani Epiphania dictitant, progreſſus in eorum eccleſiam, ſolemniter numine orato diſceſſit. *L.* 21. *cap ii. fin.*

(t) Ἤδη δὲ τὴν εἰς χριστὸν ἐξομοσάμενος πίστιν, τυλαβῶν διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς δῆθεν χριστιανὸς ἐξομολογήσας χριστιανὸς ὤφθη. Διὸ συ-

"diers, whom he knew to be almoſt all Chriſtians, the better to "cover his wickedneſſe, he gave leave to all to follow their own re- "ligious rites. And on the day of our Saviour's nativity he went "to church, and worſhiped, that he might ſeem to agree with the "ſoldiers." Zonarus calls that *our Saviour's nativity*, which Ammianus calls *the Epipbanie*. They mean the ſame day, the ſixth of Januarie, on which many Chriſtians in the Eaſt celebrated both our Saviour's nativity and baptiſm. A. D. 380.

6. He gives this account of Julian's conduct in matters of religion, after the death of Conſtantius, and after his entrance into Conſtantinople.

"And (*u*) though from his early youth he had been inclined to "the worſhip of the Gods, as he grew up, his affection for it was "greatly encreaſed. But being full of fears, he performed only "ſome of the rites belonging to it, and with the utmoſt ſecrecie. "But when the cauſes of his fears were removed, and he found, "the time was come that he could freely do what he pleaſed, he "diſcovered the ſecrets of his mind: and by plain and expreſs e- "dicts he ordered the temples to be opened, and ſacrifices to "be offered in the worſhip of the Gods. And that he might the "better

συσκιάζων τὸν ἑαυτῦ κακίαν, ἕκαστον ἐκέλευε θρησκεύειν ὡς βέλοιτο. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς γενεθλίου τῦ κυρίου ἡμέρας ἐφοιτηκυίας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν, καὶ προσκυνήσας, ἵν' ὁμόδοξος τοῖς στρατιώταις δόξῃ, ἀπῆλθεν. *Zonar.*

(*u*) Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiae primis inclinatior erat erga numinum cultum, paullatimque adulescens desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quaedam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat occultissime. Ubi vero abolitis quae verebatur, adesse sibi liberum tempus faciundi quae vellet, advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana; et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque hostias admoveri ad Deorum statuit cultum. Utque disposituorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum Antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos monebat, ut civilibus discordiis consopitis quisque nullo vetante religioni suae serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentiâ, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem: nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi serales plerique Christianorum, expertus. *L.* 22, *cap.* v.

A. D. 380. " better ſecure the ſucceſſe of his deſigns, having ſent for the diſ-
" agreeing Biſhops of the Chriſtians, together with the divided peo-
" ple, and they being introduced into his palace: he told them,
" that all civil diſcord being laid aſide, every one might practiſe
" his own religious rites without fear or moleſtation. Which he
" did with this view, that liberty encreaſing their diſſenſions, he
" might have nothing to fear from their unanimity among them-
" ſelves. For he had obſerved, that no beaſts were ſo cruel to
" men, as the generality of Chriſtians are to one another."

7. Having (*x*) commended Julian for ſome alterations for the better in proceedings at law, he adds: " But that was an unmercifull
" law, and to be forever buried in ſilence, which forbid the Chri-
" ſtians to teach grammar or rhetorick."

He ſpeaks again of this law in his general character of Julian after his death. " His (*y*) laws he ſays, were generally right, and
" commendable for their plainneſſe and perſpicuity, whether they
" commanded, or forbid the doing any thing, except a few only.
" Among which muſt be reckoned that unmercifull law, which for-
" bid the Chriſtian Profeſſors of Rhetorick and Grammar, to teach,
" unleſs they came over to the worſhip of the Gods."

Of this we ſaid ſomething formerly in the chapter of Julian: to which place therefore, the reader is now (*z*) referred.

8. Soon after the firſt of thoſe two paſſages he relates the murder of George, the Arian Biſhop of Alexandria, by the Heathen people of that place. Which muſt have happened near the end of the year 362.

(*x*) Poſt multa enim etiam jura quaedam correxit in melius, ambagibus circumciſis, indicantia liquide, quid juberent fieri, vel vetarent. Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni ſilentio, quod arcebat docere magiſtros Rhetoricos et Grammaticos, ritus Chriſtiani cultores. *Lib.* 22. *cap.* x. *fin.*

(*y*) Namque et jura condidit non moleſta, abſolute quaedam jubentia fieri, vel arcentia, praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magiſtros Grammaticos Chriſtianos, ni tranſiſſent ad numinum cultum. *Lib.* 25. *cap.* v.

(*z*) *See before*, p. 40. 41.

362. In this account I may omit ſome particulars, for the ſake of brevity. By (*) Julian's order, Artemius, Duke, or Governour of Egypt, had been put to death. This ſeems to have been very acceptable to the Heathen people of that city. "When *(a)* they "heard of that, as Ammianus ſays, they turned their rage againſt "George the Biſhop, who had often abuſed them, and, as I may ſay, A. D. 380.

(*) *Of Artemius may be ſeen Theodoret. H. E. l. 3. cap. 18. And compare Baſnag. Ann. 362. num. xi.*

(a) Cumque tempus interſtetiſſet exiguum, Alexandrini Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur ne cum poteſtate reverſus (id enim minatus eſt) multos laederet ut offenſus, iram in Georgium verterunt Epiſcopum, vipereis, ut ita dixerim, morſibus ab eo ſaepius appetiti. In fullonio natus, ut ferebatur, apud Epiphaniam Ciliciae oppidum, auctuſque in damna complurium, contra utilitatem ſuam, reique communis, Epiſcopus Alexandriae eſt ordinatus, in civitate, quae ſuopte motu, et ubi cauſſae non ſuppetunt, ſeditionibus crebris agitatur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides. His efferatis hominum mentibus Georgius quoque ipſe grave acceſſerat incentivum, apud patulas aures Conſtantii multos exinde incuſans, ut ejus recalcitrantes imperiis: profeſſioniſque ſuae oblitus, quae nihil niſi juſtum ſuadet et lene, ad delatorum auſa feralia deſciſcebat.. . . Ad haec mala id quoque addiderat, unde paullo poſt truſus eſt in exitium praeceps. Reverſus ex comitatu Principis, cum tranſiret per ſpecioſum Genii templum, multitudine ſtipatus ex more, flexibus ad aedem ipſam luminibus, *Quamdiu*, inquit, *ſepulchrum hoc ſtabit?* Quo audito velut fulmine multi perculſi, metuenteſque ne illud quoque tentaret evertere, quicquid poterant, in ejus perniciem clandeſtinis inſidiis concitabant. Ecce autem repente perlato laetabili nuntio, indicante exſtinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio inſperato vocibus horrendis infrendens, Georgium petit: raptimque diverſis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans: divaricatis pedibus. . . . Quo non contenta multitudo immanis dilaniata cadavera peremptorum camelis impoſita vexit ad littus: iiſdemque ſubdito igne crematis, cineres projecit in mare, id metuens, ut clamabat, ne collectis ſupremis, aedes illis exſtruerentur, ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulſi, pertulere cruciabiles poenas, aduſque glorioſam mortem intemerata fide progreſſi, et nunc Martyres appellantur. Poterantque miſerandi homines ad crudele ſupplicium ducti, Chriſtianorum adjumento defendi, ni Georgii odio omnes indiſcrete flagrabant. Hoc comperto, Imperator ad vindicandum facinus nefandum erectus, jamque expetiturus poenas a noxiis ultimas, mitigatus eſt lenientibus proximis. Miſſoque edicto, acri oratione ſcelus deteſtabatur admiſſum, minatus extrema, ſi deinde tentatum fuerit aliquid, quod juſtitia vetet et leges. *lib. 22. cap. xi.*

A. D. 388. "ſay, with viparous malice: a man born, as it was ſaid, in a ful-
"ling mill, at Epiphania, a town in Cilicia, and who had grown
"great to the ruin of many. And at length neither for his own,
"nor for the public good, was ordained Biſhop of Alexandria, a
"place, as is well known, very apt to go into ſedition. To thoſe
"turbulent and exaſperated ſpirits George himſelf added fuel, often
"accuſing people to Conſtantius, whoſe ears were too open to ſuch
"things, as diſaffected to his government. Thus forgetting the
"office of his profeſſion, which recommends nothing but juſtice and
"lenity, he went into the vile methods of informers. . . . To all
"theſe provocations he added this alſo, which ſoon haſtened his
"ruin. Being returned home from the Imperial Court, as he was
"paſſing by the beautifull temple of Genius, accompanied with a
"numerous attendance, as uſual, turning his eyes to the temple it-
"ſelf, *How long*, ſays he, *ſhall this ſepulchre ſtand?* Being greatly
"enraged, they fell upon George, and ſome others, and killed
"them. The mad multitude not content with that, took the man-
"gled bodies of thoſe whom they had killed, and placing them up-
"on the backs of camels, they carried them to the ſea-ſide: and
"having burnt them, threw the aſhes into the ſea, leaſt, as they
"ſaid, if their reliques were gathered up, they ſhould have tem-
"ples built to their honour, as had been done for others: who when
"required to renounce their religion, had ſuffered the moſt cruel
"torments, and even a moſt glorious death, with unſhaken con-
"ſtance, and are now called Martyrs. Thoſe unhappy men, who
"were thus deſtroyed, might have been ſaved with the aſſiſtance of
"the Chriſtians: [*meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Catholics, friends of Atha-
"naſius:*] but that all in general, without exception, were filled
"with hatred of George. The Emperour, when he heard of this
"tranſaction, was much provoked, and intended to inflict an exem-
"plarie puniſhment. But his diſpleaſure was moderated by thoſe
"who were about him. Whereupon he ſent an edict to the Alex-
"andrians, ſeverely reproving them for this outrage, and threaten-
"ing

"ing the heavieſt penalties, if they ſhould again do any thing contra- A. D. 380.
"rie to juſtice and the laws."

Of this tranſaction we took ſome notice before, in the life (*b*) of Julian, and obſerved, that the Letter, or Edict, here mentioned, as ſent upon this occaſion, is ſtill exſtant. However, I have thought it beſt to bring up this ſtorie again, as related by Ammianus.

And upon this account of our Heathen Author, we may obſerve, that Ammianus knew very well, *that the office of a Chriſtian Biſhop taught him nothing but juſtice and lenity.* Farther, he was acquainted with the ſufferings of Chriſtians in former times. And though they are here mentioned by the by only, if I do not miſunderſtand him, he appears to have had a high opinion of their fidelity, and fortitude, in patiently enduring the moſt exquiſite tortures, rather than do any thing contrarie to the conviction of their own minds. And he eſteemed their death *glorious*, and honorable to themſelves.

It ſeems to me very probable, that if we ſtill had remaining the firſt books of this work of Ammianus, which are now irrecoverably loſt; we ſhould have ſeen many things relating to Chriſtian affairs, that would have been inſtructive, and entertaining.

9. Whilſt Julian was at Antioch, in his way to the Perſian war, the temple of Apollo at Daphne, near that city, was ſuddenly burnt down on the 22. day of October 362. "By (*c*) which ſudden and "terrible accident, ſays Ammianus, the Emperour's diſpleaſure was "greatly raiſed: ſo that he commanded a more than ordinarie ſtrict "inquirie to be made by tortures into the cauſe of it, and ordered "the

(*b*) *p.* 97.

(*c*) Eodem tempore die xi. Kalend. Novembrium ampliſſimum Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus Rex ille condidit iracundus et ſaevus, et ſimulachrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti aequiparans magnitudinem, ſubita vi flammarum exuſtum eſt. Quo tam atroci caſu repente conſumpto, ad id uſque Imperatorem ira provexit, ut quaeſtiones agitari juberet ſolito acriores, et majorem eccleſiam Antiochiae claudi. Suſpicabatur enim id Chriſtianos egiſſe ſtimulatos invidiâ, quod idem templum inviti videbant ambitioſo circumdari periſtylio. *L.* 22. *cap.* xiii.

A. D. 380.

"the great Church at Antioch to be ſhut up. For he ſuſpected, "that the Chriſtians out of envie had ſet fire to the temple, becauſe "it was ſurrounded by a magnificent colonnade."

10. The paſſage to be next taken would be this Author's account of Julian's deſign to rebuild the Temple at Jeruſalem. But that has been already quoted in the chapter of *(d)* Julian, and nothing farther needs to be now ſaid about it.

11. Of Jovian who ſucceeded Julian, Ammianus ſays, he *(e)* was a zealous Chriſtian.

12. Liberius, Biſhop of Rome, before mentioned, having died in September, 366. the third year of Valentinian and Valens, there was a warm contention for his place between *Damaſus*, and *Urſinus*, who was deacon in that church. Ammianus ſpeaks of this matter at the year 367.

"*Damaſus (f)* and *Urſinus*, ſays he, heated with an extravagant "ambition for the Epiſcopal ſeat, were ſo fierce in their con-

"tention,

(d) See above, p. 53.

(e) Chriſtianae legis idem ſtudioſus . . . *L. 25. cap. x. ſub fin.*

(f) Damaſus et Urſinus ſupra humanum modum ad rapiendam Epiſcopatus ſedem ardentes, ſciſſis ſtudiis aſperrime conflictabantur, aduſque mortis vulnerumque diſcrimina adjumentis utriuſque progreſſis: quae nec corrigere ſufficiens Juventius nec mollire, coactus vi magna ſeceſſit in ſuburbanum. Et in concertatione ſuperaverat Damaſus, parte quae ei favebat inſtante. Conſtatque in baſilica Sicinnini, ubi ritus Chriſtiani eſt conventiculum, uno die centum triginta ſeptem reperta cadavera peremptorum: efferatamque diu plebem aegre poſtea delenitam. Neque ego abnuo, oſtentationem rerum conſiderans Urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum jurgari debere: cum id adepti, futuri ſint ita ſecuri, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis inſidentes, circumſpecte veſtiti, epulas curantes profuſas, adeo ut earum convivia regales ſuperent menſas. Qui eſſe poterant beati revera, ſi magnitudine Urbis deſpecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem Antiſtitum quorumdam provincialium viverent: quos tenuitas edendi potandique parciſſime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et ſupercilia humum ſpectantia, perpetuo numini veriſque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos. *L. 27. cap. iii. fin.*

" tention, that on each ſide the quarrel proceeded to wounds, and A. D. 380.
" even to death. *Juventius* [Prefect of Rome] not being able to
" ſtop, nor to compoſe the difference, was compelled to retire into
" the ſuburbs. Damaſus overcame in the conteſt, the party that
" was with him prevailing. It is certain, that in the baſilick of Si-
" cinninus, where was an aſſemblie of the Chriſtians, an hundred and
" ſeven and thirty were killed in one day. And it was a good while,
" before the exaſperated multitude were brought to good temper.
" Nor do I deny, conſidering the pomp and wealth of the City,
" that they who are deſirous of ſuch things, are in the right to con-
" tend with all their might for what they are fond of: ſince having
" obtained it, they are ſure of being enriched with the offerings
" of matrons, and will ride in chariots, and be delicatly clad, and
" may make profuſe entertainments, ſurpaſſing the tables of princes.
" But they might be happy indeed, if deſpiſing the grandeur of the
" City, which they allege as an excuſe for their luxurie, they would
" imitate the life of ſome countrey-Biſhops, who by their tempe-
" rance in eating and drinking, by the plainneſſe of their habit, and
" the modeſtie of their whole behaviour, approve themſelves to the
" eternal Deity, and his true worſhipers, as men of virtue and
" piety."

Under the year 368, he greatly commends PRAETEXTATUS, who had ſucceded *Juventius*, as Prefect of Rome, and ſays, " that *(g)* by his wiſdom and good conduct, the diſturbance was compoſed, which the quarrels of the Chriſtians had occaſioned, and Urſinus having been baniſhed, tranquillity was reſtored."

What Ammianus here writes, is very true. Damaſus was Biſhop of Rome after Liberius. And Socrates ſays, that *(b)* in the contention

(g) Cujus auctoritate juſtiſque veritatis ſuffragiis tumultu lenito, quem Chriſtianorum jurgia concitarunt, pulſoque Urſino, alta quies parta, propoſito civium Romanorum aptiſſima. *Lib. 27. cap. ix.*

(b) Ἐταράζετο δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸς, οὐ διά τινα πίστεως διάφορον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μέσου τίς ὀφείλει τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ θρόνου ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι. *Socrat. H. E. l. 4. cap. xxix.*

A. D. 380. tion between Damaſus and Urſinus many were killed. And he obſerves, "that the ground of the contention was not any hereſie, or difference of opinion, but only which of them ſhould be Biſhop." And Sozomen, in the very words of Ammianus, ſays, this (*i*) contention proceeded to wounds and death.

It is plain from Ammianus, that at that time the Biſhops of Rome lived in great ſplendour, and that this contention about the Biſhoprick was a ſcandalous thing. There were, however, ſome countrey-biſhops, who not having the temptation of riches, were humble and modeſt, as became their profeſſion. In ſhort, it was the opinion of *Ammianus*, that a man may be a good Biſhop without being rich: and that piety and modeſtie do more recommend religion, than a great deal of ſtate and ſplendour. Once more, in the opinion of this Heathen author, a Chriſtian Biſhop, who deſpiſes grandeur, may be a more happy man, than he who enjoys the grandeur even of the city of Rome, is enriched with the preſents of Ladies, rides in a coach, is delicatly clad, and is able to give more than princely entertainments.

13. As we have ſeen in Ammianus ſome notice taken of the ſplendour of the Biſhop of Rome at that time; I may add a ſhort ſtorie from Jerome concerning PRAETEXTATUS, juſt mentioned, who was a very eminent man, and was well acquainted with Damaſus, and as may be ſuppoſed, ſaw, how he lived. Jerome then tells us, "that *(k) Praetextatus*, in converſation with Damaſus, would "ſometimes pleaſantly ſay to him: *Make me Biſhop of Rome, and I* "*will preſently be a Chriſtian.*"

14. Ammianus relates ſeveral cruelties of Valentinian. As Chriſtianity is mentioned in ſome of them, I am likewiſe obliged to obſerve

(*i*) ἐς μάχην ἠ τραυμάτων ἠ φόνων τὸ καλὸν προελθεῖν. *Soz. l.* 6. *cap. xxiii. p.* 666. *D.*

(*k*) Miſerabilis Praetextatus, qui deſignatus Conſul eſt mortuus. Homo ſacrilegus, et idolorum cultor, ſolebat ludens beato Papae Damaſo dicere: *Facite me Romanae Urbis Epiſcopum, et ero protinus Chriſtianus. Hieron. Ep.* 38. *al.* 61. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 310. *fin.*

ſerve theſe paſſages. "Among (*m*) his cruelties, ſays he, that were "much obſerved, this was one. Diodorus, who had been his "ſteward, and three Sergeants of the Vicar of the Prefect of Italie, "were cruelly put to death by him upon the complaint of a cer- "tain Count, whom Diodorus had judicially ſummoned to appear "before the Vicar, and to whom the Sergeants by orders of the "Vicar, had delivered the ſummons. Whoſe memorie, ſays Am- "mianus, is ſtill honoured by the Chriſtians at Milan, who call the "place where they were buried, *The Innocents.* Then alſo in the "caſe of one Maxentius, when on account of a ſentence legally "pronounced, he ordered the officers of three towns to be put to "death. Whereupon Eupraxius, the Quaeſtor, interceded in this "manner: *Be more moderate, o moſt pious of Princes. For they, "whom you command to be put to death as guilty, the Chriſtian religion "reverenceth as Martyrs, that is, men acceptable to the Deity.*" A. D. 380.

15. Ammianus (*n*) ſpeaks afterwards of another cruelty of Valentinian, in putting to death a Preſbyter of the Chriſtian Religion upon account of Octavianus, formerly Proconſul. But the paſſage is defective, ſome words being wanting. It is ſuppoſed by Valeſius in his

(*m*) Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter alias humilium neces, mors Dioclis, ex Comite Largitionum Illyrici, quem ob delicta levia flammis juſſit exuri: et Diodori ex Agente in rebus, triumque Apparitorum poteſtatis Vicariae per Italiam, ob id necatorum atrociter, quod apud eum queſtus eſt Comes, Diodorum quidem adverſus ſe civiliter imploraſſe juris auxilium, officiales vero juſſu judicis auſos monere proficiſcentem, ut reſponderet ex lege. Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc uſque Chriſtiani, locum ubi ſepulti ſunt: *Ad Innocentes* appellant. Dein cum in negotio Maxentii cujuſdam Pannonii ob exſecutionem recte maturari praeceptam trium oppidorum ordines mactari juſſiſſet, interpellavit Eupraxius tunc Quaeſtor: et, *Parcius*, inquit, *agito, Piiſſime Principum. Hos enim, quos interfici tamquam noxios jubes, ut Martyras, id eſt, Divinitati acceptos, colit religio Chriſtiana. Lib.* 27. *cap. vii.*

(*n*) Epiſotèn aliquem ritus Chriſtiani Preſbyterum .... tam Octavianum ex proconſule ... offenſarum auctore licet tardius ad ſua redire permiſſo. *Amm. l.* 29. *cap. iii. p.* 614.

A D. 380. his notes upon Ammianus, to be the ſame thing, which is inſerted by Jerome in his Chronicle, at the year of Chriſt 372. who ſays: "In (*n*) this year a Preſbyter of Sirmium was moſt unjuſtly behead-"ed, becauſe he did not diſcover Octavianus, formerly Proconſul, "who lay concealed at his houſe."

16. In his character of Valentinian, at the end of his reign, Ammianus ſays: "Laſtly (*o*) he was remarkable for the moderation of "his government, that he ſtood neuter between all the diverſities "of religion, and was troubleſome to none, nor did he require any "to follow either this, or that. Nor did he ſtrive by ſevere edicts "to bend the necks of his ſubjects to his own way of worſhip, but "left matters untouched in the condition he found them."

Socrates ſays, "that (*p*) Valentinian was favorable to the men of "his own opinion, [*meaning the Homoïſians*] without being trouble-"ſome to the Arians." Which is very true. But the obſervation of Ammianus is more extenſive, including moderation toward Helleniſts, as well as Chriſtians. An inſtance of this may be hereafter taken notice of by us from (*q*) Zoſimus, and perhaps from ſome other writers alſo.

Having alleged the principal paſſages of Ammianus, I ſhall now put down ſome others, though out of the order of time, as being of ſome uſe.

17. In the affairs of Gallus Ceſar, in the reign of Conſtantius, at the year 553. he ſpeaks of one (*r*) *Maras*, a Deacon, as the Chriſtians call it.

18. Sil-

(*n*) Preſbyter Sirmii nequiſſime decollatur, quod Octavianum ex proconſule apud ſe latitantem prodere noluiſſet. *Hieron. Chr. p.* 187.

(*o*) Poſtremo hoc moderamine Principatus ſui inclaruit, quod inter religionum diverſitates medius ſtetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit, aut illud: nec interdictis minacibus ſubjectorum cervicem ad id quod ipſe coluit inclinabat, ſed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit. *Lib.* 30. *cap. ix.*

(*p*) *Socr. l.* 4. *c. i. p.* 211. *B.*

(*q*) *Zoſ. l.* 4. *ſub. in.*

(*r*) . . . Maras quidam nomine inductus eſt (ut appellant Chriſtiani) diaconus. *L.* 14. *cap. ix.*

18. Silvanus, Maſter of the horſe to Conſtantius, who had performed many ſervices for him, and for his father, Conſtantin, fell under ſuſpicions of diſaffection to the government. Whereby he was in a manner obliged for his own ſafety to rebell, and take the imperial purple at Cologne, where he then was, in the year 355. A. D. 380.
" The ſoldiers of Urſicinus got into that city, and killed the guards, " and ſoon after Silvanus himſelf, Ammianus ſays, as (*s*) he was " fleeing to a conventicle of the Chriſtians." That was the end of Silvanus, in about a month after he had aſſumed the title of Emperour.

19. When Sapores, King of Perſia, had gained ſome advantages over the Romans, in the time of Conſtantius, " and (*t*) had ta- " ken ſome virgins, after the Chriſtian manner devoted to God, as " Ammianus ſays, he gave orders, that no man ſhould hurt them, " and that they ſhould be permitted to perform their religious wor- " ſhip in their own way, without moleſtation."

20. " He (*u*) alſo ſpeaks of a Biſhop of the Chriſtian Law, in a

(*s*) Firmato itaque negotio per ſequeſtres quoſdam gregarios, obſcuritate ipſa ad id patrandum idoneos, praemiorum exſpectatione accenſos, ſolis ortu jam rutilo ſubitus armatorum globus erupit: atque ut ſolet in dubiis rebus audentior, caeſis cuſtodibus, regiâ penetratâ, Sylvanum, extractum aediculâ, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Chriſtiani tendentem, denſis gladiorum ictibus trucidarunt. *Lib.* 15. *cap. v. p.* 92.

(*t*) Inventas tamen alias quoque virgines Chriſtiano ritu cultui divino ſacratas, cuſtoditi intactas, et religioni ſervire ſolito more, nullo vetante, praecepit. *Lib.* 18 *cap. x. fin.*

(*u*) Verum ſecuto die otio communi adſenſu poſt aerumnas multiplices attributo, cum magnus terror circumſiſteret muros, Perſaeque paria formidarent: Chriſtianae legis Antiſtes exire ſe velle geſtibus oſtendebat et nutu: acceptaque fide, quod redire permitteretur incolumis, aduſque tentoria Regis acceſſit. Ubi datâ copiâ dicendi quae vellet, ſuadebat placido ſermone diſcedere Perſas ad ſua . . . Sed perſtabat incaſſum haec multaque ſimilia diſſerendo, efferata veſania Regis obſtante, non ante caſtrorum excidium digredi pertinaciter adjurantis. Perſtrinxit tamen ſuſpicio varia quaedam, Epiſcopum, ut opinor, licet aſſeveratione vulgata multorum, quod clandeſtino colloquio Saporem docuerat, quae moenium appeteret membra ut fragilia intrinſecus et invalida. *L.* 20 *cap. vii.*

A. D. 380. "caſtle beſieged by Sapores, who went out to the King to perſuade "him to deſiſt from his deſign upon the place. But he was ſuſ- "pected of informing the King, where the caſtle was weakeſt, and "might be attacked to the beſt advantage."

21. In the begining of the reign of Valentinian, "Antonianus (x) "Prefect of Rome, condemned a perſon to death for the practiſe of "ſome magical arts. But the executioner, as Ammianus ſays, loſing "his hold, the criminal fled to a chaple of the Chriſtian rite. But "being preſently taken thence, had his head cut off."

22. In the year 367. or 368. in the time of Valentinian, "a (y) "German Prince, named *Rando*, ſurpriſed the city of Mentz, then "without a garriſon. And, as Ammianus ſays, finding the people "engaged in celebrating a feaſt of the Chriſtian rite, he plundered "the place, and carried off without reſiſtance the people of both "ſexes, and of every condition, with all their effects."

23. "Palladius, Notarie, or Secretarie of State, had been taken "up by order of Valentinian for ſome offenſes. And (z) ſays Am- "mianus,

(x) Dum haec in Oriente volubiles fatorum explicant ſortes, Apronianus regens Urbem aeternam, judex integer et ſeverus, inter curarum praecipua, quibus haec Praefectura ſaepe ſollicitatur, id primum operâ curabat enixâ, ut veneficos, qui tunc rareſcebant, captos, . . . indicatis conſciis morte multaret . . . Denique . . . Hilarinum aurigam convictum atque confeſſum . . . capitali animadverſione damnavit: qui, laxius retinente carnifice, ſubito lapſus confugit ad ritus Chriſtiani ſacrarium, abſtractuſque exinde illico abſciſſa cervice conſumptus eſt. *Lib.* 26. *cap. iii. p.* 488.

(y) Sub idem fere tempus Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute ut rebatur profecto, Alimannus Regalis Rando nomine, diu praeſtruens quod cogitabat, moguntiacum praeſidiis vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepſit. Et quoniam caſu Chriſtiani ritus invenit celebrari ſolemnitatem, impraepedite cujuſquemodi fortunae virile et muliebre ſecus cum ſupellectibi non parva indefenſum abduxit. *Lib.* 27. *cap. x. p.* 542.

(z) His literis ad Comitatum miſſis et lectis, Valentiniani juſſu Meterius raptus ſuam eſſe confitetur epiſtolam: ideoque Palladius exhiberi praeceptus, cogitans quas criminum coxerit moles, in ſtatione primis tenebris obſervatâ cuſtodum abſentiâ, qui feſto die Chriſtiani ritus in Eccleſia pernoctabant, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit. *Lib.* 28. *cap. vi. p.* 593.

" mianus, ſenſible of his guilt, early in the evening, when his keep- A. D. 380.
" ers were abſent, being gone to ſpend the night in a neighboring
" church on a feſtival of the Chriſtian rite, he hanged himſelf."
Tillemont (*a*) thinks, it might be the Eve of Eaſter in 374.

24. I have now tranſcribed a great deal from *Ammianus*. Nevertheleſs I hope, not too much. Many of the paſſages are important, as well as entertaining. Some are curious. If any others are leſs material, they are ſtill of ſome uſe. They ſerve to ſhew, that Chriſtian people were then of ſome conſequence. A Heathen hiſtorian, writing of public affairs, could not decline to take notice of them. And for the moſt part he ſpeaks civilly of them, and with marks of moderation.

(*a*) *See L'Emp. Valentinian. art. xxvii. Tom. v. p.* 196.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

VEGETIUS.

A. D. 390. FLAVIUS VEGETIUS RENATUS (*a*) wrote a treatiſe in five books, of the Art of War, dedicated to an Emperour, by whoſe order it was compoſed. In moſt copies it is inſcribed to *Valentinian* the Second: though ſome think, it was rather dedicated to *Theodoſius* the Firſt. Fabricius (*b*) is inclined to think him a Chriſtian. As that is only a doubtfull point, I ſuppoſe I ought to quote him among Heathen writers, and at the year 390. which is ſome while before the death of Valentinian the Second, and five years before the death of Theodoſius:

He gives this account of the oath taken at that time by ſoldiers, when enliſted into the Legions. "They (*c*) ſwear, ſays he, by God, "and by Chriſt, and by the Holy Spirit, and by the Emperour's "Majeſty, who is to be loved and honoured by mankind in the "next place after God."

(*a*) *Fabric. Bib. Lat. L.* 3. *cap. xii. T. i. p.* 616. *Tillem. H. Emp. Theodoſ. i. art.* 92.

(*b*) Fl. Vegetius Renatus videtur fuiſſe Chriſtianus. *Fabr. Bib. Lat. T.* 3. *p.* 132. *Hamb.* 1722.

(*c*) Jurant autem per Deum, et per Chriſtum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, et per Majeſtatem Imperatoris, quae ſecundum Deum generi humano diligenda eſt et colenda. *Veget. Inſtitutio Rei Militaris. l.* 2. *cap. v. Quemadmodum Legio conſtituatur.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

EUNAPIUS.

I. *His Time, and Works.* II. *Extracts from his Hiſtorie of the Roman Emperours.* III. *Extracts from his Lives of the Sophiſts and Philoſophers.* IV. *Remarks upon the foregoing Extracts.*

I. EUNAPIUS (*a*) was a native of Sardis in Lydia. He came from Aſia to Athens, when he (*b*) was about 16 years of age, in the year of Chriſt 363. or 364. and (*c*) therefore not till after the death of Julian: when likewiſe *Proæreſius*, the Chriſtian Sophiſt, was returned to his chair, and had reſumed his lectures. Under that celebrated Sophiſt Eunapius (*d*) ſtudied five

A. D. 396. *His Time, and Works.*

(*a*) Nec multo hoc junior Eunapius fuit. Nam Valentiniani, Valentis, et Gratiani temporibus vixit: Sophiſta, idem Medicus, ac hiſtoricus inſignis, magni illius Proæreſii diſcipulus, affinis nobilis ſophiſtæ Chryſanthii: quippe qui Eunapii conſobrinam duxiſſet uxorem. *Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Gr. l. 2. cap. xviii. Vid. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 232. &c. Tillem. Theodoſ. i. art. 95.*

(*b*) *Eunap. in Vita Proær. p. 102. et 126.*

(*c*) Il quitta l'Aſie, et vint à Athenes agé de 16 ans, au mois d'Octobre, vers le temps de Julien, mais apparemment, lorſqu'il eſtoit mort, et que Proereſe avoit repris ſes leçons. Ainſi c'eſtoit en 363. ou 364. *Tillem. ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) *See Eunapius, as before, note* (*b*).

A. D. 396. five years. He wrote a book with this title, The (e) Lives of Philoſophers, and Sophiſts, which was not finiſhed, till near the end of the fourth centurie. For which reaſon I place him at the year 396. In that (f) work he ſpeaks of his having writ the Hiſtorie of the Roman Emperours, and that he ſhould write the ſame hiſtorie again. That hiſtorie, in the ſecond edition of it, reached to the year 404. as it began at the year 268. with the reign of Claudius the Second, who ſucceded Gallien. This may ſuffice for the hiſtorie of this writer, and his works.

Extracts from his Hiſtorie of the Roman Emperours.

II. I begin my extracts with the Hiſtorie of the Emperours, of which we have remaining ſome fragments only. Photius in his Bibliotheque gives this account of it. "We (g) have read, ſays he, "the Chronical Hiſtorie of Eunapius, in the new edition, in four-"teen books. He begins his Hiſtorie with the reign of Claudius, "where Dexippus's Hiſtorie concludes. And he ends with the "reigns of Honorius and Arcadius, ſons of Theodoſius, about the "time that the wife of Arcadius died. [meaning Eudoxia.] This "Eunapius was of Sardis in Lydia. As (h) to religion, he is im-"pious, and a great admirer of the Greek cuſtoms. In his Hi-"ſtorie he aſperſeth thoſe who adorned the Empire by their piety, "and eſpecially the great Conſtantin. But he commends the im-"pious, and above all the reſt Julian the Apoſtate. So that he "ſeems to have writ his hiſtorie with the view of making an en-"comium upon him. [*He then commends his ſtile, making however "ſome exceptions.*] He compoſed two works containing the ſame "hiſtorie, the firſt and the ſecond. In (i) the firſt he has inſerted "many

(e) Βίοι φιλοσόφων καὶ σοφιστῶν.

(f) *Vit. Vit. Max. p.* 75.

(g) Ἀνεγνώσθη Εὐναπίου χρονικῆς ἱστορίας, τῆς μετὰ Δεξίππου πρὰς ἐκδόσεως . . . *Ph. p.* 169.

(h) Δυσσεβὴς δὲ τὴν θρησκείαν ὤν, τὰ ἑλλήνων γὰρ ἔτιμα. Τοὺς μὲν εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν βασιλέαν κοσμήσαντας, πάντι τρόπῳ, καὶ ἀνιδρὼ καχίζων διασύρει, καὶ μάλιστά γε τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον. *p.* 169. *m.*

(i) *Ibid.*

" many blaſphemies againſt our holy Chriſtian religion, and extolls " the Greek ſuperſtition, and often reproacheth the pious Empe- " rours. But in the ſecond, which he alſo calls a new edition, he " omits a great deal of the reproachful language, which he had " before uttered againſt our religion. Nevertheleſs he has ſtill left " ſufficient marks of his enmity to us." So wrote *Photius* in the ninth centurie. A. D. 396.

If that work of Eunapius were now exſtant, undoubtedly, we ſhould find in it a good deal of railing. But the loſſe of it is the leſs regretted by thoſe learned men, who have a curioſity to know what he had ſaid, becauſe it is ſuppoſed, that *(k)* Zoſimus has copied a good deal out of him. And moreover, we ſhall ſee a good deal of the temper of Eunapius, in his Lives of the Philoſophers and Sophiſts, which remain.

III. To that work therefore I now proceed ††. And I intend " to *Extracts from his Lives of the Sophiſts.*

(k) Impulſu hujus Chryſanthii ſcripſit de Vitis Sophiſtarum opus elegans ac venuſtum: ſed in quo paſſim prodat, quam Chriſtiano nomini fuerit infeſtus. Idem res geſtas Caeſarum, exinde orſus, ubi deſierat Herodianus, ad ſua uſque tempora produxit. . . . Eo ex opere ſolum De Legationibus fragmentum, beneficio Andreae Schotti, lucem vidit. Reliqua exſtare dicuntur in Bibliotheca Veneta. Eo autem aequiori animo iſtis caremus, quod Zoſimum habemus. Nam eaſdem res Eunapius et Zoſimus tractarunt, et ita tractarunt, ut Zoſimus Eunapium prope deſcripſiſſe, viſus ſit. &c. *Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l.* 2. *cap.* 18.

†† I know not of any good edition of that work. I have two: One, *Antverpiae, ex officina Chr. Plantini*, 1568. the other, *Coloniae Allobrogum, apud Sam. Criſpinum.* 1616. J. A. Fabricius ſeems ſometimes to refer to an edition of Eunapius, made by himſelf. Porphyrii vitam compoſuit e veteribus Eunapius, ad quem nonnulla annotavi. *Bib. Gr. Tom.* 4. *p.* 181. But from the learned Reimar, *de Vita et ſcriptis J. A. Fabricii. p.* 209. we learn, that though Fabricius had begun an edition of this Author, it was never finiſhed. *Eunapii vitae Philoſopherum ac Sophiſtarum Collatae cum vi. Codd. Mſſ. a Marquardo Gudio, Graece et Latine, cum notis Fabricii.* . . . Tria hujus folia, uſque ad pag. 48. typis exſcripta ſunt in 8. ſed typographo moras nectente, quarum vel maxime impatiens erat vir excitati ingenii, editionem abrupit, nec ipſum opus perfecit. I ſeveral years agoe was informed,

A. D. 396. to take thoſe paſſages, which contain any expreſs mention of the Chriſtians, or any material references to their affairs: in which will be many proofs of that zeal for Gentiliſm, which Photius obſerved in his Hiſtorie of the Emperours.

1. This work begins with the Life of *Plotinus*. The next is that of *Porphyrie*. After whom follows *Jamblichus*, then *Aedeſius*, in all three and twenty.

Aedeſius. 2. In his Life of *Aedeſius*, who was a Cappadocian, he writes to this purpoſe: "At (*l*) length, ſays he, *Aedeſius* became little inferior to his maſter Jamblichus, ſetting aſide the inſpiration, which belonged to Jamblichus. For of that I have nothing to write, perhaps, becauſe Aedeſius concealed it, by reaſon of the times. For then Conſtantin was Emperour, who threw down the moſt celebrated temples, and ſet up the ſtructures of the Chriſtians. For this reaſon it is likely, the chief of his ſcholars (*that is, of the ſcholars of Jamblichus*) might affect a kind of myſterious ſilence, and prieſtly taciturnity. Whence it came to paſs, that the writer of this, who from his youth was a ſcholar of Chryſanthius, ſpent well nigh twenty years with him, before he was acquainted with the true doctrine. So difficult a matter has it been to bring down to our time the philoſophie of Jamblichus!"

Sopater. 3. After which he proceeds, in the ſame Life, to give an account of the death of *Sopater*, another celebrated Platonic Philoſopher, who attended on Conſtantin, as Eunapius ſays, "to (*m*) check and govern by reaſon the warm temper of that Emperour, and who was for a conſiderable time in great favour with him, ſo as to excite the envie of many of the courtiers. At length by Conſtan-

"tin's

formed, that a learned German, whoſe name I do not remember, was preparing a new edition of *Eunapius*. In which I make no queſtion there would be many valuable emprovements. But I have not yet heard, that it is finiſhed. I therefore ſhall refer to the edition, before-mentioned, in 1616.

(*l*) *Eunap. Vit. Aedeſ. p.* 33. 34.

(*m*) *Ib. p.* 34. *m.*

" tin's order he was put to death." Our Author imputes his death to *Ablabius*, Prefect of the Praetorium. It is not certain, when it happened. Tillemont (*n*) inclines to the year 333. Nor do we clearly diſcern, what (*o*) was the occaſion of it. I may take ſome farther notice of this Sopater, hereafter, in my extracts from †† Zoſimus. A. D. 396.

4. In the ſame Life he ſpeaks of *Euſtathius*, another ſcholar of Jamblichus, and intimate friend of Aedeſius, whom he greatly commends upon divers accounts, and particularly, for his eloquence. " Which, (*p*) as he ſays, was ſo charming, that the Emperour " [Conſtantin] though fond of the books of the Chriſtians, was de- " ſirous to ſee him." *Euſtathius.*

" Euſtathius (*q*) married *Soſipatra*, who ſurpaſſed her huſband, though he was ſo conſiderable." " She (*r*) left behind her three ſons. " The names of two of them need not to be mentioned. But the " third, whoſe name was *Antonin*, was not unworthie of his pa- " rents." " He chooſing for the place of his abode one of the mouths " of the Nile, called Canobus, wholly applied himſelf to the learn- " ing there taught, and endeavoured to fulfill his mother's predicti- " on concerning him. And all the youth of ſound judgement, and " that were ſtudious of philoſophie, reſorted to him. And the " Temple was full of young prieſts. At that time he was not ac- " counted more than a man, and converſed among men. Yet he " foretold to all his diſciples, that after his death there would be no " temples, but that the magnificent and ſacred temple of Serapis " would be laid in ruinous heaps, and (*s*) that fabulous confuſion, " and unformed darkneſſe would tyrannize over the beſt parts of

(*n*) *L'Emp. Conſtantin.* §. 71.

(*o*) *See Tillemont, as before, and Crevier's Hiſtorie, vol. x. p.* 169. 170.

†† *See here after my extracts from Zoſimus. num.* 7.

(*p*) *Vit. Aedeſ. p.* 44.

(*q*) *Ib. p.* 48.

(*r*) *Ib p.* 59. 60.

(*s*) Καί τι μυθώδες ἐξ ἀοιδίμου σχήσει τυραννήσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς χάλλιστα. κ. λ. *P.* 60. *m.*

A. D. 396.

"the earth. All which things time has brought to pass, and his prediction has obtained the credit of an oracle."

Antonin. Afterwards of the same *Antonin*, he says. "But (t) he made no "show of divine converse, nor of any thing above the common "apprehensions of men; suspecting, perhaps, the Emperour's in-"clinations, which lay another way." "But (u) that there was "somewhat divine in him, was not long after made manifest. For "he was no sooner departed out of this world, but the worship of "the Gods at Alexandria was abolished, and the priests were dis-"persed." "And not only the sacred worship was abolished, but the "sacred fabricks were thrown down. And all things had the same "end with the vanquished giants in the fables of the poets. And "(x) the temples at Canobus underwent the same fate, *Theodosius* "then reigning, *Theophilus* presiding over the affair, *Euetius* at the "same time Governour of civil affairs, [or Prefect] and *Romanus* "General of the soldierie: who having never so much as heard of "war, vented all their anger against stones and statues, and levelled "the temple of Serapis to the ground. And rifling away the con-"secrated oblations, they gained a compleat, though never contested, "and bloudless victorie. For they fought so valiantly with statues, "and consecrated donatives, that they not only overcame them, "but plundered them, and carried them away. And it was a part "of their discipline, that whatever they stole, they kept concealed. "They only carried not away the foundations of the temple, by "reason of the weight of the stones, which rendred them not ea-"sie to be removed. Thus these warlike and courageous champi-"ons, overwhelming all things with confusion and disorder, and "lifting up hands to heaven, not stained with bloud indeed, but "foully defiled with avarice, gave out, that they had overcome the "Gods,

(t) Ἀτὰρ ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ἢ παρόλογον τὴν φαινομένην διάθεσιν, τὰς βασιλικὰς ἴσως ἰδέας ὑποφαίνων ἑτέρωσε φερούσας. p. 62.

(u) Ὅτι δὲ ἦν τι θειότερον τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπεσημάνθη. κ. λ. p. 63.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 63 *fin.*

"Gods, and boasted of their sacrilege and impiety. Then (y) A. D. 396.
"they introduced into the sacred places a sort of people, called
"monks, men, it is true, as to their outward shape, but in their
"lives swine, who openly suffered and did ten thousand wicked and
"abominable things. Nevertheless to them it seemed to be an act of
"piety to trample under foot the reverence due to the sacred places.
"For every one that wore a black-coat, and was content to make
"a fordid figure in publick, had a right to exercise a tyrannical au-
"thority. Such a reputation for virtue had this sort of men attain-
"ed. But (z) of these things I have already spoken in the Univer-
"sal History. These monks also were settled at Canobus, who in-
"stead of deities, conceived in our minds, compelled men to wor-
"ship slaves, and those not of the better sort neither. For pick-
"ing up, and salting the bones and skulls of those, whom for ma-
"ny crimes justice had put to death, they carried them up and-
"down, and shewed them for Gods, and kneeled before them, and
"lay prostrate at their tombs, covered over with filth and dust.
"These (a) were some of them called Martyrs, and Ministers, and
"Intercessors with the Gods, slaves, that had served dishonestly,
"and been beaten with whips, and still bore in their corpses the
"scarrs of their villanies. And yet the earth brings forth such Gods,
"as these. This highly advanced the reputation of *Antonin*'s fore-
"sight; forasmuch as he had told every body, that the temples
"would be turned into sepulchres."

So writes Eunapius, with great freedom, as all will allow, under a Christian Emperour.

However, there are some other remarks, which may be not improperly made here.

The

(y) Ἔπειτα ἐπεισῆγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις τὸν καλούμενον Μοναχὸν, ἀνθρώπους μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῖς συὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἐπράττοντες, καὶ ἀνόσια μυρία, κακὰ καὶ ἄρρητα. κ. λ. *Vit. Aedes.* 64. *et* 65.

(z) *p.* 65.

(a) Μάρτυρες γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ δικάσται τινὲς, καὶ πρόσβασις τῶν δεινῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, κ. λ. *p.* 65. *ead. vit.*

A. D. 396. The demolition of the temples, which Eunapius here ſpeaks of, was made by order of the Emperour Theodoſius the Firſt, in the year 389, as ſome *(b)* think: or as others *(c)* in the year 391. Eunapius ſays, that *Theophilus* preſided in this affair. Which *(d)* is very agreeable to what Socrates ſays of Theophilus, then Biſhop of Alexandria. At his requeſt the Emperour's edict was obtained. And he was alſo entruſted with the execution of it. And inſtead *of Euetius Governour of civil affairs*, or Preſect of Egypt, it has been obſerved, that (*e*) Eunapius ſhould have ſaid *Euagrius*.

Proaereſius. 5. In the Life of *Proaereſius* he ſays, "When *(f)* Julian was Emperour, being excluded from the ſchools, becauſe he ſeemed to be "a Chriſtian, he applied to Hierophantes, [or the High-Prieſt of "Eleuſinium] who had a ſkill of diſcerning futurity, that he might "inquire of the Gods, whether this ſtate of things would laſt. And "underſtanding, that they would not, he was the more eaſie."

By Jerome *(g)* in his Chronicle we are informed, that *Proaereſius* was an Athenian Sophiſt: and that when Julian's edict was publiſhed, forbidding Chriſtians to teach the polite arts, Proaereſius reſigned his chair at Athens, though Julian was willing to allow him by a ſpecial privilege, to continue there.

For

(b) Vid. Tillem. Theodoſ. i. art. 51. *et note* 40. *Pagi ann.* 389. *num. xv.*

(c) Baſnag. ann. 391. *num. ix. x. Vid. et Pagi ann.* 389. *num. xii.*

(d) Socrat. l. 5. *cap. xvi. p.* 274. *C. Conf. Sozom. l.* 7. *cap. xv.*

(e) Secundo, loco horum verborum: Ευετίῳ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος, legendum Εὐαγρίῳ: ac vertendum, *Evagrio res civiles adminiſtrante.* Evagrius itaque non Praefectus Urbi, ut perperam vertit Junius, ſed Praefectus Auguſtalis, &c. *Pagi ann.* 389. *num. xiv.*

(f) Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος, τότων τῶν παιδεύειν ἐξειργόμενος, ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς, συνορῶν τὸν Ἱεροφάντην ὥσπερ Δελφικόν τινα τρίποδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνακείμενον, σοφίᾳ τινὶ περιῆλθε ξένῃ τὴν πρόγνωσιν. . . . Ὁ δὲ Προαιρέσιος ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βεβία μένει τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. Ὡς δὲ ἀπέφασαν, ὁ μὲν ἧθει τὸ πραχθησόμενον, ᾗ ἦν εὐθυμότερος. *Vita Proaereſ. p.* 126.

(g) Chron. p. 185. *Jerome's words are cited above at p.* 41.

For certain therefore Proaereſius was a Chriſtian. Nor does the expreſſion of Eunapius, *becauſe he ſeemed to be a Chriſtian*, imply any doubt of it. The truth therefore of his making any inquiry of the gods concerning futurity may be queſtioned. Tillemont *(b)* was of opinion that this ſtory needs not to be received. A. D. 396.

6. In this place Eunapius tells us, "that *(i)* when he was ſixteen "years of age, he came to Athens, and entered himſelf among the "ſcholars of *Proaereſius*, who loved him, as if he had been his own "ſon. With him Eunapius ſtayed five years, and then returned "to Lydia, ſoon after which Proaereſius died," as may be ſuppoſed, in the year 368. when he was about 92 years of age. For, when Eunapius came to be with him, he was *(k)* in the 87. year of his age. And as Proaereſius reſigned the chair of Rhetorick in the time of Julian, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that he reſumed it, after the death of that Emperour, in 363. about which time our Eunapius came to Athens, and ſtudied five years under him. There is exſtant *(l)* a letter of Julian to *Proaereſius*, filled with high compliments upon his eloquence. And I would obſerve here, in favour of Eunapius, that though he was a zealous Gentil, he has once and again ſpoken very honorably of *Proaereſius*, as (*m*) a very amiable, as well as eloquent man, and in great reputation upon that account. Eunapius therefore, notwithſtanding his bigotrie, was not wholly deſtitute of candour. *Eunapius.*

7. *Chryſanthius*, as we have ſeen above, was one of Eunapius's (*n*) maſters. He was deſcended of a good familie, and was much reſpected by Julian, who (*o*) by letters ſeveral times ſent to him to come to Court, which Chryſanthius always declined. However, in that reign he was made High-Prieſt of Lydia. Of which event Eunapius, *Chryſanthius.*

(*b*) *L'Emp. Julien. art.* 33.
(*i*) *Vita Proaeref. p.* 126.
(*k*) *Ibid. p.* 102.
(*l*) *Julian. Epiſt. ii. ap. Spanhem. p.* 373.
(*m*) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 102. *et p.* 126, 127. *et alibi.*
(*n*) *Vit. Chryſ. p.* 144.
(*o*) *Eunap. ibid. p.* 148. *et Suid.* V. Χρυσάνθιος.

A. D. 396. Eunapius, in his Life, writes in this manner. "Chryſanthius, *(p)* "then, receiving the High-Prieſthood of the whole nation, and "well knowing what would come to paſs, he was far from being "troubleſome in the exerciſe of his authority, not erecting new tem- "ples, as almoſt all men earneſtly importuned him to do, nor ex- "tremely vexatious to any of the Chriſtians. But ſuch was the "ſimplicity of his behaviour, that the reſtoration of the ſacred rites "in Lydia was hardly perceived. So that though formerly things "had been managed after another manner; yet now there ſeemed "not to be any innovation, nor was there any thing ſurprizing, or "tumultuous in the alteration, but all things tended to calmneſſe "and ſerenity. And he only was admired, whilſt all others were "toſſed in a ſtorm."

Here again, as ſeems to me, Eunapius ſhews moderation. He approves of the mildneſſe and gentleneſſe of *Chryſanthius*. At the ſame time, there is an intimation, that in Julian's time, the proceedings were more violent and tumultuous in many other places.

Anatolius. 8. In the Life of Proaereſius (*) Eunapius tells a long ſtorie of *Anatolius*, in the time of Conſtantius, which is very proper to be inſerted here. But I think it beſt firſt of all to give ſome account of Anatolius from other writers.

Says Photius: "We *(q)* read the work of *Vindanius Anatolius of* "*Berytus*, concerning Agriculture. It is a collection out of ſeveral "writers

(p) Ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος τὴν ἀρχιεροσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους λαβὼν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐξεπισάμενος ἀκριβῶς, ἠ βαρὺς ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὅτε τοὺς νεὼς ἐγείρων, ὡσπερ ἅπαντες θερμῶς καὶ σφοδρα- ῶς, εἰς ταῦτα συνέθεον· ὅτε λυσσῶν τινὰς τῶν χριστιανῶν περιττῶς· ἀλλὰ τοσάυτη τὶς ἦν ἀπλότης τοῦ ἤθους, ὡς κατὰ Λυδίαν μικρῷ καὶ ἔλαθεν ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπανόρθωσις. κ. λ. *Vit. Chryſant.* 148. 149.

(*) *p.* 117. &c.

(q) Ἀναγινώσθη Οὐϊνδανίου Ἀνατολίου Βηρυτίου συναγωγὴ γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. .... Ἔχει δ' ὅμως ἔνια καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον παρατάξη καὶ ἄσκια, καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης ὑπόφλεα· ὃ δεῖ τὸν εὐσεβῆ γηπόνον ἐκτρεπόμενον, τῶν λοιπῶν συλλέγειν τὰ χρήσιμα. κ. λ. *Phot. Cod.* 163. *p.* 349.

" writers upon the ſame ſubject, ſuch as *Democritus*, and *Africanus*, A. D.
" and *Teraptinus*. *Apuleius* alſo, and *Florentius*, *Valens*, *Leon*, and 396.
" *Pamphilus*, and likewiſe from the *Paradoxes of Diaphones*. The
" work conſiſts of twelve books or ſections. It contains many uſe-
" full directions for agriculture, and huſbandmen. And may be
" reckoned one of the beſt books, that have been writ upon the
" ſubject. At the ſame time here are inſerted many ſtrange and
" incredible things, ſavouring of the errour of Gentiliſm. But a
" pious huſbandman may let thoſe things alone, and ſelect only what
" is uſefull."

Several learned men (*r*) and particularly Valeſius, are of opinion, that this is the ſame Anatolius, who having paſſed through other high offices in the State, came at length to be Prefect of Illyricum, in 358. as appears from (*s*) Ammianus Marcellinus, in which office he died (*t*) in 360. Valeſius's note upon Ammianus, who has diſtinctly mentioned his prefecture of Illyricum in the time of Conſtantius, is ſo clear and inſtructive, that (*u*) I ſhall tranſcribe a part of it below for the uſe of attentive readers.

Several

(*r*) *Vide Gothofredi Proſopograph. Cod. Theodoſ. et Tillemont. L'Emp. Conſtance. art.* 50. *T.* 4. *p.* 840. 841. *art.* 66. *p.* 903.

(*s*) . . . gemina conſideratione alacrior, [Conſtantius] . . . quodque Anatolio regente per Illyricum Praefecturam, neceſſaria cuncta vel ante tempus coacta, ſine ullius diſpendiis adfluebant. *Amm. l.* 19. *c. xi. p.* 243.

(*t*) Habita eſt iiſdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio . . . et Anatolio recens mortuo Praefecto Praetorio per Illyricum, ad ejus mittitur locum. *Id. l.* 21. *cap. vi. p.* 296.

(*u*) Anatolius Syrus, Beryto oriundus, cum ſcientiam juris civilis in patria didiciſſet, Romam profectus admiſſuſque in palatium, per omnes honorum gradus ad Praefectorae culmen adſcendit. Vir etiam inimicorum judicio admirabilis, ut ſcribit Eunapius in Proaereſio, quem jucundum erit legere. Erat autem ſacrificiis et Graecanicae Religioni inprimis addictus, teſte ibidem Eunapio. Unde fere adducor, ut credam eum ipſum eſſe, quem Photius in Bibliotheca Vindanium Anatolium appellat, Berytium, qui de Re Ruſtica ſcripſit, cultu Ethnicum, ut Photius teſtatur. . . . Ejus porro induſtriam,

A. D. 396. Several of the letters of Libanius are writ to Anatolius, and in divers of them notice is taken of his prefecture of Illyricum, which was a ſtation of great honour. In one of them he ſays: "He (*x*) could "not but be greatly pleaſed, that he was advanced to that dignity, "which is ſuperior to all others. For, ſays he, we Syrians are proud, "when we can give a man to the Romans, who is able to direct "the affairs of the ſtate." In another letter to Anatolius, he tells him, that (*y*) "he had been informed by a perſon who was preſent, "that beſide other commendable things, he ſaid to the Emperour, "when he was going away to the government of the province, to "which he was appointed: *Henceforward no dignity ſhall protect an "offender from puniſhment: Let him be one of the Judges, or a mili-"tarie man, if he tranſgreſs the laws, he ſhall be called to an account "for it.*" In another letter to Anatolius, he celebrates (*z*) his great mind, his integrity, his eloquence.

We have evidently diſcerned from Ammianus, that Anatolius was Prefect of Illyricum under Conſtantius in 358. and 359. Some think, he (*a*) had been put into that office by Conſtans in the year 348. and that Eunapius ſays as much.

I ſhall now tranſcribe a good part of what Eunapius ſays of Anatolius in his Life of Proaereſius.

"Anatolius (*b*) he ſays, was of Berytus in Phenicia, a man ſtu-"dious of eloquence, which alſo he attained, well ſkilled in the "laws, and a great patron of learning, and ſo proſperous in his de-"ſigns,

am, vigilantiam, integritatem, magnitudinem animi, et eloquentiam magnopere commendat Libanius in epiſtola 15. [18. *ap. Wolf.*] Qui cum Praefecturae codicillis donatus, jamque in Illyricum profecturus Imperatori valediceret, haec inter cetera dixiſſe fertur: Poſthaec, Imperator, neminem nocentem dignitas a ſupplicio liberabit. &c. *Valeſ. ad Ammian. l.* 19. *cap xi. p.* 243.

(*x*) *Liban. ep.* 394. *p.* 201. *Wolf. edit. an.* 1738.

(*y*) *Liban. ep.* 466. *p.* 233.

(*z*) *Ep.* 18. *p.* 5. *&c.*

(*a*) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Conſtance. art.* 13. *p.* 701. *et note xv. p* 1103. 1104.

(*b*) *Eunap. Vita. Proaereſ p.* 117. *&c.*

" ſigns, that going to Rome, and being well received in the Em- A. D. 396.
" perour's palace, he paſſed through ſeveral high offices of the ſtate
" with the applauſe even of his enemies, till at length he was ad-
" vanced by the Emperour to the prefecture of Illyricum. And (*c*)
" being a lover of ſacrificing, and extremely zealous of Helleniſm,
" though at that time the ſtream ran another way, and having by
" virtue of his high office a privilege of viſiting the beſt parts of the
" Empire, and of directing things as he pleaſed, he was ſeiſed with
" a certain golden phrenſy of ſeeing Greece. But, before he went
" thither, he ſent a problem to be conſidered by the Sophiſts there,
" and deſiring them to exert themſelves, and to give the beſt ſolu-
" tion they were able." " According to Eunapius, the Sophiſts
" there fell into vexatious diſputes about the ſtate of the queſtion,
" and the beſt method of ſolving it. One of them, as he ſays, was
" *Himerius* the Sophiſt, of Bithynia. At length Anatolius came to
" Athens. Upon his arrival he offered ſacrifices in a ſplendid man-
" ner, and viſited the temples, as the ſacred inſtitution required. He
" then called for the Sophiſts, and invited them to produce their
" arguments. But, as Eunapius ſays, they ſhewed ſo much ſelf-
" love, and vanity, and ſuch ambition to be preferred each one a-
" bove the other, that Anatolius deſpiſed them, and pityed the pa-
" rents, whoſe children were under the care of ſuch inſtructors.
" Proaereſius then was called for, who was the only one, that had
" not yet appeared. He ſpoke to the point in queſtion with ſo much
" perſpicuity, as to give Anatolius compleat ſatisfaction. And, as
" Eunapius aſſures us, Proaereſius (*d*) was greatly honoured by Ana-

(*c*) Καὶ φιλοθύτης ὢν, καὶ διαφερόντως ἕλλην· καίτοιγε ἡ κοινὴ κίνησις πρὸς ἑτέρας ἔφερε ῥοπάς, ἔξω αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλθεῖν, καὶ διοικεῖν ἕκαστα πρὸς ὃ βέλτιστο. Ὁ δὲ, χρυσῆς τινὸς αὐτὸν μανίας ὑπολαβούσης ἰδεῖν τὴν ἑλλάδα . . . Ὁ δὲ Ἀνατόλιος ἐγγύθεν, καὶ εἰσεδύρησεν Ἀθήναζε. Θύσας δὲ θαρσαλέως, καὶ περιελθὼν τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, ἢ θεσμὸς ἦεν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐξεκάλει τὰς σοφιστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. κ. λ. *Eunap. in Proaereſio.* p. 117. . . 120.

(*d*) Τιμήσας ἓν ἐκείνου διαφερόντως φαίνεται, καί τοιγε τὰς ἄλλας μόλις ἀξιώσας τῆς ἑαυτῆς, τρανίζης. *Ibid.* p. 120.

A. D. 396. "tolius: the reſt he hardly thought worthie to ſee at his ta-"ble."

This ſtorie cannot be read without making ſome reflexions.

1.) It is eaſie from this temper of *Anatolius*, as well as from many other things that come before us, to perceive, how great was the affection of many for ancient Gentilism, and how difficult it was to perſuade men to alter the ſentiments, in which they had been educated.

2.) Secondly we ſee here, in Eunapius himſelf, an acknowledgment of the defects of education at Athens, a thing inſiſted on by Gregorie Nazianzen (*d*) whoſe accounts are here confirmed.

3.) Once more, I reckon, that we here ſee an inſtance of the candour of Anatolius, in the reſpect, which he ſhewed to Proaereſius, who was a Chriſtian. He allowed him to have a ſuperior excellence above the other Sophiſts at Athens. In ſhort, Anatolius, though a Gentil, was a man of great learning, good judgement, and much candour. He was alſo a faithfull ſubject, and able officer under the Emperour Conſtantius. Indeed, he is commended by all, who have had occaſion to ſpeak of him.

One of the orations of *Himerius* is in praiſe of *the Prefect Anatolius*. Photius (*e*) has made ſome extracts out of it. But as there are not in them any hiſtorical facts, I tranſcribe nothing from them.

Anatolius is likewiſe commended by (*f*) Aurelius Victor, and for the ſame uſefull public ſervices, which are mentioned to his honour by (*g*) Ammianus Marcellinus.

Juſtus. 9. There is another like ſtorie in the Life of Chryſanthius. The exact time of it does not appear to me. But, probably, it might be "in

(*d*) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 20. *p.* 327, 328.

(*e*) . . , ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἀνατόλιον ὑπαρχου. *Phot. Cod.* 243. *p.* 1139.

(*f*) Simul noſcendis ocyus, quae ubique e Rep. gerebantur, admota media publici curſus. Quod equidem munus ſatis utile, in peſtem orbis Romani vertit poſteriorum avaritia, inſolentiaque: niſi quod his annis ſuffectae vires Illyrico ſunt, Praefecto medente Anatolio. *Aur. Vict. de Caeſar in Trajano. cap.* 13.

(*g*) *Ammian. l.* 19. *cap.* xi. *p.* 243.

in the time of Valentinian, and Valens. " But (*b*) ſays Eunapius, A. D. 396.
" the buſineſſe of the Chriſtians prevailing, and ſpreading itſelf far
" and wide, there came ſo far as from Rome a Prefect of Aſia,
" whoſe name was *Juſtus*. He was now conſiderably advanced in
" years, but of a generous and noble diſpoſition, and one who had
" not relinquiſhed the ancient rites and ceremonies of his countrey;
" but was a profeſſor of that bleſſed and happy way of life: and
" was continually in the ſacred offices of religion, and fond of all
" ſorts of divination, highly valuing himſelf likewiſe upon this tem-
" per of mind, and the right performance of theſe things. He
" croſſing from Conſtantinople to Aſia, and finding a Governour in
" the countrey to his heart's deſire, whoſe name was *Hilarius*, he
" erected ſome extempore altars: (for there were none there:) and
" if he found any ruins of a temple, he ſet his hands to repair it.
" Having appointed a public ſacrifice, he ſent an invitation to all
" who were of note in thoſe parts for learning to come to him.
" Thereupon great numbers ſoon reſorted to him. And Juſtus ſa-
" crificed in the preſence of the writer of this work, and others." It
appears from what follows, that (*i*) *Chryſanthius* alſo was there.

So writes Eunapius with an exquiſite reliſh for Helleniſm.

10. In the Life of *Maximus*, which is the fifth in order, Euna- *Julian.*
pius has ſeveral times mentioned *Julian*, and refers (*k*) to the fuller account, which he had given of him, in his Hiſtorie of the Roman Emperours. He ſays, particularly, " the (*l*) familie of Conſtantin
" failing,

(*b*) Τῶ δὲ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπικρατοῦντος ἔργω, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἅπαντα, δὴ μακρῷ τὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐφοίτησεν ἄρχων τῆς Ασίας, Ἴουστος ὀνομάζετο· πρεσβύτης μὲν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· γενναῖος καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἦθος, καὶ ἀρχαίας καὶ πατρίου πολιτείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος· ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἐκεῖνον ἐξηλακὼς τρόπον. Πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἦν ἀεὶ, καὶ μαντείας ἐξεκρέματο πάσης, μέγα φρονῶν, ὅτι τούτων ἐπιθύμητός τε καὶ κατόρθωτης. κ. λ. *Vita Chryſ.* p. 153. 154.

(*i*) *Vid.* p. 155.

(*k*) *Vita Maximi.* p. 68. *in.*

(*l*) Καὶ Ψιλοθέντος τοῦ γένους, Ἰουλιανὸς ἀπελείφθη μόνος . . . Εὐτύχει δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸν ἀμφιπόλευον βασιλικοὶ, καὶ παραφύλακές τινες ἦσαν, ὅπως μὴ Χριστιανὸς βέβαιος p. 68.

A. D. 396. "failing, Julian only was left: who by reaſon of his tender age, "and mildneſſe of temper, was much deſpiſed. Yet he was wait-"ed on by the Emperour's eunuchs, and others, who were placed "about him as ſpies, to ſee that he continued to be a good Chri-"ſtian." He goes on to extoll Julian's ready wit, and uncommon memorie. "So ſwift progreſſe he made in learning, as to cauſe un-"eaſineſſe even to his maſters: who had nothing more that they "could teach him. And Conſtantius was well enough pleaſed to "ſee him ſtudy philoſophie, inſtead of minding the affairs of ſtate." He adds, "that (*m*) Julian was old, when young:" meaning, that he was old in wiſdom and ſcience, when young in years.

In the ſame Life he ſays, "that (*n*) Julian was ſent into Gaul "with the title of Ceſar, not ſo much that he might rule there, but "rather with hopes, that ſo difficult a government would prove his "ruin. But, contrarie to all expectation, through the good provi-"dence of the gods, he carried all before him: at (*) which time "it was unknown, that he was a worſhiper of the Gods."

It is not unlikely, that here we ſee ſome things transferred from his Hiſtorie of the Roman Emperours into this work, of the Lives of Sophiſts and Philoſophers.

Oribaſius. 11. *Oribaſius*, a friend of Julian, is one of the Sophiſts or Philoſophers, whoſe Lives are writ in this work. He has therefore a diſtinct chapter for him, but it is not long. It may be worth our while to take a part of it.

"*Oribaſius*, ſays (*o*) Eunapius, was born at Pergamus, and was "deſcended from parents of good condition. He made a quick pro-"greſſe in the liberal arts, which greatly conduce to virtue. He "ſtudied under the great *Zeno*, at the ſame time with *Magnus*, "whom

(*m*) Ὁ ϗ ἐν μέρακι φρεσβύτης Ἰουλιανός. *p.* 68. *m.*

(*n*) *Ibid. p.* 76.

(*) ... πάντας μὲν λανθάνων, ὅτι θερα-πεύει θεούς. *Ibid.*

(*o*) *Eunap. De Vit. Sophiſt. p.* 139. 140.

" whom he greatly excelled. Indeed he haſtened to the ſummit of A. D. 396.
" the medical art, imitating his countrey-god, as far as it is poſſi-
" ble for man to imitate divinity. [*I ſuppoſe he means Aeſculapius,*
" *who had an ancient temple at Pergamus.*] Being in great reputa-
" tion, even in early life, Julian, when he was made Ceſar, took
" him to be with him, as his Phyſician. He alſo excelled in other
" qualifications, inſomuch (*p*) that he raiſed Julian to the Empire,
" as is ſhewn by us in our Hiſtorie of his reign. But afterwards he
" felt the ſtrokes of envie. And becauſe of his great fame, the
" Emperours, who ſucceded Julian, ſtript him of all he had. And
" after deliberating, whether they ſhould put him to death, they
" ſent him into baniſhment among cruel Barbarians. [*Eunapius does*
" *not ſay, who thoſe Barbarians were.*] In that hoſtile countrey he
" exhibited proofs of his abilities, reſtoring ſome to health from
" long and grievous ſickneſſes, and recovering others from the very
" gates of death. Whereby, in a ſhort time, he gained great eſteem
" with the Barbarian Kings, and was revered with almoſt divine ho-
" nours. The Romans then were deſirous of his preſence with them.
" And the Emperours, changing their former counſels, gave him
" leave to return. Which he was very willing to do, out of regard
" to his native countrey. He then married a wife with a large for-
" tune, and of an honourable deſcent. By whom he had four ſons
" ſtill living. And may they long be ſo! He is alſo ſtill living at
" my time of writing this. And may he long continue ſo! He alſo
" had his eſtate reſtored to him out of the public treaſurie, the Em-
" perours revoking their former ſentence againſt him, as unjuſt."

This, I think, is very honourable to the Chriſtian Emperours of that time. It hence appears, that Oribaſius reached to a good old age. If Eunapius wrote at about the year of Chriſt 400.... it was now more than forty years, ſince Oribaſius went with Julian into Gaul, in the character of his Phyſician. And Oribaſius and his familie

(*p*) ὥστε ἡ βασιλεία τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναδέδεκται. *P.* 140. *in.*

A. D. 396.

mille lived very comfortably. If he met with ſome difficulties, as Eunapius intimates, they could not be of any long duration. And the reſt of his life, in particular the later part of it, was eaſie and proſperous.

Oribaſius, as (q) Philoſtorge ſays, attended Julian in his Perſian expedition. And it has been obſerved by ſome, that he was not able to cure the Emperour. But that is no reflexion upon his ſkill, as Julian's wound was mortal. He likewiſe attended (r) Chryſanthius in his laſt ſickneſſe, without healing him. But neither is that any juſt reflexion upon him, ſince Chryſanthius was then of a great age: and under his indiſpoſitions he was relieved and comforted by the mollifying medicines, preſcribed by Oribaſius.

There is ſtill exſtant (s) a letter of Julian to Oribaſius, ſuppoſed to have been writ in 358. Tillemont ſays, it (t) contains marks of their mutual confidence, and of their idolatrous ſentiments.

Eunapius gives no particular account of the works of Oribaſius. But Suidas, who, as well as Philoſtorge, ſays he was of Sardis, and calls him (u) "friend of Julian the Apoſtate," mentions theſe following: "Concerning the doubts and difficulties of Phyſicians, in "four books: To Julian the Emperour, a work in ſeventy two "books: an Epitome of them in nine books, to his ſon Euſtathi-"us: of (x) Royalty, and of the paſſions or maladies."

Photius (y) has four articles of the works of Oribaſius. And in the introduction to his account of them ſays: "he had writ four books, comprizing the art of medicine, and ſeven others of a like ſort."

The

(q) Ἰατρὸν μέντοι γε ἄριστος ὁ Λυδὸς Ὀριβάσιος αὐτῷ συνῆν, ὁ ἐκ Σάρδεων ἀλλ' ἢ πλησιὰ φάσκειν χλωάζουσα θερμώδιαν . . . ἀναλλάττει τὴ βίῳ. *Philoſt. l.* 7. *p.* 510. *B.*

(r) *Eunap. p.* 160.

(s) *Ep. xvii. p.* 384.

(t) *Tillem. Julien. art.* 34.

(u) Ὀριβάσιος, Σαρδιανὸς, γνώριμος Ἰουλιανῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. *Suidas.*

(x) . . . καὶ περὶ βασιλείας, καὶ περὶ παθῶν.

(y) Cod. ccxvi. ccxvii. ccxviii. ccxix. p. 556. . . . 565.

The first of the four was an abridgement of the works of Galen, in several books. The second contained the sentiments of other Physicians, as well as Galen's, in seventy books, according to Photius, or seventy two, as Suidas says. These two works were inscribed to Julian, and the prefaces or dedications are preserved in Photius. In the preface to the second, Oribasius reminds Julian, that (z) the former work had been composed, at his command, when they were in Gaul, in the Western part of the Empire. And the stile of it is very particular, addressing Julian, as a deity. Julian therefore was now sole Emperour, and he is expressly stiled *Emperour* in this second preface. The third work was an abridgement of the other two, and was inscribed by Oribasius to his son *Eustathius*, in nine books. The fourth was another compendious representation of the principles of medicine, in four books, inscribed to *Eunapius*, at whose desire also it was composed, whom he qualifies with the character of a man of great eloquence, probably, meaning our Eunapius, writer of these Lives of Sophists, and among them the Life of Oribasius himself. A. D. 396.

I add no more. If any are desirous of a farther account of the works of Oribasius, and the merit of them severally, and what parts of them are still extant, they may consult (a) others.

Some may be of opinion, that this article is needless, and might have been omitted. Nevertheless I think it to be of use, for shewing the state of Gentilism under Christian Emperours. Oribasius was at first designed to be put by me in another place in this volume.

(z) Τὰς προτεχθείσας βιττορίας παρὰ τῆς σῆς θειότητος, Αὐτοκράτορ Ἰουλιανέ, πρότερον, ἡνίκα διατρίβομεν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, εἰς τέλος ἤγαγον. κ. λ. *Phot. Cod.* 217. *p.* 557.

(a) *See Tillemont. L'Emp. Julien. art.* 34. *and the Universal Antient History. Vol. xvi. p.* 374. *&c.*

A. D. 396. lume. But now I have brought him in here, in the chapter of Eunapius, who was his great admirer, and by whom we are informed of ſome things concerning him, which cannot be met with elſewhere.

I make here no more extracts from this work of Eunapius. But he will be quoted again hereafter.

Remarks upon the foregoing Extracts.

IV. We may now make ſome general obſervations upon theſe extracts.

1. We have ſeen many proofs of great zeal for Gentiliſm in divers perſons.

2. Though the majority of the people of the Roman Empire were now Chriſtians, and the laws were favourable to them, and adverſe to the Gentils: yet theſe laſt enjoyed many privileges, and a great deal of liberty. We ſee many evidences of this. The writer of this work openly profeſſeth great zeal for Gentiliſm, and expreſſeth himſelf with great freedom concerning things and perſons. Here is mention made of divers men of diſtinction, who were zealous Gentils, and were in ſome of the higheſt offices of the Empire. *Anatolius* Prefect of Illyricum, *Juſtus*, Preſident of Aſia, *Hilarius* alſo Governour of a province. *Anatolius*, and theſe other great men, here mentioned, ſacrificed, and performed all the peculiar rites of Gentiliſm, in the preſence of many others. And the chairs of Rhetorick and Philoſophie at Athens were filled, chiefly, with Profeſſors, who were zealous for Gentiliſm.

3. Doubtleſs my readers have alſo obſerved the indignation, with which Eunapius ſpeaks of the *Monks*. And it is a juſt indignation. They were too numerous. They were in too much credit, and had too much influence, and heaped up riches beyond meaſure. Eunapius is likewiſe offended at the reſpect given to Chriſtian Martyrs. And we may well allow, that it was exceſſive and unreaſonable. And we may wiſh, that the remonſtrances made againſt it by learn-

ed

ed Gentils, and ſome learned and diſcerning Chriſtians, had prevail- A. D. 390.
ed to check and controll it. But popular things will have their courſe, as was obſerved by us *(b)* long agoe, in the hiſtorie of Gregorie of Neoceſarea, called Thaumaturgus. We ſee proofs of it in every age.

(b) See the Credib. P. 2. Vol. iv. p. 549.

CHAP. LIV.

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS.

OR

C L A U D I A N.

I. His Time, and Works. II. His Teſtimonie to Theodoſius's Victorie over Arbogaſtes and Eugenius in the year 394.

A. D. 396. *His Time, and Works.*

CLAUDIAN has been already quoted, as bearing witneſſe to the wonderfull deliverance of Mark Antonin and his armie in *(a)* Germanie. He is now to be quoted again upon another like occaſion. And he may be quoted again hereafter. Accounts of him, and his works, may be ſeen in ſeveral *(b)* authors. I refer particularly to *(c)* Tillemont, and our Writers of Ancient Univerſal *(d)* Hiſtorie.

Says

(a) See Vol. 2. p. 240.

(b) See the Life of Claudian, and the teſtimonies to him, prefixed to the edition of his works in Uſum Delphini. Pope Blount's Cenſura Auctorum. p. 185. Cave H. L. Tom. i. p. 348. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. 13. p. 624. &c. Tom. i. p. 148. &c. Tom. 3. Rollin. Hiſt. ancienne, p. 172. T. xii.

(c) Tillem. L'Emp. Honori. art. 66.

(d) Vol. xvi. p. 533. 534.

Says Suidas: "Claudian *(e)* of Alexandria, a late heroic Poet. "He flouriſhed in the times of the Emperours Arcadius and Hono- "rius." A. D. 396.

In Blount's Cenſura Auctorum he is placed at the year 385. by Cave at the year 395. in the Conſulſhip of Olybrius and Probinus, which he celebrated in an excellent poem, and was his firſt Latin poem. I place him in 396. becauſe I ſhall largely quote his Panegyrick upon the third Conſulſhip of Honorius, writ in that year.

It appears to me ſomewhat extraordinarie, that a native of Egypt, at the end of the fourth, and the begining of the fifth centurie, ſhould ſo excell in Latin verſe, as to approach the beſt writers of the Auguſtan age in purity and elegance.

As Oroſius calls Claudian *an obſtinate Pagan*, Cave *(f)* thought it might be reaſonably argued, that he had writ againſt the Chriſtian Religion: though there are no traces of it in any of his writings, now exſtant. Fabricius *(g)* ſays, that the words of Oroſius afford no ground for ſuch an apprehenſion. But I preſume, that Cave did not intend to ſay, that ſuch a concluſion could be certainly made. However, it may be reekoned ſomewhat remarkable, that a learned man, a devout worſhiper of all the gods, a wit, and a poet, and author of many works, ſhould never ſay any thing diſreſpectfull to Chriſtianity. Nevertheleſs nothing of that kind has been obſerved in his writings, that I know of. Undoubtedly, the Chriſtian poems, which have been aſcribed to him, are ſpurious.

It might have been worth the while, and would have been very proper

(e) Κλαυδιανὸς, Αλεξανδρεὺς, ἱστορικὸς ποιητὴς γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Αρκαδίου καὶ Ὁνωρίου βασιλέων.

(f) Immo *paganum pervicaciſſimum* vocat Oroſius. Unde jure quis inferre poſſit, ipſum ſcriptis editis fidem Chriſtianam oppugnaſſe, etiamſi in iis quae ſuperſunt, nulla veſtigia deprehenduntur. *Cav. p.* 348.

(g) Sed argumentum hoc ab Oroſii verbis petitum levius videtur, quam ut eo facile duci ſe quis patiatur. *Bib. Lat. T. i. p.* 624.

A. D. 396. proper for me, to give ſome account of an eminent Heathen Poet, who flouriſhed under Chriſtian Emperours, in the fourth and fifth centuries, though there had been nothing in him relating to Chriſtian affairs. But there is ſomething of that kind well deſerving our notice. It was occaſioned by ſome remarkable events, which muſt be firſt related from Chriſtian authors.

His Teſtimonie to Theodoſius's Victorie in 394.

II. Valentinian the ſecond died in the year *(b)* 392. on the fifteenth day of May, when he was ſomewhat more than twenty years old, after having born the title of Auguſtus ſixteen years, and almoſt ſix months, though he cannot be ſaid to have reigned till after the death of Gratian, that is, eight years, and nine months.

Arbogaſtes, a General of great authority and influence, having been provoked by ſome treatment received from *Valentinian*, was the author, or at leſt the occaſion of his death. For the manner of his death is differently related. It happened near Vienne in Gaul.

Arbogaſtes might have ſet up himſelf for Sovereign. But being deſirous, as is ſuppoſed, to avoid the reproach of the crime, which he had been guilty of, he gave that title to *Eugenius*. "Who, as *(i)* Socrates ſays, was originally a Grammarian, who had taught Latin with reputation. But *(k)* leaving that employment, obtained a militarie poſt in the palace, and was made Maſter of the Deſks to the Emperour. After the death of the Emperour [Valentinian] he aſſumed the ſupreme government of affairs in the weſtern part of the Empire. The Emperour *Theodoſius*, hearing of theſe things, was greatly diſturbed in mind. Collecting his forces therefore, and having appointed his ſon *Honorius* Auguſtus, when himſelf was the third time Conſul, together with Abundantius, "[*in*

(b) *Vide Pagi. ann.* 392. *num. iii. iv. Tillem. L'Emp. Theodoſe. i. art. lxix. et Conf. Baſnag. ann.* 392. *iii. et iv.*

(i) *Socrat. H. E. l* 5. *cap.* 25.

(k) . . . ἀφεὶς τὰ γραμματικὰ, ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως ἐστρατεύετο, ἢ ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶ βασιλεῖ καθίσταται. κ. λ. *Ib. p.* 293. *D.*

"[*in the year* 393.] on the tenth day of the month of Januarie, he A. D. 396.
"ſet out in great haſte for the weſtern parts, leaving both his ſons at
"Conſtantinople. As he marched along to the war againſt Euge-
"nius, many Barbarians, living beyond the Danube, joined him in
"this expedition, voluntarily offering their aſſiſtance againſt the ty-
"rant. In no long ſpace of time he arrived in Gaul with a nume-
"rous armie. For there the tyrant had put himſelf in a poſture of
"receiving him with a great force. They came to an engagement
"near the river *Frigidus*, at the diſtance of ſix and thirty miles from
"*Aquileia*. In that part of the armie, where Romans were engaged
"with Romans, the battle was doubtfull. Where the Barbarians,
"the Emperour's auxiliaries, engaged, *Eugenius*'s forces had much
"the better. When the Emperour ſaw the ſlaughter made of the
"Barbarians, he was in great concern: and caſting himſelf upon
"the ground, he called upon God to afford him his aid. Nor
"was his prayer rejected. For *Bacurius*, Prefect of the Praetori-
"um, was greatly encouraged, and haſtening with his van-guard
"to the place, where the Barbarians were hard preſſed, he broke
"through the enemies ranks, and put to flight thoſe who before were
"purſuing. At (*l*) the ſame time happened ſomewhat deſerving
"admiration. A vehement wind aroſe on a ſudden, which beat
"back upon themſelves the darts thrown by thoſe with *Eugenius*,
"and alſo carried with redoubled force upon the enemie thoſe
"thrown by the ſoldiers of *Theodoſius*. So prevalent was the Em-
"perour's prayer! Thus the battle was turned, and the tyrant threw
"himſelf at the Emperour's feet, requeſting, that his life might be
"ſpared. But the ſoldiers beheaded him, as he lay proſtrate upon
"the ground. Theſe things happened on the ſixth day of the month
"of

(*l*) Επιγίνεται δὲ ϗ ἄλλο θαύματος ἄξιον· ἄνεμος γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπανίστησι, τὰ πεμπόμενα βέλη παρὰ τῶν Εὐγενίου, κατ' αὐτῶν περιίστησιν· ἃ μὲν ἄλλα ϗ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, μετὰ σφοδρότητος τῆς ὁρμῆς ἔφερε κατ' αὐτῶν. Τοσοῦτον ἰσχύσεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐχή. *Socrat. ibid. p.* 294. *D.*

A. D. 396. " of September, in the third Conſulſhip of *Arcadius*, and the ſecond " Conſulſhip of *Honorius*. *Arbogaſtes*, who had been the cauſe of " all theſe troubles, on the third day after the battle, finding, there " were no hopes of ſafety, ran himſelf through with his own " ſword."

I have taken Socrates's account, and have tranſlated it very literally. *Ruſinus*, who was contemporarie with the event, and from whom Socrates differs very little, ſays, " that *(m)* when the Emperour ſaw " the Barbarians, his auxiliaries, turning back, ſtanding upon an " eminence, where he might ſee, and be ſeen by both armies, lay- " ing aſide his weapons, he betook himſelf to his wonted reſource, " and falling down upon the ground, and lifting up his eyes to hea- " ven, he ſaid: O Almighty God, thou knoweſt, that in the name " of thy Son Jeſus Chriſt, I have undertaken this war, in the way " of juſt vengeance, as it has appeared to me. And if it is not ſo, " let thy vengeance fall upon me. But if upon good ground, and " truſting in thy bleſſing, I came hither, do thou graciouſly afford " thy aſſiſtance, that the Gentils may not ſay, Where is their God? " After which all his Generals were greatly animated, and eſpecial- " ly *Bacurius*, [who is here much commended] who fought with " great

(*m*) Stetit aliquamdiu anceps victoria: fundebantur auxilia Barbarorum, terga jam hoſtibus dabant. . . . Tum ille, ut converſas ſuorum acies vidit, ſtans in edita rupe, unde et conſpicere et conſpici ab utroque poſſet exercitu, projectis armis, ad ſolita ſe convertit auxilia, et proſtratus in conſpectu Dei: Tu, inquit, omnipotens Deus, noſti, quia in nomine Chriſti filii tui ultionis juſtae, ut puto praelia iſta ſuſcepi: ſi ſecus, in me vindica. Si vero cum cauſſa probabili, et in te confiſus, huc veni, porrige dextram tuam, ne forte dicant Gentes, ubi eſt Deus eorum? Quam ſupplicationem pii principis, certi a Deo eſſe ſuſceptam, hi qui aderant duces, animantur ad coedem. . . . Etenim compertum eſt, quod poſt illam Imperatoris precem, quam Deo fuderat, ventus ita vehemens exortus eſt, ut tela hoſtium in eos qui jecerant, retorqueret. Cumque magna vi perſiſtente vento, omne jaculum miſſum ab hoſtibus fruſtraretur, fracto adverſariorum animo, ſeu potius divinitus repulſo, Arbogaſto duce nequicquam fortiter faciente, Eugenius ante Theodoſii pedes, vinctis poſt terga manibus, adducitur. Ibique vitae ejus et certaminis finis fuit. *Ruſin. H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 33.

"great courage, and gained great advantages. At the ſame time A. D. 396.
"there aroſe a vehement wind, which beat back the enemies darts
"upon themſelves, and rendred them vain and fruitleſs. Thus the
"enemies were diſcouraged, and *Arbogaſtes*, though he fought va-
"liantly, was defeated. And *Eugenius* was brought bound to the
"Emperour, and there was an end put to his life and deſigns."

Auguſtin alſo has particularly related this event, and it's circumſtances, in his work of the City of God, and ſays, he (*n*) had the account from ſome of the ſoldiers, who were preſent in the battle, and fought on the ſide of the enemie.

Oroſius, (*o*) though an hiſtorian, has deſcribed the ſtorm very oratorically. He alſo ſays, that it was atteſted by many witneſſes ſtill living.

There are ſome fabulous ſtories relating to this event, in (*p*) *Sozomen*, and (*q*) *Theodoret*, which are taken notice of by (*r*) *Baſnage*, and

(*n*) ... eoque, [Valentiniano] ſive per inſidias, ſive quo alio pacto, vel caſu, proxime exſtincto, alium tyrannum Eugenium, qui in illius imperatoris locum non legitime fuerat ſubrogatus, accepto rurſus prophetico reſponſo, fide certa oppreſſit, [Theodoſius,] contra cujus robuſtiſſimum exercitum magis orando, quam feriendo, pugnavit. Milites nobis qui aderant, retulerunt, extorta ſibi eſſe dē manibus quaecunque jaculabantur, cum a Theodoſii partibus in adverſarios vehemens ventus iret, et non ſolum quaecunque in eos jaciebantur, concitatiſſime raperet, verum etiam in eorum corpora retorqueret. *Aug. De civ. Dei. l. v. cap.* 26.

(*o*) Hiſtoriam notam etiam oculis plurimorum, quam melius qui ſpectavere noverunt, dilatari verbis non opus eſt ... At ubi ad contigua miſcendae pugnae ſpatia perventum eſt, continuo magnus ille et ineffabilis turbo ventorum in ora hoſtium ruit. Ferebantur per aëra ſpicula miſſa noſtrorum manu, atque ultra menſuram humani jactus per magnum inane portata, nuſquam propemodum cadere, priuſquam impingerent, ſinebantur. Porro autem turbo continuus ora pectoraque hoſtium nunc illiſis ſcutis everberabat, nunc impreſſis pertinaciter obſtructa claudebat, nunc avulſis violenter deſtituta nudabat, nunc oppoſitis jugiter in terga trudebat. Tela etiam, quae ipſi vehementer intorſerant, excepta ventis impetu ſupinata, ac retrorſum coacta ipſos infeliciter configebant. *Oroſ. l* 7. *cap.* 35.

(*p*) *Soz. l.* 7. *cap.* 24.

(*q*) *Theod. l.* 5. *cap.* 24.

(*r*) *Baſnag. ann.* 394. *num.* v.

A. D. 396. and are rejected and expoſed by him as becomes a good critic, and a genuine Chriſtian, and Proteſtant.

I need not mention them. But that there was then a vehement ſtorm of wind, which was favorable to Theodoſius, and his armie, and adverſe to the enemie, is atteſted by *Claudian*, in his Panegyrick upon the third Conſulſhip of Honorius, in 396. writ about eighteen months afterwards. I ſhall give, as well as I can, a literal tranſlation in proſe, of what is elegantly expreſſed in verſe.

" Such (*s*) is your good fortune, that the victorie was ſpeedily ac-
" compliſhed. Both fought. You by your deſtiny: your Father
" in perſon. For your ſake even the Alps are eaſie to be ſeized.
" Nor was it of any advantage to a ſubtle enemie to be poſted in a
" fortified place. The walls, in which he confides, fall down, and
" rocks are removed, and ſet open their hiding places. For your
" ſake Boreas overwhelms the adverſe forces with cold torrents,
" poured down from the mountains, and caſt back their darts upon
" thoſe who throw them, and blunts their ſpears. O [*Honorius*]
" highly

(*s*) . . . . . Victoria velox
Auſpiciis effecta tuis. Pugnaſtis uterque:
Tu fatis, genitorque manu. Te propter et Alpes
Invadi faciles. Cauto nec profuit hoſti
Munitis haeſiſſe locis. Spes irrita valli
Concidit, et ſcopulis patuerunt clauſtra revulſis.
Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adverſas acies, revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit haſtas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Aeolus armatas hyemes: cui militat aether:
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti!
Alpinae rubuere nives, et Frigidus amnis
Mutatis fumavit aquis, turbâque cadentum
Staret, ni rapidus juviſſet flumina ſanguis.

Claudian. de tertio Conſulatu Honorii Auguſti Panegyris. ver 87. . . . 101.

A. D. 396.

" highly favoured of God, for whoſe ſake Aeolus ſends out from " his caverns ſtormie winds: for whom heaven itſelf fights, and " the winds conſpire to come at the call of your trumpet. The " ſnowy Alps are ſtained red, and the river Frigidus foams with diſ- " coloured ſtreams: and would be ſtopped with the heaps of the " ſlain, if the rapid bloud did not ſtrengthen the current."

Here is every thing that can be deſired, to confirm the Chriſtian accounts of the ſtorm, which favored the armie of Theodoſius, " nothing to be complained of, but that he flatters *Honorius*, and " aſcribes to the fate of the Son, who was yet but an infant, ten " or eleven years old, what was due to the ſole faith and piety of " the Father." Which is Tillemont's (*t*) obſervation.

This teſtimonie of *Claudian* is alleged by *Oroſius* and *Auguſtin*, in their accounts of this event. And do we not think, that the Chriſtian writers of that time, and eſpecially ſuch of them as were engaged in the defenſe of the Chriſtian Religion againſt Gentils, endeavoured to make an advantage of the remarkable victorie, which *Theodoſius* gained over thoſe enemies? Yes, certainly, they did. *Oroſius* harangues and triumphs in this manner. " I (*u*) would not in-

(*t*) *L'Emp. Theodoſ. i. art.* 80. *at the end.*

(*u*) Non inſulto obtrectatoribus noſtris. Unum aliquod ab initio Urbis conditae bellum proferant, tam pia neceſſitate ſuſceptum, tam divina felicitate confectum, tam clementi benignitate ſopitum: ubi nec pugna gravem coedem, nec victoria cruentam exegerit ultionem: et fortaſſe concedam, ut non haec fidei Chriſtiani ducis conceſſa videantur: quamvis ego hoc teſtimonio non laborem, quando unus ex ipſis, poëta quidem eximius, ſed Paganus pervicaciſſimus hujuſmodi verſibus et Deo, et homini teſtimonium tulit, quibus ait:

O nimium dilecte Deo! tibi militat Aether,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

Ita coelitus judicatum eſt inter partem, etiam ſine praeſidio hominum de ſolo Deo humiliter ſperantem, et partem arrogantiſſime de viribus ſuis, et de idolis praeſumentem. Theodoſius autem, compoſita tranquillitate Reipublicae, apud Mediolanum conſtitutus diem obiit. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 35.

A D. 396. "ſult thoſe who revile us. But may I not aſk, if ſince the founda-
"tion of the City they can allege one war ſo juſtly undertaken, ſo
"happily concluded by divine interpoſition, and quieted with ſo mer-
"cifull benignity: where neither the battle was grievous for ſlaugh-
"ter, nor the victorie followed with cruel revenge? And then per-
"haps I may allow, that theſe advantages were not the reward of
"the faith of the Chriſtian Prince. Although indeed I need not la-
"bor this point, ſince one of themſelves, an excellent poet, though
"obſtinate Pagan, has bore teſtimonie to God and man, in theſe
"lines:

"O beloved of God, for you the heavens fight. And the winds
"conſpire to come at the call of your trumpet!"

"Thus was the cauſe decided by heaven in favour of that ſide,
"which without human aid humbly truſted in God alone againſt
"that ſide, which arrogantly boaſted of their own ſtrength, and
"their idols. Soon after which Theodoſius having ſettled the pub-
"lic tranquillity, went to Milan, where he died."

Auguſtin likewiſe having mentioned the vehement ſtorm, and the circumſtances of it, ſo favourable to *Theodoſius*, adds: "Hence (*x*)
"alſo the poet *Claudian*, though alien from the name of Chriſt, ce-
"lebrates his praiſes, ſaying: O beloved of God, for whoſe ſake Ae-
"olus ſends out from his caverns ſtormie winds, for whom heaven
"fights, and the winds conſpire to come at the call of your trum-
"pet:" thus quoting ſomewhat more of Claudian, than we find in Oroſius.

Whether

(*x*) Unde et poeta Claudianus, quamvis a nomine Chriſti alienus, in ejus tamen laudibus dixit:

O nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris
Aeolus armatas hyemes, cui militat aether,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti!

Aug. De Civ. Dei. l. 5. cap. 26.

Whether the victorie of *Theodoſius* was miraculous, as *(y)* ſome think, or not, it was a remarkable event, and very ſeaſonable, and advantageous to the Chriſtian cauſe. And this teſtimonie of *Claudian* well deſerves our notice. A. D. 396.

(*y*) Claudien meſme, qui ſe rendoit alors celebre par ſes poeſies, quoiqu'il fuſt payen, et tres fortement attaché à l'idolatrie, n'a peu s'empeſcher de rendre temoignage à la verité de ce miracle, par de tres beaux vers, qu'il fit 18 mois apres. *Tillem. L'Emp. Theodoſ. i. art.* 80. *à la fin. And ſee Colonia. Tom. i. ch. v. p.* 157.

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

MACROBIUS.

I. *His Name, Works, Time, Dignity.* II. *His religious Profeſſion and Character.* III. *His Teſtimonie to Herod's Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem.*

A. D. 400. *His Time and Works*

I. AURELIUS THEODOSIUS AMBROSIUS MACROBIUS is an Author well known by name, and by ſome works, which are generally aſcribed to him. Nevertheleſs the place of his nativity, his religious profeſſion, and his time, are either unknown, or at leſt doubtfull and uncertain. Even his names are writ differently. *Macrobius* is generally put laſt, but there is a variety in the order, in which the others are placed.

He writes in Latin, but what was his native place, is unknown. For himſelf ſays, he (*a*) was born in a countrey, where the Latin tongue was not in uſe.

The

(*a*) [illegible] oratio ſollertior, ſermo incorruptior: niſi ſicubi nos ſub alio ortos coelo Latinae linguae vena non adjuvet. Quod ab his, ſi tamen quibuſdam forte nonnumquam tempus voluntaſque erit iſta cognoſcere, petitum impetratumque volumus, ut aequi bonique conſulant, ſi in noſtro ſermone nativa Romani oris elegantia deſideretur. *Saturn. lib. i. in Pr.*

The works aſcribed to him (*b*) are a Commentarie upon the dream of Scipio, as repreſented by Cicero, in two books: The Saturnalia, in ſeven books, and a grammatical treatiſe concerning the Differences and Agreements between the Greek and Latin languages. A. D. 400.

At the head of his works he is qualified (*c*) with the title of *Illuſtrious*, which is proper to ſuch as were advanced to ſome of the higheſt poſts of the Empire. Concerning which (*d*) ſeveral learned men may be conſulted. But it is generally ſuppoſed, that he was Vicar of Spain in 399. and 400. Proconſul of Africa in 410. and Grand-Chamberlain to Theodoſius the Second in 422.

Tillemont (*e*) ſays, it may be well queſtioned, whether Theodoſius the ſecond would have a Pagan for Grand-Chamberlain, that is, for him who was neareſt his perſon. However, upon the whole, Tillemont (*f*) thinks, "that Macrobius lived under Theodoſius the "firſt, or rather a ſhort time after him: for he acknowledgeth, that "(*g*) he had put ſome perſons into his Dialogues, who were lower "in time than Praetextatus." Let this ſuffice for his time (*b*).

II. As for his religious profeſſion, ſome (*i*) have ſuppoſed him to have *His religious Profeſſion and Character*

(*b*) Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis.

Convivia Saturnalia.

De Differentiis et Societatibus Graeci Latinique Verbi.

(*c*) *V. Cl. et Inluſtris.*

(*d*) *Vid. Gothofredi Proſop. Cod. Theodoſ. p.* 370. *and Tillemont L'Emp. Honoré. art.* 68. *at the begining.*

(*e*) *As above, at p.* 1381.

(*f*) *Ibid. p.* 1382.

(*g*) Nec mihi fraudi ſit, ſi uni aut alteri ex his, quos coetus coëgit, matura aetas poſterior ſeculo Praetextati ſit. *Macrob. Saturn. l i. cap.* 1.

(*b*) *There is a large account of Macrobius, and his work, in the xvi. vol. of the Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory. p.* 536. 537.

(*i*) Non minus incerta res de religione Macrobii. Chriſtianis eum annumerat Barthius. Contra homo Ethnicus dicitur Spanhemio. *Dub. Evang. T. i. p.* 533. Cui ego aſſentiri malim. Ambigui haerent Grotius ad Matt. ii. 16. et Huet. Dem. Evang. p. 789. *Fabr. Bib. Lat. lib.* 3. *cap. xii. Tom. i. p.* 620.

A. D. 400.

have been a Chriſtian, others a Heathen, whilſt others have doubted, and been in ſuſpenſe. Tillemont is very clear. He (k) ſays, "every thing in the Saturnalia (l) is Pagan. *Symmachus, Flavianus, Praetextatus*, who appear in every part, were the moſt zealous patrons of Paganiſm: So that there can be no doubt, that the Author, and all thoſe whom he makes ſpeak, were of the ſame profeſſion. Among them, beſide thoſe already mentioned, may be reckoned *Poſtumian*, a celebrated Advocate: *Euſebius*, Profeſſor of Rhetorick, who was very learned in Greek and Latin, and *Servius* the Grammarian."

But no one has treated this point more fully, than (m) Mr. *Maſſon*, he having had a particular occaſion for it. To him therefore I refer my readers, if they have any doubts about it. There, as I apprehend, they will find more than enough to ſatisfy them, that *Macrobius* was a ſincere Gentil.

His Teſtimonie to the Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem

III. I formerly (n) quoted this Author. Having alleged divers Chriſtian writers, who have bore teſtimonie to the truth of St. Matthew's hiſtorie, in the ſecond chapter of his Goſpel, concerning the ſlaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, I added:

"There (o) is alſo a noted paſſage of *Macrobius*, a Heathen author, who flouriſhed near the end of the fourth centurie, who among other jeſts of Auguſtus has this: When (p) he had heard,

(k) *As before*, p. 1382. 1383.

(l) *Saturn. l. i. cap.* 2. 3.

(m) The Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an hiſtorical fact in St. Matthew's Goſpel vindicated: and the ſuſpected Chriſtianity of Macrobius, who alſo mentions the ſame fact, diſproved, &c. *At the End of the Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield's Vindication of Chriſtianity, in* 1728.

(n) *In the firſt Part of the Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory. B.* 2. *ch.* 11. §. 1. *publiſhed in* 1727.

(o) *Ibid p.* 198.

(p) Cum audiſſet inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judaeorum intra bimatum juſſit interfici, filium quoque ejus occiſum, ait: *Melius eſt Herodis porcum eſſe quam filium.* Macrob. Sat. l. 2. cap. iv. p. 332.

" heard, that among the children within two years of age, which A. D. 400.
" Herod King of the Jews commanded to be ſlain in Syria, his own
" ſon had been killed, he ſaid: *It is better to be Herod's hog than his*
" *ſon.*"

Upon which I then ſaid: " I lay little or no ſtreſſe upon this paſ-
" ſage, partly, becauſe it comes too late, partly becauſe there is rea-
" ſon to ſuppoſe, that Macrobius has been miſtaken about the oc-
" caſion of the jeſt. No early Chriſtian writers have ſaid any thing
" of Herod's having a young child of his own killed in the ſlaugh-
" ter at Bethlehem. If Auguſtus did paſs this jeſt upon Herod, it
" might be occaſioned by the death of *Antipater*, or rather of *Alex-*
" *ander* and *Ariſtobulus (p).*"

" That *(q)* is what I ſaid of this paſſage in the firſt edition. I
" would now add: It ought to be allowed, that Auguſtus did paſs
" this jeſt on Herod upon ſome occaſion, or other: and that *Ma-*
" *crobius* has given us the words of the jeſt. This paſſage alſo ſhews,
" that Herod's ſlaughter of the infants in Judea was a thing well
" known in the time of *Macrobius*, and was not conteſted by Hea-
" then people."

" If we could be aſſured, that Macrobius tranſcribed this whole
" paſſage, not only the jeſt itſelf, but the occaſion of it likewiſe,
" from ſome more ancient author; it would be a proof, that this
" event was known in that author's time alſo. And we ſhould have
" a great deal of reaſon to ſuppoſe, that author to have been a Hea-
" then, becauſe it is likely, that Macrobius, a bigoted Heathen him-
" ſelf (*r*) did not much deal in Chriſtian writers."

" But it is poſſible, that Macrobius found only the jeſt in his au-
" thor, and added the occaſion, having collected it from the com-
" mon

(*p*) *See Dr. Whitby's Annotations upon Matt. ii.* 16. 17.

(*q*) *So in the 2d edition of the firſt Part of the Credibility, at p.* 445. 446. *and in the third edition, at p.* 763. . . 765.

(*r*) " This is very evident from his " works. And the Reader may ſee a full " proof of it in the Rev. Mr. Maſſon's " ſlaughter of the children at Bethlehem, " as an hiſtorical fact, vindicated. §. 3."

A. D. 400.

" mon diſcourſe of the Chriſtians in his time, who frequently ſpoke " of this cruel action of Herod. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect " this, becauſe it is very likely, that Auguſtus's reflexion upon He- " rod was occaſioned by the death of one of thoſe ſons, whom Jo- " ſephus has mentioned: and that it has no relation at all to the " ſlaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem. This ſuſpicion may be " farther ſtrengthened by the great agreement of Macrobius with St. " Matthew, in the words, which he uſeth concerning the (*s*) chil- " dren. Macrobius being ignorant of Herod's ſtory, and having " heard of the ſlaughter of the infants; when he met with this jeſt " in ſome author, concluded, that there had been ſome young child " of Herod put to death with them."

" I am content therefore to leave it a doubtfull point, whether " *Macrobius* tranſcribed this whole paſſage, or the jeſt only, from " ſome more ancient author."

" Upon the whole then, there lies no objection againſt this rela- " tion of St. Matthew. There is nothing improbable in the thing " itſelf, conſidering the jealous, cruel temper of Herod. The ſi- " lence of Joſephus, or of the ancient Greek and Roman hiſtorians, " can be no difficulty with any reaſonable perſon. This fact is " confirmed by the expreſs teſtimonie of very early Chriſtian wri- " ters, and by *Macrobius*, a Heathen author about the end of the " fourth centurie: from whom it appears, that this event was not " then conteſted, and that it was even better known, than the fate " of thoſe ſons of Herod, whom Joſephus ſays he put to death at " man's eſtate."

All this I wrote formerly. Nor am I now able to ſay any thing more pertinent, or more material.

However, I ſhall obſerve, that this jeſt of Auguſtus ſtands in a chapter of Macrobius, which (*t*) contains a collection of Auguſtus's " witty

(*s*) " *Children within two years of age,* " *which Herod King of the Jews command-* " *ed to be ſlain.* So in Macrobius."

(*t*) De jocis Auguſti in alios, et alio- rum rurſus in ipſum. *Saturn. l.* 2. *cap.* iv.

witty ſayings, or jeſts upon others, and the repartees, or ſmart ſayings of others upon him. Which, as it ſeems, to his no ſmall honour, he bore very (*u*) patiently. As they are all independent on each other, no elucidations can be brought in from the connexion. For there is none. A. IV. 400.

Pontanus, in his notes upon this place of Macrobius, ſays, "(*x*) Scaliger wondered, that Auguſtus ſhould make this reflexion upon Herod, ſince Auguſtus himſelf had confirmed the ſentence of death upon the three ſons of Herod."

I do not find that place in Scaliger. But whoever wondered at it, it was without reaſon, in my opinion. For though Auguſtus complied with the requeſts, or propoſals of Herod, and gave him leave to do with thoſe ſons as he pleaſed: the Emperour might ſtill think it a ſtrange thing, that any Prince ſhould put ſo many of his own ſons to death: and he might well ſay, alluding to the Jewiſh cuſtom of forbearing to eat ſwine's fleſh, *It was better to be Herod's hog, than his ſon.* Very probably, that was the occaſion of the jeſt of Auguſtus. And therefore, as Whitby ſays: *It muſt be confeſſed, that Macrobius is miſtaken about the circumſtances of this ſtory.*

(*u*) Soleo in Auguſto magis mirari quos pertulit jocos, quam ipſe quos protulit, quia major eſt patientiae quam facundiae laus: maxime cum aequanimiter aliqua etiam jocis mordaciora pertulerit. *Sat. l. 2. cap. 4. p. 335.*

(*x*) Miratur autem Scaliger ad Euſebium p. 163. Haec verba excidiſſe, cum ipſe Auguſtus ſententiam capitis in tres filios Herodis judicio ſuo probatam confirmaverit. *Pont. in loc.*

CHAP. LVI.

RUTILIUS.

I. *His Time, and Character, and Work, and Extracts from Him.*

A. D. 418. I. CLAUDIUS RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS, (*a*) whoſe father had bore ſeveral high offices in the Roman Empire, with great applauſe and acceptance, was a native of Gaul. He had himſelf been Prefect of the City, and Maſter of the Palace, and, as ſome ſay, Conſul, and Prefect of the Praetorium, which I do not think to be certain. In the year 418. in the time of Theodoſius the Younger, he made a viſit to his native countrey, or returned to it, with a deſign to reſide there. He has deſcribed his voyage thither from Rome in an elegant Latin poem, conſiſting of two books, the ſecond of which is almoſt entirely loſt.

II. In his voyage he touched at *Capraria*, a ſmall iſland, lying between Leghorn and Corſica. " This (*b*) iſland, ſays he, is full of " men

(*a*) *Vid. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l.* 2. *cap.* 15. *Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art.* 67. *Fabric. Bib. Lat. l.* 3. *cap.* 13. *Tom. i. p.* 630.

(*b*) Proceſſu pelagi jam ſe Capraria tollit.
Squallet lucifugis inſula plena viris.
Ipſi ſe monachos Grajo cognomine dicunt,

Quod

" men that ſhun the light. They call themſelves Monks, a name A. D. 418.
" borrowed from the Greek language, becauſe they chooſe to live
" alone. They dread the gifts of Fortune, becauſe they are not a-
" ble to bear her frowns. And make themſelves miſerable, becauſe
" they are afraid of being ſo. What fooliſh diſtraction of mind: to
" dread adverſity, and yet not be able to bear proſperity! He goes
" on to aſcribe their way of life to melancholie, ill-nature, and ha-
" tred of mankind."

III. Soon after, at *Gorgona* another ſmall iſland, near *Piſa*, among the Hermites there, he met with a young Gentleman, of his own acquaintance, whom he laments and banters, in the following manner: " And (c) here a Roman Citizen has buried himſelf among " the

Quod ſoli nullo vivere teſte volunt.
Munera Fortunae metuunt, dum damna verentur.
Quiſquam eſt ſponte miſer, ne miſer eſſe queat.
Quaenam perverſi rabies tam ſtulta cerebri?
Dum mala formides, nec bona poſſe pati.
Sive ſuis repetunt ex fato ergaſtula poenas,
Triſtia ſeu nigro viſcera felle tument.
Sic nimiae bilis morbum aſſignavit Homerus
Bellerophonteis ſollicitudinibus.
Nam juveni offenſo ſaevi poſt tela doloris
Dicitur humanum diſplicuiſſe genus.

Rutilii Itinerarium, lib. i. ver. 439. . . . 452.

(c) Aſſurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon,
Inter Piſanum Cyrniacumque latus.
Adverſus ſcopulos, damni monumenta recentis
Perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.
Noſter enim nuper juvenis, majoribus amplis,
Nec cenſu inferior, conjugiove minor,
Impulſus furiis homines, divoſque reliquit,
Et turpem latebram credulus oxul agit.
Infelix putat, illuvie coeleſtia paſſi,
Seque premit laeſis ſaevior ipſe Deis.
Non, rogo, deterior Circaeis ſecta venenis?
Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

Ibid. ver. 515. . . . 526.

A. D. 418. " the rocks alive. For the young man, once our friend, of noble " parentage, and ample fortune, happy too in marriage, impelled " by the Furies, forſakes the ſociety of Gods and men. The ſu- " perſtitious fool hides himſelf in a dark hole. The unhappy wretch " believes, the celeſtial deities to be pleaſed with human miſerie, and " plagues himſelf worſe than the angrie Gods would do. What " new miſchief do we ſee, worſe than the ſorceries of Circe? She " metamorphoſed the bodies of men into the ſhape of ſwine. This " religion makes men brutes all over!"

IV. Hence it is apparent, that hermitages, and monaſteries, which had their original in the Eaſt, were now got alſo into Europe. Other reflexions I forbear, as obvious, and eaſie to be made by all who are diſpoſed to think.

V. Beſide theſe two paſſages, more directly relating to Chriſtian affairs, it may be obſerved, that at the port *Faleria*, when Rutilius went aſhore, he found the Heathen people celebrating the feaſt of oſiris. " Here *(d)* he met with a Jew, who had ſome authority in " the

(d) Sed male penſavit requiem ſtationis amoenae
Hoſpite conductor durior Antiphate.
Namque loci querulus curam Judaeus agebat,
Humanis animal diſſociabile cibis.
Vexatos frutices, pulſatas imputat algas.
Damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae.
Reddimus obſcoenae convicia debita genti,
Quae genitale caput propudioſa metit.
Radix ſtultitiae, cui frigida ſabbata cordi:
Sed cor frigidius religione ſuâ eſt.
Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno.
Tanquam laſſati mollis imago Dei.
Caetera mendacis deliramenta cataſtae,
Nec pueros omnes credere poſſe repr.

Atque

" the place. And he laments the conqueſt of Judea by *Pompey*, A. D. 418.
" and *Titus*, which had occaſioned the ſpreading of the Jewiſh ſu-
" perſtition over the Empire."

I have thought this worth notice, becauſe, poſſibly, here is a reference to the encreaſe of Chriſtianity, which was derived from Judaiſm, and certainly had ſpread farther in the Roman Empire, than Judaiſm itſelf. I therefore put the verſes in the margin. An exact tranſlation is not needfull.

However, at the year 418. the year of this voyage of Rutilius, Pagi (*e*) has ſome curious obſervations upon the laws of the Empire at that time. He ſays, that (*f*) the Jews were then of great account.

This author is in (*g*) Colonia.

Atque utinam numquam Judaea ſubacta fuiſſet
Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi.
Latius exciſae peſtis contagia ſerpunt,
Victoreſque ſuos natio victa premit.
Ibid. ver. 381. . . 398.

(*e*) *ann.* 418. *num. lxx.*

(*f*) Judaeorum magna ratio hoc adhuc tempore habita. *Id. ibid.*

(*g*) *Tom.* 2. *chap. vi. p.* 205. *&c.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LVII.

OLYMPIODORUS.

His Work, and Time, and Extracts from him.

A. D. 425. *His Work, and Time.*

I. I Begin immediatly with Photius's account of this (*a*) Author. " We read, ſays (*b*) Photius, the two and twenty books " of OLYMPIODORUS. He begins his Hiſtorie at the ſe- " venth Conſulſhip of Honorius, Emperour of Rome, and the ſe- " cond of Theodoſius, and brings it down to the time that Valen- " tinian, ſon of Placidia and Conſtantius, was declared Emperour " of Rome. This (*c*) writer was of Thebes in Egypt, a Chemiſt " by employment, as he ſays himſelf, and as to religion a Greek. " He dedicates his Hiſtorie to the Emperour Theodoſius, ſon of Ar- " cadius, and nephew to Honorius and Placidia."

Hereby it appears, that the Hiſtorie of Olympiodorus began at the year 407. and reached to the year 425. when Valentinian the third was declared Emperour. The Hiſtorie was dedicated to Theodoſius the Younger, who reigned from the year 408. to 450. As it reached to the reign of Valentinian, it muſt have been publiſhed between

(*a*) *Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p.* 468. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap.* 5. *T.* 6. *p.* 237. *&c. et lib. v. cap.* 38. *T.* 9. *p.* 400. *Tillem. H. E. Honoré. art.* 66. *Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Gr. l.* 2. *cap.* 20. *Univerſal Ancient Hiſtorie. vol. xvi. p.* 532.

(*b*) *Cod.* 80. *p.* 178.

(*c*) Οὗτος ὁ συγγραφεὺς Θηβαῖος μέν ἐστιν, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον Θηβῶν τὸ γένος· ποιητὴς, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, Ἕλλην τὴν θρησκείαν. *Phot. p.* 178. *med.*

between the year 425. and 450. I place him at the year 425. where he is placed by Cave. A. D. 425.

Photius ſays, the author's ſtile is clear. Nevertheleſs he paſſeth a cenſure upon his manner of writing. However Tillemont *(d)* ſays, "that the extract, which Photius has preſerved, makes us re-"gret, that we have no more of him. For, certainly, he would "clear up many things. Zoſimus *(e)* cites him by name, and ap-"pears to have borrowed ſeveral things from him, as well as So-"zomen."

Cave *(f)* conſiders him as a very ſuperſtitious Gentil, and thinks he was partial in what he ſays of ſome Chriſtians. Nevertheleſs, if his hiſtorie were now exſtant, I believe it would have been curious, and entertaining. But the bigotrie of ſome people, who have deſtroyed works which they did not like, has deprived us of a great deal of pleaſure, as well as inſtruction, which we might have had.

2. I ſhall tranſcribe a few things out of the extracts of Photius, which are all we now have of this Hiſtorie. *Extracts from his Work.*

Olympiodorus gives a brief account of one *Conſtantin* *(g)* a common ſoldier, who was proclaimed Emperour by the Roman armie in Britain, out of reſpect to his name, in the reign of Honorius, A. D. 407. and was put to death in 411.

"Whilſt *(b)* theſe things were tranſacting, ſays he, Conſtantius "and

(*d*) *As before, Honoré, art.* 66.

(*e*) *Zoſ. l.* 5. *p.* 803.

(*f*) In hac hiſtoria non modo ſuperſtitionum Gentilium ritus commendavit, ſed et in Chriſtianos clam invectus eſt, praecipue in Olympium officiorum magiſtrum, quem ob pietatem vere Chriſtianam miris effert laudibus Auguſtinus, eamque ut dv-σιωγον falſo non minus quam invidioſe traducit. *Cav. ib. p.* 468.

(*g*) Hujus loco Conſtantinus, ex infima militia, propter ſolam ſpem nominis, ſine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo ut invaſit imperium, in Gallias tranſit. *Oroſ l.* 7. *cap.* 40. *p.* 576.

(*b*) *Apud. Phot. ib. p.* 184.

A. D. 425. " and Ulphilas are ſent by Honorius againſt Conſtantin: who com-
" ing to Arles, where Conſtantin then was with his ſon, laid ſiege
" to it. And *(i)* Conſtantin taking refuge in a church, was ordain-
" ed Preſbtyer, his life having been promiſed to him with the ſecu-
" rity of an oath. The gates of the city were then opened to the be-
" ſiegers. And Conſtantin, with his ſon, was ſent to Honorius.
" But the Emperour not being able to forgive the treatment of his
" couſins, †† whom Conſtantin had killed, contrarie to the oath
" that had been given, ordered them to be both put to death, when
" they were yet thirty miles off from Ravenna."

3. I ſhall obſerve briefly another paſſage or two in the extracts of Photius.

" This writer, ſays he, gives an account of a voyage he made to
" Athens, not without ſome danger. He (*k*) ſays, that by his in-
" tereſt *Leontius* was advanced to the ſophiſtic chair, when he did
" not himſelf at all deſire it. He likewiſe ſays, that none, eſpecially
" ſtrangers, might wear the cloak, without leave of the Sophiſts,
" and ſubmitting to the ceremonies of initiation." Which are there tranſcribed, and are ridiculous enough.

Upon occaſion of this paſſage, Tillemont, and other learned men, refer to an oration of (*l*) Gregorie Nazianzen, and obſerve, that the ſame fooleries were ſtill practiſed at Athens, with regard to ſcholars newly arrived, which are deſcribed by Gregorie in his time. I think, we may alſo hence conclude, that Gentiliſm ſtill prevailed very much at Athens, and that it was not reſtrained with much rigour and ſeverity by Chriſtian magiſtrates.

4. " Once

(*i*) Καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος καταφολὰν εἰς ἐυκτήριον, πρεσβύτερος τότε χειροτονεῖται, ὅρκων δυτῶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δοθέντων. κ. λ. *Ibid. p.* 184.

†† *He means Didymus and Verinianus. Vid. Sozom. l.* 9. *cap.* 4. *et* 13. *et Zoſim. l.* 5. *et* 6.

(*k*) Λέγει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς Αθήνας καταραι, καὶ τῆ αυτῦ σπουδῆ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ εἰς τὸν σοφιστικὸν θρόνον ἀναχθῆναι Λεόντιον ἄκοντα θέλοντα. Λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῦ τρίβωνος, ὡς οὐκ ἐξῆν κατὰ τὰς Αθήνας περιπαλίσθαι αὐτὸν τινα . . ὦ μὴ ἡ τῶν σοφιστῶν γνώμη ἐπέτρεψε. . . κ. λ. *Ib. p.* 189.

(*l*) *Or.* 20. *p.* 327.

4. " Once more, there is a ſtorie told by this (*m*) writer, which " he had heard from a man of great note, of three ſilver images found " in the earth in Thrace. And when this treaſure was inquired in- " to, it was found, that they had been hid by the people of the " countrey in a conſecrated piece of ground, as a ſecurity againſt the " incurſions of Barbarians. The images lay with their faces toward " the north, the countrey of the Barbarians. And, as he ſays, the " removal of them was ſoon followed by the incurſions of Goths, and " afterwards of Hions." A. D. 425.

This ſtorie is a proof of the writer's ſuperſtition and credulity: which, as I apprehend, were common diſpoſitions in Heathen people of all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned. Indeed, we have ſeen many proofs of it.

(*m*) *Ap. Phot. p.* 188. 189.

CHAP. LVIII.

ZOSIMUS.

I. *His Time, and Work.* II. *Extracts from his Hiſtorie.* III. *Concluding Remarks upon the foregoing Extracts.*

A. D. 425. *His Time, and Work.*

I SHALL likewiſe begin the hiſtorie of this writer with the extracts of Photius.

"We (*a*) read, ſays Photius, the Hiſtorie of Zoſimus, Count, "and Ex-Advocate of the Treaſurie, in ſix books. As to religion, "he is impious, and often ravils the pious. His ſtile is conciſe, "and perſpicuous. He begins his hiſtorie at the time of Auguſtus, "and runs through the ſeveral reigns to Diocletian, in a brief and "haſty manner, mentioning little more than the ſucceſſions of the "Emperours. But after Diocletian he is more particular, writing "their hiſtorie in five books: whereas the firſt alone comprehends "all the reſt from Auguſtus to (*b*) Diocletian. And the ſixth book "con-

(*a*) Ἀνεγνώσθη ἱστορικὴν λόγοις ἓξ Ζωσίμου, κόμητος καὶ ῥιφκοσυνηγόρου. Ἔστι δὲ θρησκείαν ἀσεβὴς, καὶ πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς ὑλακτῶν κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν. κ. λ. *Phot. Cod.* 98. *p.* 269.

(*b*) In our preſent copies the later part of the firſt book is wanting. Hodie poſtrema pars libri primi, ea nempe quae a Probo uſque ad Diocletianum, deſideratur. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T.* 6. *p.* 604.

" concludes with Alarich's ſecond ſiege of Rome. Photius adds A. D. 425.
" farther, that (c) Zoſimus ſo nearly reſembles Eunapius, that he
" may be ſaid, to have tranſcribed him, rather than to have writ a
" new Hiſtorie, except that he is more conciſe, and does not rail
" at Stilicho. For the reſt, his hiſtorie is much the ſame. And
" they agree in reviling the pious Emperours."

So ſays Photius. But Zoſimus has not mentioned Eunapius.

There needs little more to be ſaid by way of a previous account of this writer. Cave (d) placeth him as flouriſhing about the year 425. And Euagrius ſays, he (e) lived in the time of Honorius and Arcadius, and afterwards. As he quotes Olympiodorus, he muſt have writ after him, if that paſſage be genuine. And ſome learned men are of opinion, that he plainly borrows ſome things from Olympiodorus, in the fifth and ſixth books of his work. I ſhall place below (f) what Fabricius ſays concerning his time, not very diſagreeably to what has been already obſerved.

Zoſimus has been often blamed for his ſevere reflexions upon Conſtantin, and Theodoſius the firſt, and has been defended by others. He is manifeſtly an enemie to the Chriſtians, and in point of his own religion very ſuperſtitious, and credulous. I think it beſt for me to tranſcribe from him a good part of what he ſays directly, or indi-

(c) *Ib. p.* 271. *m.*

(d) *Hiſt. Lit. Tom. i. p.* 468.

(e) . . . ἃ ἐν μετ' αὐτὸν γεγραπται. *Euagr. l.* 3. *cap.* 41. *p.* 312. *A.*

(f) Scripſiſſe videri poſſit non poſt Eunapium modo, ſed Olympiodorum Thebanum quoque (adeoque poſt A. C. 425.) quem libro v. cap. 27. allegat, ubi de Ravenna urbe diſſerit, quamquam locus iſte gloſſema videtur Lambecio. . . . Ea vero, quae de Conſtantino Tyranno habet libro vi. et quae de Alaricho ac Stilichone ſcribit libro quinto, cuncta fere ex Olympiodoro, mutuatum eſſe notat Henr. Valeſius ad Sozom. p. 170. Quoniam porro Olympiodorus Hiſtoriam ſuam uſque ad Valentiniani iii. ſive Placidi imperium produxit, quod coepit A. C. 425. hinc conſtat, Zoſimum non ante id tempus Hiſtoriam ſuam compoſuiſſe. Poſt Arcadii et Honorii tempora rejicit etiam Euagrius. iii. 41. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l.* 5. *cap.* v. *T.* 6. *p.* 606. *et* 607.

A. D. 425. indirectly, of Chriſtians: and I ſhall alſo take in ſome of his remarkable ſtrokes in favour of Gentiliſm. Theſe things may entertain my readers, as I apprehend, without perverting any of them. Indeed I think this method neceſſary to ſet before my readers the ſtate of things in the Roman Empire at that time, both with regard to Gentiliſm, and to Chriſtianity.

But before I proceed to make my extracts, I ſhall put down here a part of what Voſſius ſays of this author, in his work concerning the Greek Hiſtorians. "Zoſimus, *(g)* Count, and Ex-Advocate of the "Treaſurie, lived in the time of the younger Theodoſius, as ap"pears from Euagrius. He has left ſix books of hiſtorie: the firſt "of which runs through the Emperours from Auguſtus to Diocletian. "In the other he relates more at large the Roman affairs to the ſe"cond ſiege of Rome by Alarich, and his appointing Attalus Em"perour, and then dethroning him again. It is probable, that he "went ſomewhat lower, as ſomething ſeems to be wanting at the "end of what we have. . . . The ſtile of Zoſimus is conciſe, pure, "and perſpicuous, as is obſerved by Photius in his Bibliotheque. "But he was a Pagan, and frequently blames Chriſtian Princes. "Upon which account he has been cenſured by Photius, Euagrius, "Nicephorus, and others. But Leunclavius is of opinion, that even "in thoſe things Zoſimus ought to be credited. For it is certain, that "Chri-

(g) Zoſimus quoque, comes et exadvocatus fiſci, vixit tempore Theodoſii junioris, ut ex Euagrio Scholaſtico conſtat. Reliquit Hiſtoriae libros ſex, quorum primus Caeſares ab Auguſto uſque ad Diocletianum percurrit. Ceteris quinque fuſius perſequitur res Romanas uſque ad Romam iterum ab Alaricho obſeſſam, Attalum ab eo deſignatum Imperatorem, poſteaque ea dignitate exutum. . . . Sed homo fuit Paganus. . . . Unde creber eſt in ſugillandis principibus Chriſtianis. Quo nomine etiam a Photio reprehenditur, item Evagrio, Nicephoro, et aliis. Sed Leunclavius cenſet, ne in iſtis quidem fidem facile Zoſimo eſſe abrogandam. Nam et Chriſtiani principes quaedam enormia vitia habuiſſe: quae fidelis hiſtoricus minime debeat praeterire. *G. J. Voſſ. Hiſt. Gr. l. 2. cap. xx. Vid. etiam J. A. Boſius. ap. Blount Cenſura auctor. in Zoſim. p. 209.*

A. D. 425.

"Chriſtian Princes were guilty of great faults, which a faithfull hiſtorian ought not to conceal." So ſays Voſſius. And I have thought it beſt, not to ſuppreſs his judgement.

Voſſius, as we have ſeen, ſuppoſed ſomewhat to be wanting at the end of the laſt book. But Fabricius, who has ſince conſidered that point, is of opinion, that *(b)* we have it entire.

I have not obſerved any where an account of the place of this writer's nativity, nor of his uſual reſidence. He is called *Count*, which ſhews his dignity, and is ſaid to have been Ex-Advocate of the Treaſurie: which ſeems to ſhew, that he had for ſome time an honourable employment under the Emperour, in whoſe time he lived: but the Emperour is not named. Valeſius, in his notes upon Euagrius, is inclined to place Zoſimus much lower than is generally done. He thinks, he flouriſhed in the time of the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*. And ſays, that (*) the Character of Advocate of the Treaſurie, differs little from that of Sophiſt.

II. I now proceed to make extracts. *Extracts from his Work.*

1. In his firſt book, in the reign of *Aurelian*, ſpeaking of ſome ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the *Palmyrens*, and the benefit of them: "But *(i)* theſe things, ſays he, I leave with the happineſſe of thoſe "men. For the preſent race has rejected the divine benefit." And ſoon afterwards: "Such *(k)* was the divine benevolence toward the "Ro-

(b) Geſta haec ſunt, in quibus deſinit Zoſimi hiſtoria, anno Chriſti 410. Honorii Imp. 16. Theodoſii Junioris 3. Atque ex iſto Photii loco patet, Hiſtoriam Zoſimi, quam ipſe legit, non longius productam fuiſſe, quam in noſtris codicibus exſtat: quamquam Voſſius . . . veriſimile putavit paullo ulterius progreſſum, &c. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T.* 6 *p.* 607.

(*) Et Advocati fiſci dignitas, quâ ornatur Zoſimus, non multum abhorret a Sophiſticâ. *Valeſ. Ann. ad Euagr. l.* 3. *cap.* 41.

(i) Ταῦτα μὲν ὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίᾳ παρίημι, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένος ἀποσεσαμένων θέαν ἐυεργεσίαν. *Zoſ. l. i. p.* 660. *A. ed. Sylburg. Francof.* 1590.

(k) Ἡ μὲν ὖν εἰς Ρωμαίους εὐμένεια τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς θέας ἁγίσεως φυλαττομένης, τοιαύτη. Ε-

πειδὰν

A. D. 425. "Romans, ſo long as the ſacred rites were obſerved. But when I "ſhall come down to thoſe times, in which the Roman Empire "became in a manner barbarous, and very ſmall, and that little cor-"rupted; I ſhall ſet down the cauſes of thoſe misfortunes, and ſhall "alſo endeavour to add, as I am able, thoſe oracles, by which the "unhappie event was foretold."

Theſe, and other like paſſages, may convince us, how ſtrong the prejudices had always been in favour of Gentiliſm, and how much men were afraid of departing from ancient cuſtoms: leaſt they ſhould thereby bring down upon themſelves, and the ſtate, miſerie and confuſion. And it may enable us to conceive, in ſome meaſure, how great fortitude of mind muſt have been needfull, to enable the firſt Chriſtians to bear up under all the reproaches, which they met with upon that account. They muſt have been perſuaded, that they had good reaſon to act as they did, againſt the prevailing opinion. This obſervation we have had occaſion to make ſeveral times.

2. In the ſecond book of his Hiſtorie, having given a large and particular account of the Secular Games, and the manner of celebrating them, and the rites accompanying them, he ſays: "Whilſt (*l*) there-"fore all theſe things were performed, according to the appointment "of the oracle, and as they really ought to be done, the Roman Em-"pire was ſafe, and they had in a manner the whole world in ſubject-"tion to them. But the feſtival having been neglected from the time "that Diocletian abdicated, it has decayed, untill it is become almoſt "barbarous. I ſhall put down the true account of the time. For from "the Conſulſhip of Cilo and Libo [*A. C.* 204.] in which Severus ce-"lebrated the Secular Games, to the ninth Conſulſhip of Diocletian, "and the eighth of Maximian, [*A. C.* 304.] are an hundred and one "years. But then Diocletian of an Emperour became a private "man.

πολλὰ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀφίξομαι τὰς χρήσεις, ἐν ὅσοις ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ βραχὺ βαρβαρωθεῖσα, εἰς ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφθαρὲν, περιέστη· τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παραστήσω τῆ δυσχήματος, καὶ τὰς χρησμὰς ἃς ἐν τούτοις ἡ παραβήσομαι, τὰς τὰ συμπεσόντα μηνύσαντας. *Ibid.* p. 660. *fin.*

(*l*) *Lib.* 2. p. 671.

" man. The ſame was the caſe of Maximian. In the third Con- A. D.
" ſulſhip of Conſtantin and Licinius [*A. C.* 313.] the time of a hun- 425.
" dred and ten years was compleat, when the feſtival ought to have
" been obſerved according to cuſtom. And not having been then
" obſerved, there was a neceſſity, that affairs ſhould ſink into the
" diſtreſſe and miſerie, in which they now are."

3. In the ſame book. " At *(f)* that time [in 309. or thereabout]
" there happened a fire at Rome, whether from the air, or from the
" earth, is uncertain, and it took the temple of Fortune. When all
" men ran to extinguiſh the fire, a ſoldier, who ſpoke ſome blaſ-
" phemous words againſt the Deity, was killed by the multitude,
" out of veneration for the Goddeſſe. This enflamed the ſoldiery in-
" to a ſedition. Which might have ruined the whole City, if Max-
" entius had not interpoſed, and reſtrained their furie."

4. " But *(g)* when the whole Empire came to be in the hands of
" Conſtantin alone (*meaning after the death of Licinius, in* 323. *or*
" 324.) he no longer concealed his bad nature, but did every thing
" as he pleaſed. Hitherto he had practiſed the ſacred rites of his
" countrey, not ſo much indeed out of real veneration for them,
" as out of neceſſity. And he therefore gave credit to ſouthſayers,
" as men expert in their art, and who had truly foretold his future
" ſucceſſes. And when he came to Rome, being exalted with pride
" and arrogance, he began with exerciſing cruelty in his own fami-
" lie.

(*f*) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ρώμην ἐκπεσόντος πυρὸς, ἔυτε ἐξ ἀέρος, ἔτε ἐκ γῆς (τοῦτο γὰρ ἄδηλον) ὁ τῆς Τύχης ἐφλέχθη νεὼς. Πάντων δὲ σβέσαι τὴν πυρὰν συνδραμόντων, βλάσφημα ῥήματα κατὰ τῦ θεῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὶς ἀφεὶς. κ. λ. *l.* 2. *p.* 675.

(*g*) Περισάσης δὲ τῆς πάσης εἰς μόνον Κωνσταντῖνον ἀρχῆς, ὐκέτι λοιπὸν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνῆσαν αὐτῷ κακοήθειαν ἐκρυπτεν, ἀλλὰ ἐνδιδ δὲ τῷ κατ' ἐξυσίαν ἅπαντα πράττειν. Ἐχρῆτο δὲ ἔτι κ τοῖς πατρίοις ἱεροῖς, ὐ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, μᾶλλον δὲ χρείας· ἢ κ μάντεσιν ἐπείθετο πεπραγμένοις ὡς ἀληθῆ προειπῦσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῷ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ρώμην ὡρίκετο, μεσὸς πάσης ἀλαζονίας, ἀφ' ἑσίας ὠήθη δεῖν ἄρξασθαι τῆς ἀσεβείας. Κρίσπον γὰρ παῖδα .... κ. λ. *l.* 2. *p.* 685.

A. D. 425. " lic. For he put to death his ſon Criſpus, whom he had before " declared Ceſar, upon a ſuſpicion of unlawfull commerce with his " mother-in-law Fauſta. Conſtantin's mother Helena being ex- " tremely grieved for the death of the young man, as if he had " aimed to comfort her by adding one evil to another, he had Fauſta " ſuffocated in a bath. Being *(b)* conſcious to himſelf of theſe things, " and of his breaches of faith, he applied to the prieſts for ſome ex- " piatorie purifications of thoſe crimes. They anſwered him, that " there were not delivered to them any purifications, which could " expiate ſuch crimes as thoſe were. At that time there came an " Egyptian to Rome from Spain. Who getting acquainted with " the women of the Court, and at length coming into Conſtantin's " companie, he told him, that the Chriſtian doctrine could wipe a- " way all offenſes. For *(i)* it contained this aſſurance, that the wick- " ed who embraced it, ſhould be immediatly freed from the guilt " of all ſin. Conſtantin readily embracing that diſcourſe, hearк- " ened to the Egyptian, and forſaking the rites of his countrey, he " began his impiety with neglecting divination and augurie. And " at length he aboliſhed ſuch things. And when a day came, that " according to cuſtom the armie ſhould go up to the Capitol, Con- " ſtantin ſpoke ſlightly of that cuſtom. And thus abandoning the " ſacred rites, he loſt the affections of the ſenate and people of " Rome. And not being able to endure the reproaches caſt upon " him on that account, he then thought of chooſing another city " for the ſeat of the Empire. At length he fixed upon the city of " Byzantium, afterwards called Conſtantinople."

This paragraph will certainly require ſome remarks. To me it ſeems not at all ſtrange, that ſuch reflexions as theſe ſhould be ſome-

times

(*b*) Ταῦτα συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ, ἠ προσέτι γε ὅρκων καταφρονήσεις, προσῆει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καθάρσια τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν. . . *p.* 685. *in.*

(*i*) Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσχυε ἐπάγγελμα, τὸ τοὺς δεξαμένους μεταλαμβάνοντας αὐτῆς, πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἔξω παραχρῆμα καθίστασθαι. *p.* 685.

times thrown upon Conſtantin, and the Chriſtian Religion, by Heathen people. Sozomen, near the begining of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, ſpeaks to this purpoſe. " I *(k)* am not ignorant, that the " Gentils are wont to ſay, that Conſtantin having put to death ſome " of his relations, and particularly, his ſon Criſpus, and being ſorry " for what he had done, he applied to *Sopater* the Philoſopher, and " the chief maſter of the ſchool of Plotinus at that time. And he " anſwering, that there were no expiations for ſuch offenſes, the " *(l)* Emperour then had recourſe to the Chriſtian Biſhops, who " told him, that by repentance and baptiſm he might be cleanſed " from all ſin. With which doctrine, as they ſay, he was mightily " pleaſed. Whereupon he became a Chriſtian himſelf, and requir- " ed his ſubjects to be ſo likewiſe. But, ſays Sozomen, *(and very " honeſtly,)* it *(m)* ſeems to me, that theſe ſtories have been invented " by thoſe, who are deſirous to reproach the Chriſtian Religion. " For Criſpus, upon whoſe account, as they ſay, Conſtantin needed " a purification, died in the 20. year of his father's Empire. And " whilſt he was yet living, having the ſecond poſt in the govern- " ment, as being Ceſar, he enacted many laws in favour of the " Chriſtians, joyntly with his Father, as the laws ſtill in being teſ- " tify. He likewiſe ſays, *(following* (*n*) *Euſebius,)* that Conſtantin " embraced Chriſtianity, before his war with *Maxentius*, and before " his coming to Rome, and into Italie. Nor is it probable, that " Sopater ſhould have an opportunity of converſing with Conſtan- " tin in Britain, or Gaul." So writes Sozomen. A. D. 425.

That Conſtantin was no longer a Heathen, and idolater, but a Chriſtian, may be concluded from his edict, publiſhed in favour of

(*k*) *Sozom. H. E. l. i. cap.* 5. *p.* 406.

(*l*) δδημοσίευτα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσαγορίνσει, σπριτυχεῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, ὑπ μετανοίᾳ ϗ βαπτίσματι ὑπεχοντο, πάσης αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίας καθαίρειν. *Ib.* 406. *B.*

(*m*) Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, ταῦτα πεπλάσθαι τοῖς σπουδάζουσι τὴν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείαν κακηγορεῖν. *Ibid.*

(*n*) *Vid. Euſeb. de Vita Conſtantini, l. i. cap.* 26. . . 32.

A. D. 425. the Chriſtians, in the year 313. ſoon after the defeat of *Maxentius*. Nevertheleſs his notions concerning the Chriſtian Religion, and his knowledge of it, might be afterwards more full and clear.

That Conſtantin was a Chriſtian before this time, is manifeſt from Zoſimus himſelf. For as we ſaw juſt now, he complained, that the great feſtival of the ſecular games, which ſhould have been celebrated in the year 313. was omitted by Conſtantin. Is not that a proof, that he was not then a Chriſtian?

This may ſuffice for a general obſervation upon this paragraph. However, I ſhall take ſome farther notice of the ſeveral particulars of it.

1.) Zoſimus inſinuates, that for a long time Conſtantin practiſed divination.

With regard to this, it ſhould be obſerved, that there are laws exſtant, two (*o*) paſſed by Conſtantin in the year 319. one directed to Maximus Prefect of Rome, the other to the People, and another (*p*) in 321. wherein the Senate of Rome, and others are allowed to conſult

(*o*) Imp. Conſtantinus ad Maximum. Nullus aruſpex limen alterius accedat, nec ob alteram cauſſam, ſed hujuſmodi hominum, quamvis vetus, amicitia repellatur. Concremando illo haruſpice, qui ad domum alienum acceſſerit: illo et qui eum ſuaſionibus vel praemiis evocaverit, poſt redemptionem bonorum, in inſulam detrudendo. Superſtitioni enim ſuae ſervire capientes poterunt publice ritum proprium exercere. Accuſatorem enim hujus criminis non delatorem eſſe, ſed dignum magis praemio arbitramur. *De Malefic. et Mathematicis. Cod Theod. l.* 9. *Tit.* 16. *l. i. Tom.* 3. *p.* 114.

Idem A. ad Populum. Haruſpices, et eos qui huic ritui ſolent miniſtrare, ad privatam domum prohibemus accedere, vel ſub praetextu amicitiae limen alterius ingredi, poenâ contra eos propoſitâ, ſi contemſerit legem. Qui vero id vobis exiſtimatis conducere, adite aras publicas atque delubra, et conſuetudinis veſtrae celebrate ſollemnia. Neque enim prohibemus praeteritae uſurpationis officia libera luce tractari. *Dat. Id. Maii, Conſtantino. Aug. V. et Licinio. Coſſ. Ibid. l.* 2. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 115.

(*p*) Si quid de Palatio noſtro, aut ceteris operibus publicis deguſtatum de fulgore eſſe conſtiterit, retento more veteris obſervantiae, quid portendat, ab haruſpicibus requiratur, et diligentiſſime ſcriptura collecta ad noſtram ſcientiam referatur. Ceteris

A. D. 425.

conſult Southſayers, upon occaſion of lightening, and thunder, or other ſurprizing events, provided it be done publicly, in the temples, and at the uſual altars. At the ſame time Southſayers are ſtrictly forbid to go to private houſes.

I have put the laws below in their original language.

Theſe laws have occaſioned ſome reflexions upon Conſtantin. Baronius *(q)* was greatly offended, eſpecially at the laſt of them, and exclaims againſt Conſtantin, as if he had for a while apoſtatiſed from Chriſtianity. Other learned men, particularly (*r*) James Gothofred, in his notes upon theſe laws, and (*s*) Pagi, and (*t*) Baſnage, and (*u*) Tillemont, argue, that the terms of theſe laws import not any approbation of ſouthſaying, or any rites belonging to it, but rather a diſlike of them. They are only permitted in condeſcenſion to the prejudices of Heathen people, and eſpecially the people of Rome, who were extremely fond of haruſpices.

The

Ceteris etiam uſurpandae hujus conſuetudinis licentiâ tribuendâ: dummodo ſacrificiis domeſticis abſtineant, quae ſpecialiter prohibita ſunt. Eam autem denunciationem atque interpretationem, quae de tactu Amphitheatri ſcripta eſt, de quâ ad Heraclianum Tribunum, et magiſtrum officiorum ſcripſeras, ad nos ſcias perlatum. *Dat. . . Criſpo ii. et Conſtantino ii. Coſſ. De Paganis. &c. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 1. p. 257.*

(*q*) *Baron. Ann.* 321. *num.* 18. *&c.*

(*r*) Vice verſa, ſicut haruſpicinam privatim exerceri Conſtantinus his legibus vetat, ita contra publice eam exerceri permittit. Publice, inquam, apud aras publicas, et delubra, et retento more veteris obſervantiae. . . Quin, et infra, *De Paganis*, haruſpicinam in publicis quoque cauſſis a Senatu urbiciſque magiſtratibus Romae uſurpari idem Conſtantinus conceſſit. Sic tamen, ut ad ſe reſponſa haruſpicum referri vellet. . . . Et haec omnia non tanquam ipſe haruſpicinam probaret, vel ei obnoxius fieret, quod Zoſimus credidiſſe videtur, et Baronius hinc colligit, verum quia evellendae e Gentilium animis haruſpicinae par nondum erat, et Romae quidem, et per Italiam, quam haruſpicinae nominatim fidem maximam habuiſſe ſcribit Herodianus, lib. 8. p. 612. Ideoque ſatis habuit Conſtantinus ſuae interim ſaluti et publicae quieti his legibus eâ quam dixi ratione conſuluiſſe: prohibitis ſacrificiis domeſticis, et privatarum aedium ingreſſu haruſpicibus interdicto. &c. *J. Gothofred. not. ad leg. i. et ii. de Maleficiis. &c. Tom.* 3. *p.* 116.

(*s*) *Pagi Ann.* 319. *num. xi. et* 321. *num. iv.*

(*t*) *Baſn. ann.* 321. *num. v.*

(*u*) *L'Emp. Conſtantin. art. xlii.*

A. D. 425.

The obſervations of thoſe learned men ſeem to me to contain a proper vindication of Conſtantin. Nevertheleſs Mr. Moſheim (x) is not ſatisfied. He ſtill thinks theſe laws a proof, that Conſtantin had not yet forſaken Gentiliſm, or acquieſced in the Chriſtian, as the only true religion. I have put his words below. But I do not think his exceptions to be of any great weight.

As to what Zoſimus ſays, *that Conſtantin ſtill paid a regard to ſouthſayers, having experienced the truth of their predictions in his own ſucceſſes.* Tillemont (y) ſays, we need not believe it upon his word alone. And it ſeems to be contrarie to what is ſaid in the Panegyrick of an Uncertain Author, to Conſtantin himſelf, in the year 313. where he ſays, "that (z) in undertaking the war with *Maxentius*, "Conſtantin had acted contrarie, not only to the advices of his "friends, and Generals, but likewiſe contrarie to the admonitions "of the haruſpices."

Upon the whole, I do not percieve any thing in thoſe laws, which we are now conſidering, contrarie to the edict of Conſtantin and Licinius in favour of the Chriſtians, in the year 313. There it is ſaid: *We (a) publiſh this therefore, as our will and pleaſure, and agreeable to right*

(x) Notae ſunt leges ejus de tolerandis haruſpicibus, modo publice artem ſuam exerceant. . . Septimo et nono poſt debellatum Maxentium anno ſancitae: quarum tametſi turpitudinem Gothofredus, Tillemontius, et alii extenuare ſtudent, haud tamen impedient, quo minus ex illis pateat, nondum tum temporis Imperatorem prorſus a veteri Romanorum religione deſciviſſe, atque in unius Chriſtianae profeſſione acquieviſſe. Neque video, cur Zoſimus mentiri putandus ſit, qui Conſtantinum diu poſt firmatum imperium hariolis aures praebuiſſe, fidemque habuiſſe narrat lib. 2. p. 203. edit. Oxon. 1079. *Moſhem. De Reb. Chriſtian. ante C. M. p.* 975.

(y) Mais pour ce qu'il ajoute, qu'il avoit ſouvent éprouvé dans ſes heureux ſuccés la verité de leurs predictions, nous ne l'en croirons pas aſſurément ſur ſa parole. *Tillem. ib.*

(z) Quiſnam te Deus, quae tam praeſens hortata eſt majeſtas, ut, omnibus fere tuis comitibus et ducibus non ſolum tacite muſſitantibus, ſed etiam aperte timentibus, contra conſilia hominum, contra haruſpicum monita, ipſe per temet liberandae Urbis tempus veniſſe ſentires. *Incerti Paneg. Conſt. Aug. cap.* 2. *p.* 233.

(a) *See before, in vol.* 3. *p.* 315.

right reaſon, that leave ſhould not be denied to any man whatever to follow and chooſe the conſtitution and worſhip of the Chriſtians: and that leave be given to every one to betake himſelf to that religion, which is moſt agreeable to him. A. D. 425.

Thoſe laws contain no enlargement of the privileges of Heathen people. They are rather a reſtriction of them. For all rites of ſouthſaying are here confined to public temples and altars: no haruſpex, or ſouthſayer, is allowed to go into private houſes. If any thing is done there privatly, diſcovering the fact is encouraged. *Such ſhall not be reckoned Informers, or accuſers, but ſhall be entitled to a reward.* And all anſwers, or determinations of haruſpices, relating to the publick, are to be tranſmitted to the Emperour himſelf in writing.

Moreover, Zoſimus himſelf ſays, that at the time, of which he is here ſpeaking, *Conſtantin practiſed the rites of his country, not from any real veneration for them, but from neceſſity:* that is, in condeſcenſion to the ſentiments of others, and that he might not too much offend and provoke Heathen people.

It is reaſonable therefore to think, that none of thoſe laws abovementioned, or what is here imputed to Conſtantin by Zoſimus, ought to be underſtood, as any empeachment of his Chriſtianity at that time.

2.) With regard to the death of *Criſpus*, and *Fauſta*, it is to be ſaid: that no Chriſtians juſtify any bad actions of Conſtantin, or any other Chriſtian Emperour. Such things, as have been reckoned blemiſhes in the reign of Conſtantin, with the occaſions of them, were particularly conſidered *(b)* formerly. And ſince that, in the chapter of Eutropius *(c)* in this volume, I have propoſed ſome additional obſervations. And therefore need not enlarge now.

3.) Here is a reflexion upon Chriſtian Baptiſm, the like to which we

(b) *See the Credibility, &c. P. 2. vol. vii. p. 405... 420.*

(c) *See here at p. 165.... 167.*

A. D. 425. we have met with already in (*) Celſus and (**) Julian. But there is no foundation for it. By Sozomen, this is repreſented after this manner, as we ſaw juſt now: that *Conſtantin met with ſome Chriſtian Biſhops, who told him, that by repentance and baptiſm he might be cleanſed from all ſin. With which doctrine the Emperour was mightily pleaſed.* And is there any abſurdity in this? Crimes are not to be expiated by ſacrifices of animals, nor by bodily pains and mortifications. But they may be expiated by ſincere repentance, and ſolemn engagements to univerſal virtue and piety for time to come, which are implied in baptiſm. This doctrine is reaſonable in itſelf, and is agreeable to the declarations of the ancient Jewiſh Prophets, and of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. It is a reaſonable doctrine, and worthie of all acceptation. If God is not inexorable to his creatures, who have offended againſt him, and his laws; how can they appeaſe his diſpleaſure, or recommend themſelves to his favour, in any other, or better way than this?

4.) Zoſimus tells us, that when Conſtantin was under concern of mind, *there came an Egyptian to Rome from Spain, who firſt got acquaintance with the women of the Court, and then with Conſtantin himſelf, and taught him how he might obtain the expiation of his offenſes and ſins.*

All this is ſaid without ground, ſo far as we know, and may all be the fiction of Zoſimus, or of ſome other Gentil people before him. However, upon this (d) Tillemont remarks in the following manner: "Euſebius has not told, us who they were whom God em-
"ployed to inſpire this Prince with the firſt principles of the truth.
"All that can be ſaid, is, that Zoſimus, amidſt the falſities, which
"he relates concerning the converſion of Conſtantin, there inſerts
"one thing, which may be true: that an Egyptian having come
"from Spain to the place where Conſtantin was, he was the cauſe
"of

(*) *See vol. 2. p. 332. &c.* (**) *See here p. 89. 90. &c.*
(d) *L'Emp. Conſtantin. §. xxiv.*

" of his abandoning the Roman religion. This ſeems to agree well " enough with the great *Oſius* of Corduba in Spain, whom ſome af- " fairs may have brought to the Court of Conſtantin. He was at " that time famous in the quality of Confeſſor of the name of Je- " ſus Chriſt. And we ſhall hereafter ſee him employed by Con- " ſtantin in the diſtribution of his alms, and in the greateſt affairs " of the Church, as a man, for whom Conſtantin had a very parti- " cular reſpect and eſteem." A. D. 425.

But that is mere conjecture. Nor do I know of any reaſon to believe, that *Oſius* of *Corduba* was acquainted with Conſtantin at the time of his converſion, or very ſoon after it.

5.) Zoſimus reflects upon Conſtantin for leaving Rome, and building Conſtantinople. But as this will come over again, I defer for the preſent to make the proper obſervations relating to that event. We therefore proceed.

5. Zoſimus (*e*) finds great fault with Conſtantin for making alterations in the magiſtracie, and inſtead of two Prefects of the Praetorium appointing four with ſeveral diſtricts. But I do not think it needful for me to tranſcribe him here at length, nor to make any remarks. I refer to (*f*) ſome learned modern hiſtorians and chronologers, where this new diſtribution of the ſeveral parts of the Empire is conſidered.

6. Having given an account of Conſtantin's enlarging the city of Byzantium, and calling it Conſtantinople, and having expatiated upon the expenſes of that undertaking, and the conſequences of it, he goes on: " Indeed (*g*) Conſtantin miſtook prodigality for mag- " nificence. And moreover he impoſed a taxe of gold and ſilver " upon

(*e*) *Zoſ. l.* 2. *p.* 687. 688.

(*f*) *Vide Pagi ann.* 332. *n. iv. Baſnag. ann.* 333. *ii. Tillem. L'Emp. Conſtantin. art.* 84.

(*g*) *Lib.* 2. *p.* 691.

A. D. 435. "upon all merchants and traders, throughout the Empire, not excepting miserable prostitutes; insomuch that upon the return of "every fourth year, when the taxe was to be collected, there was "nothing to be heard but lamentations and complaints in every city: and whips and torments were inflicted upon those, who by "reason of extreme poverty were not able to pay it. And mothers "were forced to part with their children, and fathers prostituted "their daughters, that they might satisfy the collectors of this gold "and silver exaction."

So says Zosimus. And I refer to (*h*) Gothofred, and (*i*) Pagi, and (*k*) others, who have vindicated Constantin from the scandal of this taxe. They say, it was not new, not even the more infamous part of it: but had been in force in the time of Heathen Emperours. Some alterations, however, in all probability, were made (*l*) by Constantin. Possibly, he appointed the collecting it every fourth or fifth year. For which reason it is sometimes called the *Chrysargyrum*, at other times the *Lustral taxe*. Nor (*m*) are any ancient laws of Constantin, or any other Emperour, relating to it, now in being: all copies of them, and all papers concerning it, having been carefully destroyed (*n*) by Anastasius, who abolished this taxe.

Some part of this taxe was abrogated by Theodosius the Younger in the year 439. The rest was in force through the reigns of several

(*h*) *Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. lib.* 13. *Tit.* v. *De Lustrali Collatione, leg.* 1. *Tom.* 5. *p.* 1. *&c.*

(*i*) *Pagi in Baron. ann.* 330. *n.* vi. *ann.* 491. *num.* xii.

(*k*) *Baron. ann.* 331. *n.* 33. *&c. Basn. ann.* 449. *num.* 1. *Tillemont L'Emp. Constantin.* §. 80. *Bingham's Antiquities of the Church. B.* v. *chap.* iii. §. 6.

(*l*) Quare si quid hac parte a Constantino factum, forma tantum ejus mutata. Forte lustralis haec collatio ab eo facta, seu renovata, quae antea annalis, vel ejusmodi erat: sic, ut pro facultatum incremento, totidem lustris augeretur. *Goth. ut supra. p.* 4.

(*m*) *Cod. Just. De Lustralis auri Collatione:* quo titulo absunt omnes hujus tituli constitutiones; utpote sublata hac collatione ab Anastasio, teste Eugagrio, et Zonara. *Gothof. ib. p.* 1.

(*n*) *Vid. Euagr. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 41. *Zonar. ann. T.* 3. *p.* 45.

ral Christian Emperours, till the eighth or ninth of Anastasius, in the year (o) 499. And that it was exacted with great rigour in the time of Julian, appears from an oration of Libanius to that Emperour, against Florentius, then Prefect of the Praetorium: "An (p) "unsufferable taxe, he says, which fills all men with horrour, at the "approach of the Lustral year, and especially labouring mechanicks, "who have nothing but the instruments of their trade. Whom I "have often seen, says Libanius, lifting up their eyes to heaven, "with an awle, or an axe in their hands, and professing, that they "had nothing else." A. D. 425.

Undoubtedly the building and adorning Constantinople occasioned great expense. Jerome, in his Chronicle, says: "At (q) this "time Constantinople is built, and all other cities stript almost na-"ked to enrich it."

But whatever reflexions may be made upon Constantin by Zosimus, or others, for enlarging Byzantium, his choice seems to have been approved in the end. For all succeeding Emperours made it the seat of the Eastern part of the Empire. And the Emperour Julian was exceeding fond of Constantinople, as being his native place: and conferred upon it many privileges, as we are assured (r) by Ammianus. Zosimus himself speaks to the like purpose. "Constan-"tinople (s) was his native city, and he made their Senate equal to

(o) At lenonum quidem vectigal jam sustulerat Theodosius anno 439. . . Anastasius vero infame vectigal ubique locorum exstinguere decrevit. *Basn. ann.* 499. *num. i. Conf. Pagi ann.* 330. *num. vi.*

(p) *Liban. Invect. in Florentium. ad Imp. Julian. T. 2.* 427. 428.

(q) Constantinopolis dedicatur pene omnium urbium nuditate. *Chron. p.* 181.

(r) Antiochiam ire contendens reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis multis fultam. Natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam et colebat. *Ammian. l.* 22. *c. ix. p.* 346.

(s) Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον παρεγένετο, πάντες μὲν αὐτὸν εἶχον εὐφημίας ἐδέχοντο, πολίτην καὶ τροφιμον ἑαυτῶν ὀνομάζοντες (διὰ δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τεχθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα τῇ πόλει) . . . Ἐν τούτῳ τῇ πόλιν ἅμα καὶ τὰς τραπεζίτας ἐτιμηλίμενος, ἴσας μὲν τῇ πόλει γερουσίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ [πόλει] Ῥώμῃ. κ. λ. *Zos. l.* 3. *p.* 713.

A. D. 425. "that of Rome, improved their harbour, adorned the city with a "magnificent portico, and a library, in which he placed his own "books." And (*t*) Julian in a letter to the Alexandrians, to induce them the more readily to part with a ſtone obeliſk, which lay on the ſea ſhore of their city, tells them, "that Conſtantin had built a veſ- "ſel for bringing it to Conſtantinople, his native city. But had "been prevented by death. That city, ſays he, now aſks the ſame "of me, which is my native country, and therefore more dear "to me, than to him. He loved it as a ſiſter, I as a mother. For "there I was born and bred, and therefore cannot be ungratefull to "her."

Julian, I think, might have ſaid, that Conſtantin loved the city, as his *daughter*. And then he could have had no pretenſe to magnify his affection for that place above Conſtantin's. However, the more to ſatisfy the Alexandrians, he promiſeth them a coloſſus of braſſe, of a large ſize, in the room of the Egyptian obeliſk of ſtone. And thus Julian does what had been blamed in Conſtantin. He robs and ſtrips Alexandria, to enrich and adorn Conſtantinople.

All which, as ſeems to me, is ſufficient to ſhew, that Conſtantin's choice of Byzantium was approved of by ſucceding Emperours, and that his conduct therein was juſtified by them. But I think, that ſomewhat more may be ſaid. And that what Conſtantin did now, had been in effect done before. Diocletian, who was the firſt and eldeſt Emperour, had for ſome while reſided chiefly at Nicomedia: and Maximian in Italie. Diocletian's reſignation in the year 305. was performed at a place near Nicomedia, and Maximian's at Milan. *Diocletian* and *Galerius* were at *Nicomedia*, when the edict for a general perſecution of the Chriſtians was publiſhed in 303. and had been there ſome while before. There Diocletian had a palace. He alſo endeavoured to encreaſe the confluence of people there by making Nicomedia the ſeat of learning. For that end he invited the Profeſſors

(*t*) *Ep.* 58. *p.* 443. *edit. Spanhem. et ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l.* 5. *c.* 8. *T.* 7. *p.* 84.

feſſors of other countreys, moſt eminent for their ſkill in the arts and ſciences, to come and make it the place of their reſidence. One of theſe was the celebrated *Firmianus Lactantius*, (*u*) who was invited to ſet up there a ſchool of Rhetorick, which he did. And, as we learn from Jerome, *Flavius Grammaticus* was invited at the ſame time: who was in repute for his ſkill in medicine. And likewiſe had a talent for poetry. And if Conſtantin be cenſured for the expenſes of building, ſo was Diocletian (*x*) likewiſe, and for a deſign to make Nicomedia equal to Rome. And Ammianus Marcellinus ſays, that (*y*) Nicomedia, in the time of it's proſperity, reſembled Rome itſelf for the number and grandeur of it's private and public buildings, with which it had been adorned by divers princes. A.D. 425.

Zoſimus, as may be remembred, in a place above cited, ſays: *When a day came, that according to cuſtom the armie ſhould go up to the capitol, Conſtantin ſpoke ſlightly of that cuſtom. And then abandoning the ſacred rites, he loſt the affections of the Senate, and people of Rome. And not being able to endure the reproaches caſt upon him upon that account, he thought of chooſing another city for the ſeat of the Empire. At length he fixed upon the city of Byzantium, afterwards called Conſtantinople.*

(*u*) Firmianus, qui et Lactantius, Arnobii diſcipulus, ſub Diocletiano principe, accitus cum Flavio Grammatico, cujus de medicinalibus verſu compoſiti extant libri, Nicomediae Rhetoricam docuit. *Hiero. De V. I. cap.* 8.

Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias literas accitus docerem. &c. *Lact. Inſt. l.* 5. *cap.* 2.

(*x*) Huc accedebat infinita quaedam cupiditas aedificandi, non minor provinciarum exactio in exhibendis operariis, artificibus, et plauſtris omnibus, quaecunque ſint fabricandis operibus neceſſaria. . . Repente magna para civitatis excediturr. Migrabant omnes cum conjugibus et liberis, quaſi urbe ab hoſtibus capta. . . . Ita ſemper dementabat, Nicomediam ſtudens urbi Romae coaequare. *Caes. de M. P. cap. vii.*

(*y*) Inde Nicomediam venit urbem antehac inclytam, ita magnis retro Principibus amplicatam impenſis, ut aedium multitudine privatarum et publicarum recte noſcentibus regio quaedam Urbis aeſtimaretur aeternae. *Ammian. l.* 22. *c. ix. p.* 346.

A. D. 425.

So ſays Zoſimus. Nevertheleſs that might not be the whole of the reaſon, why Conſtantin determined to make Byzantium the place of his reſidence. For, as I apprehend, the authority and influence of the Senate had been for ſome while troubleſome to the Emperours. They therefore choſe to be generally, at a conſiderable diſtance from it. And the preſent extent of the Empire, and the ſtate of things called them much into the Eaſtern part of it. And to me it ſeems not improbable, that if Conſtantin had never been converted to Chriſtianity, and if Gentiliſm had continued to ſubſiſt in it's ancient ſplendour; Nicomedia, or ſome other city near it, would have been choſen for the place of the chief reſidence, for the Emperour, or for the firſt of the Emperours, if there were more than one. And at length a Senate likewiſe might have been appointed in it, with ſuitable privileges, as a rival with the ancient Senate at Rome.

And for certain Conſtantin, in the choice of Byzantium ſhewed his judgement and ſagacity. For no place could be pitched upon, as to it's ſituation, more agreeable, or more convenient for an Imperial ſeat, in the whole extent of the Roman Empire, nor perhaps upon the face of the whole earth.

Theſe thoughts are my own, and therefore are propoſed, as they ought to be, with diffidence. But I was willing to mention them, for abating the reproaches caſt upon Conſtantin upon this account. Which have often appeared to me invidious, exceſſive, and unreaſonable. They come originally from Gentil writers, who laid hold of every occaſion to diſparage the firſt Chriſtian Emperour. And others, as ſeems to me, not being daily upon the guard, have incautiouſly embraced them.

7. Among thoſe, who were put to death ſoon after the acceſſion of Conſtantius, Zoſimus ſays, "At (z) that time alſo was put to "death

(z) Ἀπῃρθη δὲ τότε Αβλάβιος ὁ τῆς ἀυλῆς ὕπαρχος· τῆς δίκης ἀξίαν ἀυτῷ πάντων ἐπιθέσης· ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπιβέλευσε θάνατον τῷ Σωτῆρι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, φθόνῳ τῆς Κωνσταντίνε πρὸς ἀυτὸν οἰκειότητος. Zoſ. l. 2. p. 692.

"death *Ablabius*, Prefect of the Praetorium, in the way of a juſt "punishment for his procuring the death of the Philoſopher *Sopa-* "*ter*, becauſe he envied him the friendſhip of Conſtantin." A. D. 425.

Eunapius (*) likewiſe, who enlarges more than Zoſimus, in the character of *Ablabius*, who from a mean original aroſe to great ſplendour and dignity, aſcribes the death of Sopater to the intrigues of Ablabius. Jerome (*a*) alſo, in his Chronicle, mentions the death of Ablabius among other executions at the begining of the reign of Conſtantius.

I do not think it needfull for me to enlarge in the hiſtorie, or character of *Ablabius*, who was Prefect of the Praetorium from the year 326. to 333. or longer. I ſhall refer therefore to (*b*) Gothofred, and (*c*) Tillemont. But perhaps it may be expected, that I ſhould here ſay ſomewhat of *Sopater*, who was ſo much eſteemed by the learned men of thoſe times, who were zealous for Gentiliſm. He is ſaid to have been a diſciple of Jamblichus, who was diſciple of Plotinus. Eunapius ſays "he (*d*) was a man of great abilities. "And diſdaining to live in obſcurity, he haſtened to the Court of "Conſtantin, with a view of reſtraining the impetuoſity of that "prince againſt the old religion, and to govern him by reaſon. And "for a while he was in great eſteem, and was openly favoured, and "honoured by Conſtantin. But, as he ſays, there being a ſcarcity "of corn at Conſtantinople, and the people there thinking, that (*e*) "by

(*) *Eunap. in Aedeſ.* p. 37.

(*a*) Ablabius praefectus Praetorio, et multi nobilium occiſi. *Chron.* p. 182.

(*b*) *Gothof. Proſopographia.* p. 347.

(*c*) *L'Emp. Conſtantin.* §. 60.

(*d*) Σώπατρος δὲ ὁ πάντων δεινότερος, διά τι φύσεως ὕψος καὶ ψυχῆς μέγεθος, ἐν ἐπιγνώμοσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀθρόοις ὁμιλεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως αὐλὰς ἔδραμεν ὄξυς, ὡς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου σφάραξείν τι καὶ σοφὸν τυραννίσιν, καὶ μετασύσων τῷ λόγῳ. Καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον γε ἐξίκετο σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως, ὡς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἰαλώκει τε ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ δημοσίᾳ σύνεδρον ἔχειν, εἰς τὸν ἀξιῶν καθίζων τόπον. *In Aedeſio.* p. 34.

(*e*) .. ἀλλὰ Σωπάτρου γε, ἔφασαν, ὁ πάρα σῦ τιμώμενος, κατέδησε τὰς δείμις δι' ὑπερβολὴν σοφίας. κ. λ. *Id. ib.* p. 37.

A. D. 425. " by magical arts he bound up the winds, and obſtructed the arri-
" val of ſhips laden with corn for their relief, his enemies, and par-
" ticularly Ablabius, who envied his credit with the Emperour, ob-
" tained an order for putting him to death. Which †† order was
" immediatly executed by thoſe who bore him ill-will." That is Eunapius's account of the occaſion of Sopater's death. Here I would refer to *(f) Crevier*, who has a conjecture concerning the occaſion of Sopater's death. Which does not appear to me ſo material, as to deſerve to be tranſcribed.

Sopater is in Suidas, who ſays: " Sopater was of Apamea, a So-
" phiſt, and a Philoſopher, whom the Emperour Conſtantin put to
" death, that he might convince all, that he no longer favoured
" Gentiliſm. For to that time he was very familiar with him, and
" friendly to him. He wrote a work concerning Providence, and
" another concerning ſuch as had been without their own deſert
" happy, or unhappy. Conſtantin however did not do well in kil-
" ling Sopater. For no man is good by neceſſity, but by choice
" only."

There follows in Suidas another article, which is to this purpoſe. " Sopater of Apamea, or rather of Alexandria, Sophiſt. He *(g)*
" made Epitomes of ſeveral books. Some aſcribe to him a work
" of Hiſtorical Collections."

Whether this be the ſame with the forementioned, and celebrated Sopater of Apamea, may be queſtioned. However, thoſe works are aſcribed to him by *(h)* ſome. And in Photius (*i*) is an article of " Collections, or Extracts from ſeveral, in twelve books, by So-
" pater the Sophiſt." They are indeed out of many authors, and moſt

†† Καὶ ἐγίνετο διὰ τῶν βασιλέοντας τάντα θᾶττον ἢ ἐλέγετο. *Eunap. Ibid.*

(f) Hiſtoire of the Roman Emperours. vol. x. p. 169. 170.

(g) Ἐπιτομὰς πλείων. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἱστοριῶν τίτε ἐαυὶ φασι.

(h) Vide Voſſ. Hiſt. Gr. l. 2. *cap. xvii.*

(*i*) Ἀναγνώσθησαν ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βιβλίοις δυοκαίδεκα Σωπάτρου σοφιςῦ. Συνέλεκται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν καὶ γραμμάτων. *Cod.* 161. *p.* 337.

moſt of them of great note. Photius ſays, " the *(k)* work may be uſefull to the readers: though there are in it not a few fables, and prodigies, and falſe and incredible ſtories." A. D. 425.

8. In the begining of the reign of Valentinian all the friends of Julian were looked upon with diſlike. But Zoſimus ſays, " that *(l)* " Valentinian was particularly incenſed againſt the Philoſopher *Max-* " *imus*, bearing in memorie a charge, which he had brought againſt " him in the time of Julian, of impiety toward the Gods, out of " reſpect for the Chriſtian Religion."

However, Maximus was not now put to death, nor till a good while afterwards, as we may ſhew in another place.

9. Preſently afterwards, ſtill at the begining of the ſame reign, in 364. he ſays: " Valentinian *(m)* made a law forbidding nocturnal " ſacrifices, intending thereby to prevent the enormities, which were " ſometimes committed at thoſe ſeaſons. But *Praetextatus*, then " Proconſul of Greece, a man adorned with every virtue, aſſuring " him, that law would do no leſs than deprive the Greeks of all the " comfort of their lives, if they were hindered from performing " thoſe moſt ſacred myſteries, according to the appointment, upon " which the welfare of mankind depended, he permitted them to " be done, his law lying dormant, provided that all things were " done according to the laws of the country, as they had been done " from the begining.

The law prohibiting nocturnal ſacrifices may be a law dated the ninth

(k) *Ibid. p.* 344.

(l) *Zoſ. l.* 4. *p.* 735. *ſub in.*

(m) . . . ἀφ' ἑσίας ὥσπερ ἀρξάμενος, τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκώλυε θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τοῖς μυσαρῶς μὲν ἂν πραττομένοις ἐμποδῶν, διὰ τὸ τοιῶδε νόμῳ γενέσθαι βουλόμενος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πραιτεξτάτος, ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχων ἀρχὴν, ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσαις διαπρέπων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν νόμον ἀβίωτον τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατασήσειν τὸν βίον, εἰ μέλλοιεν κωλύεσθαι τὰ συνέχοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἁγιώτατα μυστήρια κατὰ θεσμὸν ἐκτελεῖν, ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀργοῦντος τοῦ νόμου πράττεσθαι δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάτρια. *p.* 735 736.

A. D. 425. ninth day of September in 364. which (*n*) I ſhall place below, with a reference to Gothofred's notes upon it. But Zoſimus ſays, that law was ſuffered to lye dormant, or without effect, for Greece at leſt. And (*o*) there is another law, dated May 29. in the year 371. where the practiſe of ſouthſaying, and other rites of the Gentil religion, are allowed of, provided nothing magical, or hurtfull was done.

And Ammianus Marcellinus commends the moderation of Valentinian, in (*p*) that he did not diſturb men upon account of their religion, but let every man do, as he pleaſed, without interpoſing his authority. As was alſo obſerved formerly †† from the ſame hiſtorian.

10. Zoſimus acknowledgeth, that Theodoſius was a good ſoldier, and ſkilfull in the art of war. But he chargeth him with great luxurie and expenſiveneſſe in his way of living. I do not tranſcribe him here. It is ſufficient, briefly to mention this, and (*q*) make a reference to what he ſays.

But by way of balance to his invectives, I would refer to the Panegyrick of *Pacatus*, pronounced before the Senate of Rome, and as ſome think in the preſence of Theodoſius himſelf, ſoon after the defeat of the uſurper Maximus, in the year (*) 391. as ſome think, or rather (**) in the year 389. and to the Younger *Victor*, who †† flouriſhed

(*n*) Ne quis deinceps nocturnis temporibus, aut nefarias preces, aut magicos apparatus, aut ſacrificia funeſta celebrare conetur: detectum atque convictum competenti animadverſione mactare perenni auctoritate cenſemus. *Cod. Theod. lib.* 9. *Tit.* 16. *l.* 7. *p.* 126. *Tom.* 3.

(*o*) Haruſpicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum cauſſis habere conſortium indico: neque ipſam aut aliquam praeterea conceſſam a Majoribus religionem genus eſſe arbitror criminis. Teſtes ſunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datae, quibus, *unicuique, quod animo imbibiſſet colendi libera facultas* tributa eſt. Nec haruſpicinam reprehendimus, ſed nocenter exerceri vetamus. *Ibid. l.* 9. *p.* 128. 129. *T.* 3. *Conf. Gothofredi Notas, et Tillemont. L'Emp. Valentinien. art.* 11.

(*p*) *Ammian. l.* 30. *cap. ix.*

†† *See before, p.* 186.

(*q*) *Lib.* 4. *p.* 754. 755. *et p.* 758. *m.*

(*) *La Baune ad Paneg. Vet. p.* 308. *Fabric. Bib. Lat. T.* 2. *p.* 772.

(**) *Tillem. L'Emp. Theod. i. art.* 47. *p.* 631. *and the Univerſal Hiſtorie. vol.* 16. *p.* 425.

(††) *Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l.* 2. *cap. xv.*

flouriſhed in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and publiſhed a compendious hiſtorie of the Roman Emperours from Auguſtus to Theodoſius, with whom his hiſtorie concludes. His honourable character (‡‡) of Theodoſius is (‡*) truly remarkable. A. D. 425.

11. Still, at the begining of that reign, about the year 379. he ſays: "Under (*r*) theſe afflictions, however, the people made ſup-"plications to the Deity, entreating deliverance from ſo great cala-"mities. For as yet they had the privilege of frequenting the tem-"ples, and appeaſing the anger of the Gods, according to the me-"thod of the ancient inſtitutions."

12. And ſoon after, about the year 380. or 381. (*s*) "Moreover, "(*t*) Theodoſius attacked the temples of the Gods in the cities, and "in the countrey. And all were in the utmoſt danger, who be-"lieved there were any gods: or who at all looked up to heaven, "and worſhiped the things that ſhine in it."

13. He gives this account of Gratian's refuſing the title of High-Prieſt, or *Pontifex Maximus*. "Numa (*u*) Pompilius firſt had this "title: and ever after thoſe called Kings, [*Reges*] and after them "Octavianus [*Auguſtus*], and other Roman Emperours, who ſuc-"ceded him. For at the ſame time that they received the ſupreme "government, a prieſtly veſtment was brought to them by the Pon-"tifices,

(‡‡) Fuit autem Theodoſius moribus et corpore Trajano ſimilis. . . Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aſperſus eſt, vinolentiam et cupidinem triumphandi, uſque eo deteſtatus eſt, ut bella non moverit, ſed invenerit, &c. *Vict. Epit. cap.* 48.

(‡*) *Vide Baſnag. ann.* 379. *iii. Tillem. L'Emp. Theodoſe. art.* 85.

(*r*) Ἔτι γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄδεια τῶν φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τὰ θεῖα κατὰ τὰς πατρίους θεσμὰς ἐκμειλίττεσθαι. *l.* 4. *p.* 755.

(*s*) *Soon after that Theodoſius begun to take up his reſidence at Conſtantinople. See Tillemont Theodoſ. i. art.* 17. *p.* 710. 711.

(*t*) Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θείων δόξη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν καὶ χώραν. Κίνδυνος τῷ πάσῃ ἐκείνῃ, νομίζουσι ἔσναι θεὸς, ἢ ὅλως εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέπουσι, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φαινόμενα προσκυνοῦσι. *Ib. p.* 758.

(*u*) *P.* 761.

A. D. 425. "tifices, [*Prieſts ſo called by the Romans*] and immediatly he was "called Pontifex Maximus. And all the other Emperours always ap- "peared to be pleaſed with that honour, and have uſed that title. "And even Conſtantin, although he forſook the true religion, and "embraced the faith of the Chriſtians, and others his ſucceſſors, "particularly Valentinian and Valens, did the ſame. When there- "fore the Pontifices brought the veſtment to Gratian, he rejected "their requeſt, thinking it to be an unlawfull habit for a Chriſtian. "The (x) veſtment being returned to the Prieſt, it is ſaid, that the "chief of them ſaid: Since the Emperour will not be called Pon- "tifex, there will ſoon be a Pontifex Maximus."

There is a point in this laſt expreſſion. The meaning is, *Maximus ſhall ſoon be Pontifex.*

Upon this paragraph of Zoſimus ſome remarks muſt be made.

1.) Firſt of all, it is not allowed, that Conſtantin, and other Chriſtian Emperours after him, did receive the title of Pontifex Maximus. It is ſtrongly argued *(y)* by divers of our moſt learned modern eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, that they did not. This title, they ſay, may be given them in ſome inſcriptions, and medals ſtill exſtant. But that will not amount to a proof, that any Chriſtian Emperours did accept of it and take it upon them.

2.) It is unknown, when Gratian rejected the pontifical veſtment, there being no authentic account of it, in ancient authors.

Other learned men are willing to allow the truth of what Zoſimus here ſays, that (z) Gratian refuſed the title of *Pontifex*, and that he was

(x) Τοῖς τε ἱερεῦσι τῆς ϛολῆς ἀναδοθείσης, φασὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐν αὐτοῖς τεταγμένον, εἰπεῖν, Εἰ μὴ βούλεται Ποντίφιξ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι, τάχιϛα γενήσεται Ποντίφιξ Μάξιμος. *Ibid.*

(y) *Vide Pagi ann.* 312. *n. xvii. &c. Tillem. L'Emp. Conſtantin. art.* 28.

(z) *See Bleterie, Vie de l'Emp. Julien, liv.* 3. *p.* 232. *the ſecond edition. Who refers to a Diſſertation of M. de la Baſtie, which is inſerted in Les Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, et de belles lettres. Tom. xv.*

was the first who refused it, and consequently, that it was accepted by all preceding Christian Emperours. A. D. 425.

3.) If the priestly vestment was refused by Gratian, at the time of his accession, in 367. or soon afterwards; I may take the liberty to say, that the prediction concerning Maximus's usurpation in 382. was invented afterwards. And we must do so much justice to Zosimus, as to observe, that he puts the credit of it upon a φασι only, *it is said*.

14. "Theodosius (*a*) he says, sent Cynegius Prefect of the Praetorium into Egypt, with orders to prohibit all worship of the Gods, "and to shut up the temples. Which orders Cynegius punctually "executed, and shut up the doors of the temples all over the East, "and in all Egypt, and in Alexandria itself, and prohibited the sacrifices, which had been ever practised hitherto, and every branch "of the ancient religious rites. And what has been the fate of the "Empire from that time to this, will appear from the following re"lation of the things that have happened.

Here is no mention made of the demolition of the temples. All that Zosimus says, is, that they were *shut up*: this was done in 386. or before, as is supposed: and *Cynegius*, now Prefect of the Praetorium in the East, who was employed in this commission, died, in his Consulship in the year (*b*) 388.

15. Soon afterwards, he says, "*Gerontius* (*c*) a General of great "valour and conduct commanded in Tomas in Scythia. Having "been insulted by some barbarians in that country, he sallyed out "upon them, and having with difficulty overcome them, they (*d*) "who

(*a*) ... ὡς ἡ Κυνηγίω, τῷ τῆς αὐλῆς ὑπάρχῳ, πεμφομένῳ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, προστεταγμένῳ τε πᾶσι τὴν εἰς θεοὺς θρησκείαν ἀπαγορεῦσαι, καὶ κλεῖθρα τοῖς τεμένεσιν ἐπιθεῖναι. ... *Lib.* 4. *p.* 762.

(*b*) *Vide Basn. ann.* 388. *num. vii. Tillemont. Theod. i. art. xix.*

(*c*) *L.* 4. *p.* 764. 765.

(*d*) Τὰς δὲ ἀποδράντας ἀσύλου ἔτυχε παρὰ χριστιανῶν τιμώμενον οἰκόδομα, νομιζόμενον ἄσυλον. *p.* 765.

A. D. 425. "who had escaped, fled to a building, highly honoured by the Christians, and esteemed an asylum." This also is supposed to have happened (e) in the year 386.

16. Having related, how *Arbogastes* and *Eugenius* were overcome, he proceeds. "Things (f) thus succeeding with Theodosius, when "he came to Rome [in 394.] he declared his son Honorius Emperour, and appointed Stilicho General of the legions in those parts, "and left him to be guardian to his son. And assembling the Senate, who still adhered to the ancient religion of their country, "and had not yet chosen to joyn themselves to those who had fallen into contempt of the Gods, he made a speech to them, and "exhorted them to leave the errour, (as he called it) which they "had been yet in, and to embrace the faith of the Christians, the "great promise of which is the forgiveness of every sin, and every "impiety. But none followed his advice, nor consented to forsake "the rites of their country, which had been delivered to them "from the foundation of the City, or to make an unreasonable choice "of others in their *** room. For they said, that in the observation of them they had possessed the City unconquered for almost "twelve hundred years: but what might happen, if they should "exchange them for others, they knew not. Theodosius then told "them, that the Publick was burdened with the expenses of the "temples, and sacrifices: and that for the future they should not "be allowed: for he did not approve of that kind of expense. And "besides, the necessities of the armie required more money. The "Senate answered, that the worship of the Gods could not be rightly performed, but at the public charge. And then from that "time the public sacrifices ceasing, and all other things received "from

(e) *Vide Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos. i. art.* 28.

(f) *Lib. iv. p.* 779.

*** So writes Zosimus. On the contrarie, Prudentius says, that about this time many Senators of the best families were converted, and embraced the Christian Religion. *Contr. Symm. l. i. ver.* 545. *&c.*

A. D. 425.

" from ancient tradition being neglected, the Roman Empire has " gradually declined, till it is become the habitation of Barbarians, " or rather is almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants, and the form of it is " ſo altered, that it is not eaſie to find the places, where cities once " ſtood. Theodoſius now aſſigned Italie, Spain, Gaul, and Africa " to his ſon Honorius, and dies ſoon afterwards. His body having " been embalmed was carried to Conſtantinople, and there interred " in the Imperial ſepulchres."

That is the concluſion of the fourth book of this Hiſtorie. There is no neceſſity, that I ſhould ſtay to make many remarks. But I think it eaſie to ſuppoſe, that the great unanimity of the Senate in adhering to the old religion is here magnified. The complaints before made are here renewed, and with aggravations. For I preſume the ancient cities were ſtill to be found in their old places, and were moſt of them as well peopled as in former times. If ſome had been ruined by wars, or earthquakes, other cities had riſen up in their room, and others were more populous, and more ſplendid, than in former times. This, particularly, was the caſe of *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*.

17. *Rufinus*, who had many honours under Theodoſius, and had been ſome while Prefect of the Praetorium, and Conſul in 392. and who after the death of Theodoſius, (which happened in the beginning of 395) was for a ſhort time prime Miniſter to Arcadius, was killed at Conſtantinople, or near it, before the end of the year *(g)* 595. and his body miſerably abuſed, as Zoſimus and others write. Zoſimus then adds: " The *(h)* wife of Rufinus fearing, that ſhe " likewiſe ſhould periſh with her huſband, fled with her daughter to " a church

(g) Vide Baſnag. ann. 395. *iv. Tillem. L'Emp. Arcade. art. iv.*

(h) Τῆς δὲ Ρουφίνου γαμετῆς σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσδραμούσης, δέει τοῦ μὴ συναπολέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, πίστιν δὲς Εὐτρόπιος, ἐφῆκεν αὐταῖς εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ιεροσόλυμα πόλιν ἐκπλεῦσαι, πάλαι μὲν οἰκητήριον Ιεδαίων οὖσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλείας, ὑπὸ χριστιανῶν τιμωμένην οἰκοδομήμασιν. Ἐκεῖναι μὲν ἓν αὐτόθι τὸν λειπόμενον τοῦ βίου διατριψαι χρόνον *l.* 5. *p.* 785. 786.

A. D. 425. "a church of the Chriſtians. And Eutropius, then in favour with "Arcadius, aſſured her of her life, and gave them leave to ſail to "the city of Jeruſalem, formerly inhabited by the Jews, but ſince "the reign of Conſtantin, adorned with buildings by the Chriſtians. "Here they ſpent the reſt of their days."

18. And we meet with the end of *Eutropius* in the (*i*) year 399. The accounts given of it by Zoſimus, is to this purpoſe: "Arcadius (*k*) hearing of theſe things, ſent for Eutropius, and hav-"ing taken from him all his honours, let him go. Whereupon he "fled to a church of the Chriſtians, which had been made an aſy-"lum by himſelf. But Gainas, as Zoſimus ſays, inſiſting, that "Tribigildas would make no conceſſion, unleſs Eutropius were ta-"ken off, contrarie to the privilege of aſylum given to churches, "they took him thence, and ſent him to Cyprus, to be kept a cloſe "priſoner. Afterwards he was brought thence to Chalcedon, and "there put to death; thus (*l*) eluding the oath they had given him, "and pretending, that they had only promiſed, he ſhould not dye "at Conſtantinople." So Zoſimus.

19. Gainas, a Gottiſh Prince, for ſome while General under Arcadius, revolted. "And (*m*) *Gainas*, as Zoſimus ſays, demanded a "conference with Arcadius at a place near Chalcedon, where was "a martyrdom, dedicated to a religious woman, named *Euphemia*, "who had this honour done to her becauſe of her devotion to "Chriſt."

20. Again, of Gainas. He attempted to take the city of Conſtantinople, in which he had already a great number of Gottiſh ſoldiers,

(*i*) *Baſn. ann.* 399. *iii. Pagi* 399. *i. et ii.*

(*k*) *Zoſ. l.* 5. *p.* 793. 794.

(*l*) . . . ὀμνύντες τὸν ὅρκον οἱ τὰ περὶ ἐυσιλλα διατιθέντες. *p.* 794. *in.*

(*m*) Καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ βασιλέως ἐπόνητος, ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ σύνοδος ἐν τινι πρὸ τῆς Χαλκήδονος τόπῳ, καθ' ὃν οἰκίας Εὐφημίας, μαρτύριον ᾠκοδόμητο, τιμὴς διὰ τὴν περὶ χριστὸν θρησκείαν ἀξιωθείσης. *l.* 5. *p.* 174. *fin.*

diers, but was defeated. This was in the year 400. "The (*n*) A. D.
"city, ſays Zoſimus, having thus eſcaped that danger, the Barba- 425.
"rians, which were ſhut within the city, to the number of ſeven
"thouſand, took to a church of the Chriſtians near the palace,
"ſeeking that as a ſanctuarie for their ſafety. But the Emperour com-
"manded them to be killed even there, not allowing that place it-
"ſelf to ſecure them from the juſt puniſhment due to them. That
"was the Emperour's command. But none dared to lay hands on
"them to take them thence for fear of a deſperate reſiſtance. It
"(*o*) was therefore judged proper to break open the roof, which
"was over the table called the altar. Which having been done,
"lighted wood was thrown down upon them, till they were all burnt
"to death. By this means all the Barbarians were killed. But *(p)*
"the zealous Chriſtians thought this to be a horrid crime committed
"in the midſt of the city."

21. Gainas fled into Thrace, and then to Cherſoneſus, with an intention to return through the ſtreights of the Helleſpont into Aſia. "At *(q)* the ſame time the Emperour and Senate with common
"conſent made choice of *Frajutus* for General to act againſt him:
"a man who in regard to his native countrey was a Barbarian, but
"in diſpoſition, and manners, and religion, a Greek: and who had
"upon divers occaſions ſhewn himſelf to be a good General. He
"came to an engagement with Gainas, and obtained a victorie over
"him: but for ſome reaſons did not purſue him. Upon which
"account

(*n*) *Ib.* p. 796. *in.*

(*o*) Ἐδόκει τοίνυν, τὴν ὑπερκειμένην τῆς τραπέζης τῦ λεγομένυ θυσιαστηρίυ στέγην γυμνωθεῖσαν. . . . *Ibid.*

(*p*) Ἔδοξε δὲ παρὰ τοῖς σφόδρα χριστιάζυσι μέγα μῦσος ἐν μέσῃ τετολμῆσθαι τῇ πόλει. *Ibid.*

(*q*) Ὄντος δὲ ἐν τύτοις αὐτῖ, κοινῇ ψήφῳ βασιλέως τε καὶ ἡ γερυσία στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶ κατὰ Γάϊνυ αἱρεθῆναι πολέμῳ Φραίυτον, ἄνδρα βάρβαρον μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἕλληνα δὲ ἄλλως τε τρόπῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θρησκεία. Τύτῳ τοίνυν, ἤδη πολλαῖς διεπρέψασι στρατηγίαις. . . παραδεδώκασι τὰς δυνάμεις. . . . p. 796.

A. D. 425. "account he was cenſured, and ſuſpected to favour him, as being "his countreyman. But (r) Frajutus not being conſcious of any "fault returned to the Emperour in high ſpirits for the victorie, "which he had obtained, and openly aſcribing it to the Gods, whom "he worſhiped. For he was not aſhamed to own, in the preſence "of the Emperour himſelf, that he worſhiped and honoured the "Gods according to the ancient cuſtom, and that he could not "perſuade himſelf to follow the multitude therein. The Emperour "received Frajutus graciouſly, and appointed him Conſul."

So writes Zoſimus. Theſe things were done in the year 400. And *Frajutus*, or *Fravitta*, was Conſul in 401.

But though Gainas eſcaped then, he afterwards fell into the hands of *Uldas*, prince of the Huns, as Zoſimus (s) proceeds to relate, who fought with him, and overcame him, and ſlew him, and then ſent his head to Arcadius. All (t) which was done before the end of the year 400.

The hiſtorie of Gainas, but with ſomewhat different circumſtances, may be ſeen in our ancient eccleſiaſtical (u) hiſtorians. Nor is *Fravitta or Frajutus* omitted by them. They have mentioned him in a very honourable manner. Socrates particularly ſays, that (x) though he was a Goth by nation, he was faithfull to the Romans, and in that war performed very valuable ſervices, for which reaſon he was honoured with the Conſulſhip in the following year. And Phi-

(r) ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἑαυτῷ συνεπισάμενος, ἐπανῆει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, καὶ μετὰ παῤῥησίας τοῖς παρ' αὐτῷ τιμωμένοις ταύτην ἀνατιθείς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ᾐσχύνετο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βασιλέως ἀκούοντος, ὁμολογῶν, ὅτι σέβοιτο καὶ τιμᾷη θεὸς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέξεται κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ πλήθει ἀπαλαυθῆσαι. Φραΐουτον μὲν οὖν ἀποδεξάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὕπατον εἶναι κατέστησε. *Zoſ. p.* 798.

(s) *Ib. p.* 798. 799.

(t) *Vide Baſnag. ann.* 400. *n. iii. . . v.*

(u) *Socrat. l.* 6. *cap.* 6. *Sozom. l.* 8. *cap.* 4. *Theod. l.* 5. *cap.* 32. 33. *Philoſtorg. l. xi. p.* 531.

(x) *Socrat. l.* 6. *cap. vi. p.* 309.

Philoſtorge ſays, Fravitta (y) was a Goth by nation, a Greek by religion, faithfull to the Romans, and a great General. A. D. 425.

May we not then obſerve, that here is an example of moderation and generoſity in a Chriſtian Emperour, and of fidelity in a Heathen General, who were of different ſentiments from each other in things of religion?

22. I ſhall be now led to tranſcribe a long paſſage (z) of this Hiſtorian concerning the differences between the Empreſſe, wife of Arcadius, and John Chryſoſtom, in the years 403. and 404.

"Hence (a) ſays this Heathen Hiſtorian, was encreaſed the Em-
"preſſe's hatred againſt John, Biſhop of the Chriſtians, [*at Conſtan-
"tinople.*] who was before greatly incenſed againſt him, becauſe he
"had been wont to revile her in his homilies, delivered in the pub-
"lic aſſemblies. But at that time after the return of John, and
"ſome others, ſhe openly ſhewed her reſentment. And doing all
"things according to her own pleaſure, ſho ſtirred up all the Bi-
"ſhops every where to remove John. The (b) principal of whom
"was Theophilus Biſhop of Alexandria in Egypt, who firſt began
"the attack upon the temples, and the rites eſtabliſhed from the
"begining of time. When the conſultation was appointed, and
"John ſaw that the cauſe would not be decided equitably, he left
"Conſtantinople of his own accord. The people being exceeding-
"ly diſturbed at this: for he was very ſkillfull in governing the
"irrational multitude: the city was filled with confuſion, and the
"church of the Chriſtians was ſeized by the Monks. Theſe are
"men, who reject lawful marriage, and fill numerous colle-
"ges

(y) Πέμπεται κρατησὸς κατ' αὐτῆ Φραυίττας, Γότθος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἕλλην δὲ τὴν δόξαν, εὐσεβὴς δ' ἐν Ρωμαίοις, καὶ τὰ πολέμια κράτιστος. *Philoſt. l. xi. p.* 531. *D.*

(z) *Zoſ. l. v. p.* 799. 800.

(a) Ἐντεῦθεν ηὐξήθη τῆ συνοικίσῃ πρὸς βασιλεῖ τὸ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἐπισκόπῃ μῖσος, λελαπικότι πρότερον μὲν αὐτὸν, κωμῳδῶν εἰωθότος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὁμιλίαις. *p.* 799. *fin.*

(b) *Ibid.*

A. D. 425. "gers in cities and villages with unmarried men, fit neither for war,
"nor any other service of the state: except that encreasing in a
"long course of time, they have got possession of a large part of
"the earth; and under pretense of giving all to the poor, they
"have reduced almost all mankind to poverty. These men having
"seised the churches, obstructed the people from coming to the u-
"sual prayers. At which many of the people, as well as the sol-
"diers, were greatly provoked. And they desired leave to chastize
"the audaciousnesse of those men. Having obtained a grant for
"that purpose, they set about the work with a good will, and kil-
"led all whom they found without distinction, till they had filled
"the church with corpses. And pursuing those who had escaped,
"they slew all whom they met with in black coats. By which
"means many perished, who happened to be so dressed, either for
"mourning, or on some other account. But John returning again,
"went on in his old way, making the like disturbances in the city,
"as formerly. [*Here are inserted some reflexions upon the public ma-*
"*nagement, under a weak prince, and his imperious wife, governed*
"*by eunuchs and women.*] And as if all these disorders were not
"sufficient, a terrible calamity befell the city of Constantinople,
"which was occasioned in this manner. John, as I said just now,
"being returned after his flight, again excited the people in the
"wonted solemnities of religion against the Empresse. But being
"soon after deprived of the episcopal see, and also banished the ci-
"ty, he took shipping, and went away. At which time, they who
"favoured him, desirous that no other person should be Bishop in
"his room, resolved to set fire to the city. They therefore threw
"some combustible materials into the church privatly in the night,
"and early in the morning left the city. Whereby they were un-
"known. But when it was day, the city appeared to be in the ut-
"most danger. For the church was all in flames, and at length
"was burnt down to the ground, as were also the adjoyning houses,
"especially, on that side, where the wind drove the flames. The

"fire

A. D. 425.

"fire also seized the house in which the Senate used to meet, which "was near the palace, and was adorned with statues of excellent "artifice, and marble of beautifull colours, such as are not now "to be found any where. And it is said, that at that time were "consumed those images, which had been formerly dedicated to "the Muses in Helicon, and were a part of the many sacrileges "committed in the time of Constantin, and had been set up in "this place. Whereby (*c*) was evidently intimated the general dis-"affection to the Muses, which now began to prevail among men. "However at that time there happened a kind of miracle, which "ought not to be buried in silence. For the temple of the Senate, "for the sake of which I mention these things, had before the doors "of it the statues of Jupiter and Minerva, standing upon stone-pe-"destals, as they do at this time. And they say, that of Jupiter "is *Jupiter Dodonaeus*, and that of Minerva is the same that was "formerly set up at *Lindus*. When therefore the temple was con-"sumed by the fire, the lead also upon the roof was melted, and "ran down upon the statues. And the stones likewise, which could "not resist the force of the fire, fell also upon them: till at last, "when the beauty of the building was all turned into a heap of "rubbage, it was the common opinion, that those two images were "reduced to ashes. But afterwards, when the place was cleared, "and ready to be rebuilt, the statues of those Deities, and they on-"ly, appeared, having escaped the universal destruction. Which "(*d*) gave all men of a liberal mind good hopes concerning the "city, and that those deities would ever favour it with their pro-"tection. But let that be, as God pleaseth."

I have

(*c*) . . . ὑστέρου πως τὴν καθίζουσαν ἁπαντας τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἐχεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀεὶ βουλήσεως ἐμήνυτο. p. 801.

(*d*) Ὅπερ ἅπασι τοῖς χρηστοῖρροι ἀμείνους τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιτροπήν. p. 802.

A. D. 425.

I have thus largely tranſcribed this paragraph for more fully ſhewing the temper of this learned and polite writer.

23. In the year 408. the Senate of Rome, with the advice of Stilicho, conſented to pay Alarich the Goth four thouſand pounds in gold. "However, *(e)* it was not with the approbation of all. "And in the debates about that matter, as Zoſimus ſays, *Lampadi-* "*us*, one of the Senators, and a man of great eminence for his fa- "milie and ſtation, ſaid in the Latin tongue: Non eſt iſta Pax, ſed "Pactio Servitutis, *that is not the bond of Peace, but of Slavery.* "But when the Senate was riſen, fearing he might ſuffer for that "freedom of ſpeech, he fled to a neighboring church of the Chri- "ſtians."

24. We may take this opportunity to obſerve of *Stilicho:* that he was much in favour with Theodoſius the firſt, who gave him in marriage his niece *Serena*, and left him when he died in 395. the charge of his ſon Honorius, and under him the care of the Empire in the Weſt. Honorius married two of Stilicho's daughters, firſt one, and after her death the other. He was Conſul in 400. and 405. But his ruin ſoon followed after the concluſion of the contract abovementioned. For he was put to death in the month of Auguſt in that ſame year, 408.

25. At this time news was brought of the death of Arcadius. Honorius had a mind to go into the Eaſt, to ſecure the empire for young Theodoſius. But Stilicho endeavored to diſſuade him from it. "Thus *(f)* acted Stilicho, ſays Zoſimus, conſcious of no miſ- "behaviour, or ill deſign againſt the Emperour, or the ſoldiers. But "Olympius, who came from the Euxine Sea, and had been advan- "ced to a high militarie poſt in the palace, and *(g)* who under an "ap-

(e) . . . τῶν πλειόνων οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ Στιλίχωνος φόβῳ, τῦτο ὑπισχνεμένων. x. λ. *p.* 806. *in.*

(f) *p.* 808. *in.*

(g) . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ φαινομένῃ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐυλαβείᾳ πολλὴν ἀποκρύπτων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πανῦργίαν. *Ibid.*

" appearance of Chriſtian piety concealed a great deal of wicked- A. D.
" neſſe, and pretended to the Emperour a world of candour and mo- 425.
" deration, vented againſt Stilicho, as the Poet expreſſeth it, words
" exciting anger. For he ſaid, that Stilicho contrived the taking a
" journey into the Eaſt, with a deſign to make away with the
" young Theodoſius, and then ſecure the empire for his own ſon
" Eucherius."

26. " Olympius (*b*) being now maſter of Emperour's counſels,
" ſent imperial letters to the ſoldiers at Ravenna, ordering Stilicho
" to be taken into cuſtodie, but to be kept at large. When Stili-
" cho knew that, he went to a church of the Chriſtians, which
" was near at hand, in the night-time. . . . As ſoon as it was day,
" the ſoldiers entered into the church, and in the preſence of the
" Biſhop, made oath, that they were ordered by the Emperour on-
" ly to take him into cuſtodie, but not to kill him. When he was
" come out of the church, and was in the hands of the ſoldiers, an-
" other letter was produced by him who brought the firſt, com-
" manding *Stilicho* to be put to death for his crimes againſt the
" State. His ſon *Eucherius* eſcaped for the preſent, and went to
" Rome. Thus died Stilicho, being beheaded: the moſt modeſt
" of all the men in power at that time. For he had married the
" niece of the elder Theodoſius, and had been entruſted with the
" care of both his ſons, and in the three and twenty years that he
" had governed the armie, it never appeared, that he ſold any pla-
" ces for money, or converted any part of the pay of the ſoldiers to
" his own uſe. His death happened, when Baſſus and Philip were
" Conſuls, in the ſame year that the Emperour Arcadius died, on
" the tenth day of the Calends of September:" that is, the 23. day
of Auguſt, in the year 408.

27. " Stilicho's ſon, *Eucherius*, (*i*) was ſought for to be put to
" death. But finding, that he had fled to one of the churches at
" Rome,

(*b*) *P.* 810. *&c.* (*i*) *p.* 811.

A. D. 425. "Rome, they let him alone out of reverence for the place." However, afterwards, he alſo was put to death by order of (k) Honorius.

28. Zoſimus likewiſe gives an account of the death of *Serena*, which he ſays was a juſt judgement upon her. "She (l) ſuffered, "he ſays, this puniſhment worthie of her impiety, as I ſhall now "relate. When Theodoſius the Elder, after having vanquiſhed the "tyrant Eugenius, came to Rome, and endeavoured to form in all "a contempt of the ſacred rites, and refuſed to allow the public ex-"penſes for the ſacrifices, and the prieſts and prieſteſſes were driven "away, and the temples were left deſtitute of the ſacred offices and "miniſtrations there performed: at that time *Serena* derided thoſe "things, and would herſelf ſee the temple of the Mother of the "Gods. And when ſhe ſaw there the necklace upon the image of "Rhea, an ornament ſuited to that divine religion, ſhe took it off "from the image, and put it upon her own neck. And when one "of the elder of the Veſtal Virgins, that were yet left, and ſtood by, "reproved her for her impiety, ſhe abuſed her, and ordered her to "be had away by her ſervants. She then, as ſhe was going, impre-"cated to Rhea, and her huſband, and her children, every thing "ſuitable of her impiety." He there goes on to ſay likewiſe, that (m) Stilicho had brought down the divine vengeance upon himſelf by taking away ſome gold, which was upon the doors of the Capitol at Rome, ſo he is now pleaſed to ſay, though ſome while ago he commended Stilicho for his faithfull ſervices, and diſintereſted behaviour in the high offices, which he had born.

29. Alarich, after the death of Stilicho, came again to Rome, before the end of the year 408. the ſtipulated conditions, as is ſuppoſed, not having been performed. "The City was then in great "ſtraits, and as Zoſimus ſays, the (n) people were made ſenſible, "that theſe calamities had befallen them, becauſe they had neglect-"ed

(k) *p.* 813. (l) *p.* 814. (m) *Ibid.* (n) *p.* 816.

A. D. 415.

"ed the ancient rites. Whilſt they were thinking after this man-
"ner, as he goes on to ſay, *Pompeianus*, Prefect of the City, met
"with ſome Tuſcans lately come to Rome. They propoſed the
"performing ſome rites, by which, as they ſaid, they had ſaved
"another place called Narnia, when in great danger. For they had
"brought down thunder and lightening, which drove the Barba-
"rians away. Whereupon Pompeianus reſolved, that the ſame
"rites ſhould now be performed. But (*o*) conſidering what was the
"prevailing opinion, that what he intended might be done with
"the greater ſecurity, he communicated the whole affair to the Bi-
"ſhop of the City. This was *Innocentius*. He preferring the ſafe-
"ty of the City to his own opinion, gave them leave to do what
"they pleaſed, only privatly. But they ſaid, that thoſe rites could
"be of no benefit to the City, unleſs they were done publickly, af-
"ter the appointed manner, the Senate aſcending to the Capitol,
"and there, and in the markets of the City, performing what was
"fit to be done. This being the caſe, none dared to partake in the
"ſacred rites, and the propoſal of the Tuſcans was rejected. They
"therefore diſmiſſed the Tuſcans, and reſolved to come to an a-
"greement with the Barbarians. And after treating with them, it
"was agreed, that the City ſhould pay to Alarich five thouſand
"pounds of gold, and thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver, four thou-
"ſand ſilk garments, three thouſand ſkins of purple dye, and three
"thouſand pounds of pepper. But the treaſurie was empty, and
"it was difficult to get ſo much money from private perſons. Some
"of the Senators therefore who had good eſtates, undertook the
"collection by way of aſſeſſment. But in vain. And (*p*) that
"wicked

(*o*) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν κρατοῦσαν κατὰ τῶν ἐλάμ-
βανε βίβλων, ἀσφαλέστερον ἐθέλων πρᾶξαι τὸ
πραγματευόμενον, ἀνατίθησι πάντα τῷ τῆς πό-
λεως ἐπισκόπῳ. Ἦν δὲ Ἰννοκέντιος. κ. λ. *Ibid.*

(*p*) . . ἐπὶ τὸν κολοφῶνα τῶν κακῶν ὁ τὰ ἀν-

A. D. 425. "wicked demon, which then governed human affairs, carried those "who were appointed over this buſineſſe to the perfection of im- "piety. For they determined to make up the ſum that was want- "ing, with the ornaments of the images. The taking away of "which things, ſet up with the ſolemn rites of conſecration, and "in a like manner covered with becoming ornaments, for ſecuring "perpetual proſperity to the City, was nothing elſe than rendring "them inanimate and inſignificant. And becauſe every thing was "to conſpire to accompliſh the ruin of the city, they not only ſtript "the images of their ornaments, but they alſo melted down ſome "of the images, which were of gold and ſilver; among which was "the image of *Fortitude*, which the Romans call *Virtue*. Which "being deſtroyed, whatever fortitude, or virtue, had remained a- "mong the Romans till that time, was now extinguiſhed. And "that this would be the event, was then foretold by thoſe who were "ſkillfull in divine things."

I am not concerned to juſtify the conduct of thoſe officers. But I ſuppoſe, that no men of ſenſe can now believe, that thoſe images were of any advantage to the ſafety of the City. However, we have here another proof, that the change of religion was continually, upon all occaſions, repreſented as hazardous to the ſtate. And we may farther obſerve, that no religion can be ſo abſurd, and unreaſonable, eſpecially when it has been eſtabliſhed, and of a long time, that will not find men of good abilities, not only to palliate, and excuſe, but alſo to approve, and juſtify, and recommend it's greateſt abſurdities.

Zoſimus ſays, that *Innocent*, Biſhop of Rome, conſented to the propoſal of *Pompeianus*, provided the ancient rites were performed privatly. This *(q)* Baronius calls a calumnie upon Innocent: the rather,

ἀνθρώπινα λαχὼν ἀλιτήριος δαίμων, τὰ πράγματα πράττοντας ἤγαγε .... ὧν ἦν καὶ τὸ Ανδρείαι, ἣν καλοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι ἀρετήν. Ὅπερ διαφθαρέντος, ὅσα τῆς ἀνδρείας ἦν ἢ ἀρετῆς παρὰ Ρωμαίοις, ἀπέσβη. *Ibid.* p. 817.

(q) *Baron. ann.* 109. *num. vi. vii. &c.*

rather, because the ſame affair is related by Sozomen, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, who ſays nothing of Innocent. It may be not improper therefore for us to obſerve Sozomen's account. Speaking of this ſiege of Rome by Alarich in the year 408. he ſays, "when (r) "the ſiege had been prolonged, and the City labored under both "famine and peſtilence, and many of the ſlaves had gone away to "Alarich; the Senators who adhered to the Greek religion, were of "opinion, that it was needfull to offer ſacrifices at the Capitol, and "the other temples: and that there then were with the Prefect of "the City ſome Tuſcans, who engaged to drive away the barbari-"ans by thunder and lightening: and they boaſted, that they had "already done the ſame at Narnia, a city of Tuſcanie: whereupon "Alarich paſſed by that place, when he came to Rome, and never "beſieged it. But the event ſhewed, that thoſe things could be of "no benefit to the city."

A. D. 425.

Sozomen therefore ſeems to ſay, that theſe rites were performed, but were ineffectual. Perhaps ſome ſacrifices were offered according to the ancient cuſtoms, but not openly, and at the public expenſe, as Zoſimus intimates. And whether (s) Innocent conſented, or was abſent at that time, as Baronius thinks, may be doubtfull. It may be beſt to leave ſome things in uncertainty concerning this hiſtorie, for want of better information.

31. "*Heliocrates*, Prefect of the Treaſurie, was appointed to ſeize "the effects of Stilicho, and of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be con-"cerned with him. But (t) he uſed great lenity, and was far from

(r) ... ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει τοῖς ἑλληνίζουσι τῆς συγκλήτου, θύσαι ἐν τῷ καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νεῴς· θύσκοοι γάρ τινες ἐπὶ τῷτο μεταπεμπθέντες παρὰ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα τῆς πόλεως, ὑπισχνοῦντο σκηπτοῖς καὶ βρονταῖς ἀπελάσειν τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἔυχεν δὲ τοιῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐργάσθαι καὶ περὶ λαρίσσαν πόλιν τῆς θουσκίας, ἣν παριὼν Ἀλάριχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐχ εἶλεν· ἀλλὰ τύτων μὲν ἕνεκα ἔοικεν ἔοικέναι τῇ πόλει, ἢ ἀπόβασις ἐδείχθη. *Soz. l. 9. cap. vi.*

(s) *Vide Baſnag. ann. 408. num. x. Tillem. Emp. Honoré. art. 32.*

(t) P. 819.

A. D. 425. being strict in making inquiries after their effects. Being therefore, as Zosimus says, judged to be a man of no worth, he was "sent to Ravenna, to be there punished for his humanity to the "unfortunate, and would have been put to death, but that he took "refuge in a church of the Christians."

32. In the year 409 (*u*) as is computed, *Generidus* was appointed General of the forces in Dalmatia, as well as in Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhaetia (*x*). Of him Zosimus speaks in this manner. "This "(*y*) Generidus was a barbarian by origin, but of an excellent disposition for every kind of virtue, and not to be tempted by money. He still adhered to the ancient rites, and could not be persuaded to relinquish the worship of the Gods: though there was a law enacted, which forbid all who were not Christians to wear a girdle at Court. When that law was published, Generidus, who had a considerable military post at Rome, staid at home, laying aside his girdle. When the Emperour called for him, expecting his attendence at Court, in the duty of his office, he answered, there was a law, forbidding him to wear a girdle, and that any should be so much as numbred among officers, who were not of the Christian Religion. The Emperour replied, that law was binding to all others, but not to him, who had run so many hazards for the state. He answered, that he could not receive that honour, with the injurie of so many others, who by that law were deprived of their military posts. Nor would he discharge his office, till the Emperour, compelled by shame and necessity, repealed that law, and gave leave to all of the same opinion

(*u*) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Honorè. art.* 34. p. 1228.

(*x*) *Sozom. l.* 9. *p.* 820. *l.* 30. &c.

(*y*) Ἦν δὲ ὁ Γενηρίδος βάρβαρος μὲν τὸ γένος, τὸν δὲ τρόπον εἰς πᾶν ἀρετῆς εἶδος εὐ πεφυκὼς, χρημάτων τε ἀδωρότατος. Οὗτος, ἔτι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένων, καὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸς θρησκείας ἐκεῖνται οὐκ ἀνιχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ νόμος εἰσηνέχθη τοῖς μὴ ἐκ Χριστιανῶν ζώνην ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔχειν ἀπαγορεύων, ἔτυχε τε νόμῳ τοῦτος, ἀρχῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κρατιστευούσης πρεσβεὺς ὁ Γενήριδος, ἐμένεν ἐπ' οἴκου, τὴν ζώνην ἀναθέμενος. κ. λ. *Zos. l.* 5. *p.* 820. 821.

"nion with him to bear civil and militarie offices. Whereupon A. D. 425.
"Generidus accepted the office proposed to him, and acted therein
"with diligence and zeal."

By the law, *forbidding all but Christians to wear a girdle*, probably, Zosimus intends the (z) law of Honorius, dated the 14. of November in the year 408. which *forbids all but Catholicks to bear any militaria officia*. I do not see any law expresly repealing that just mentioned: though there may be some references to it. And, as "Gothofred (a) says, "in the later part of the year 409. and in the "begining of the year 410. Honorius shewed uncommon mildnesse "to hereticks, and particularly to Donatists, in which the Pagans "may have shared. For Zosimus says, that the law, which forbid "all who were enemies to the Catholick faith, (which includes "both Pagans and hereticks) to bear militarie offices, (meaning that "above-mentioned,) had been repealed, and about this time." Tillemont (b) likewise may be consulted.

33. I proceed no farther in my extracts of this kind out of Zosimus. Alarich still continued in Italie. And Honorius not having performed the conditions insisted upon, Alarich came again to Rome, besieged it, and took it, in the year 410. But Zosimus has not writ the historie of that siege, and the event of it: or, if he did, it is now wanting.

34. In the extracts, already made, we have seen many proofs of the

(z) Eos qui Catholicae sectae sunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. *Cod. Theod. lib.* 16. *Tit. v. l.* 42. *de Haereticis, Tom.* 6. *p.* 163.

(a) Honorius scilicet et extremis superioris anni, 409. et primis hujus anni mensibus, in haereticos remissior fuerat, ac nominatim Donatistas, quorum depravatos animos ad correctionem mitius invitandos crediderat, ut ipsemet superiore loco ait. Quinimo et in Paganos. Nam et Zosimus lib. 5. pag. 821. legem, quâ catholicae sectae inimici (id est, ut haeretici ita et pagani) intra palatium militare prohibiti fuerant, (et sic l. 42. supr.) eo quo dixi tempore, abrogatam testatur. *Gothofred. Cod. Theod. T.* 6. *p.* 171.

(b) See *L'Emp. Honoré. art.* 31. *et* 34.

A. D. 425. the credulity and ſuperſtition of this great man. Nevertheleſs I am diſpoſed to put together here ſome other inſtances, hitherto omitted.

35. After having made great complaints of the extent and grandeur of the city of Conſtantinople, he ſays: "I (b) have often wondered, ſince the City of Byzantium has grown ſo great, that our anceſtors had no divine prophecie about it. And having long employed my thoughts about it, and having turned over a great many hiſtorians, and collections of oracles, and having ſpent a good deal of time in endeavouring to underſtand them, I at length met with an oracle, which is aſcribed to Sibylla Epythraea, or Phaëllo. It is to this effect. . . ."

36. About the time of the death of Valentinian, which happened in Nov. 375. or ſoon after, "there (c) fell a thunderbolt, he ſays, upon Sirmium, which conſumed both the palace and the market-place, which by good judges was eſteemed a bad omen to public affairs. There alſo happened earthquakes in ſome places. Crete was violently ſhaken, as alſo Peloponneſus, and all the reſt of Greece; ſo that many cities were deſtroyed, except only the city of the Athenians, and others in Attica. That, as is ſaid, was ſaved in this manner. *Neſtorius (d)* who was hierophantes, (or high-prieſt) had a dream, in which he was admoniſhed, that the Hero Achilles ought to be honoured with public honours, for that would be for the welfare of the city. When he communicated that viſion to the chief-men of the city, they thought he doated, as being an old man, and therefore did nothing that was required. However (e) conſidering with himſelf what ought to be done, and

(b) *Lib.* 2. *p.* 689. 690.

(c) *L.* 4. *p.* 745.

(d) Νεσόριος, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χρόνῳ ἱεροφάντου τεταγμένος, ὄναρ ἐθεάσατο παρακελευόμενον χρῆναι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τὸν ἥρωα δημοσίαις τιμᾶσθαι τιμαῖς· ἴσεσθαι γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον. *P.* 745. *fin.*

(e) . . . αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος τὸ πρακτέον, καὶ ταῖς θεοειδέσιν ἐνύπνιος παιδα-

γω

" and being likewiſe inſtructed by divine illuminations infuſed into A. D.
" his mind, he made an image of the Hero in a ſmall houſe, and 425.
" then put it under the image of Minerva, which is in the Parthe-
" nion. And as often as he offered ſacrifices to the Goddeſſe, he
" at the ſame time performed what was due to the Hero. By this
" means, having fulfilled the intention of the dream, the Atheni-
" ans were ſaved, and all Attica partook of the benevolence of the
" Hero. The truth of all which may be learned from the hymn,
" which the Philoſopher *Syrianus* compoſed in honour of the He-
" ro upon that occaſion. This relation I have thought not impro-
" per to inſert in this place."

Beſide other things, which may be taken notice of, we may obſerve, here are proofs, that at this time about the year 375. and afterwards, Gentil people did practiſe the ancient rites upon divers occaſions. Nor do we ſee, that they met with much moleſtation therein. And Zoſimus, now in 420. or later, ſpeaks of them, with a great deal of freedom.

37. Valens had war with the Goths. And in the year 378. the year in which he died, he came from Antioch to Conſtantinople. " When (*f*) the armie ſet out thence, to go into Thrace, and the " Emperour with them, as our hiſtorian ſays, they ſaw a prodigie, " or ſtrange ſight. The body of a man lay in the road, quite mo- " tionleſs, who looked as if he had been whipt from head to foot, " only his eyes were open, and ſeemed to ſtare at all who came " near him. When he was aſked, who he was, and whence he " came, and from whom he had ſuffered that treatment, he made " no anſwer to any. Which they thought to be very ſtrange. And " they ſhewed him to the Emperour, as he paſſed by. And though " he

γαγδυμενος, εἰτενα τῦ ἥρωος ἐν ὀικῳ μικρῷ δημιυργήσας, ὑπεθηκε τῷ ἐν παρθενῶνι καθιδρυμένῳ τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι. κ. λ. *L.* 4. *p.* 746. *in.*

(*f*) *Zoſ. l.* 4 *p.* 748.

A. D. 425. " he put the ſame queſtions to him, he remained ſpeechleſs. He " could not be thought a living creature, becauſe his whole body " was void of motion: nor yet quite dead, becauſe his eyes ſeemed " well. At length he vaniſhed on a ſudden. Which when the " ſtanders-by ſaw, they could not tell what to think. But they " who were ſkilfull, ſaid, it portended the future ſtate of the Em- " pire: that it ſhould look as if it had been beaten, and whipt, and " like thoſe who are juſt expiring: till by the bad management " of magiſtrates and governours, it ſhould be quite deſtroyed. And " if we conſider every thing, this prediction will appear to have been " very true."

38. I ſhall tranſcribe no more of theſe things at length, and add " only a paragraph of Dr. Bently in his *(g) Remarks upon a late Diſcourſe of Free-thinking*: where this laſt mentioned, and ſeveral other like things are ſummarily rehearſed. " Zoſimus, a poor ſu- " perſtitious creature, (and conſequently, as one would gueſs, an im- " proper witneſs for our Free-thinker) who has filled his little hi- " ſtorie not more with malice againſt the Chriſtians, than with bi- " gotry for the Pagans: who treats his readers with oracles of the " Palmyrenes, and Sibyls: with annual miracles done by Venus, " where gold and ſilver ſwam upon water: with preſages and " dreams of old women: with thunders and earthquakes, as if they " were prodigies: with a dead body vaniſhing in the midle of an " armie: with omens and predictions from entrails of beaſts: with " an apparition of Pallas and her Gorgons, and with a ſpectre of A- " chilles: with wooden idols, that fire could not burn: with a " necklace of the Goddeſſe Rhea, that executed divine vengeance: " who imputes the taking of Rome by Alarich to the omiſſion of " Pagan ſacrifices: and the decay of the Roman Empire to Con- " ſtantin's neglecting the Ludi Seculares. This wiſe and judicious " Author is brought in for good evidence. And our avowed ene- " my

(g) *Remarks, &c. num. xlii. p.* 167.

" my to ſuperſtition, connives at all this trumpery, for the ſake of " one ſtab at the reputation of Conſtantin, and the honour of Chri- " ſtianity." A. D. 425.

III. Some may think, that I have been too prolix in my extracts from this author. Nevertheleſs I have not thought it expedient to abridge more than I have done. There is ſomewhat entertaining in thoſe hiſtories, as I believe will be owned by moſt of my readers. And theſe extracts are authentic monuments of the ancient Heathen ſuperſtition, and credulity, and of the zeal, with which the rites of Gentiliſm were upheld and defended by all ſorts of perſons, learned as well as unlearned, and by men of high ſtations, as well as by people of low condition. They did all that lay in their power, to check, or ſtop the progreſſe of Chriſtianity. They would gladly have recovered, and reſtored ancient Gentiliſm. Here are many reflexions upon Chriſtian Emperours, and eſpecially upon *Conſtantin*, and *Theodoſius*. And the work is even filled with complaints of the badneſſe of the times, and the declenſion of the Roman Empire: all owing, as inſinuated, to the change of religion, and the non-performance of the rites of Gentiliſm, according to the ancient cuſtom. *Remarks upon the foregoing Extracts.*

CHAP. LIX.

HIEROCLES, of Alexandria.

His Time, Hiſtorie, and Works, with Remarks.

A. D. 450. *His Hiſtorie, and Character*

HIEROCLES (*a*) ſtiled by Bayle a Platonic Philoſopher of the fifth centurie, I place at the year (*b*) 450.

" Hierocles, (*c*) ſays Suidas, an Alexandrian Philoſopher, was a " man of a great mind, and of ſuch eloquence, as to attract the ad- " miration of all his hearers. He had a diſciple, named Theoſebi- " us, who beyond any man known to us, was able to look into the " minds of men. This Theoſebius aſſured us, that Hierocles in " ſome of his lectures ſaid, that the Diſcourſes of Socrates were " like dyes: for fall which way ſoever they would, they were al- " ways right. Hierocles's great and generous mind was diſcovered " in adverſity. For (*d*) coming to Byzantium, he offended the peo- " ple of the prevailing religion, (*meaning the Chriſtians,*) and being " brought into court, he was there beaten and wounded. The " bloud then running down, he took ſome of it in the hollow of " his

(*a*) *Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib.* 2. *cap. xii. Tom. i. p.* 469. . . 473 *Bayle, Hierocles Philoſophe Platonicien. Pearſoni Prolegom. et Needham Praefatio.*

(*b*) . . . atque adeo circa medium ſeculi poſt Chriſtum natum quinti floruiſſe. *Fabric. ubi ſupra, p.* 470.

(*c*) Ιεροκλῆς, φιλόσοφος Αλεξανδρίνος. κ. λ. *Suidas.*

(*d*) Εις γὰρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀνελθὼν προσέκρουσε τοῖς κρατοῦσι, καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον ἀχθεὶς ἐτύπτετο τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πληγάς. Ρεόμενος δὲ τῷ αἵματι, βάψας κοίλην τὴν χεῖρα, προσράινει τὸν δικαστὴν, ἅμα λέγων·

Κύλλωψ, τῇ, πῖ, δῖνον, ἐπὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα.

Homer. Odyſſ. i. ver. 347.

Suidas.

" his hand, and threw it at the Judge, ſaying to him at the ſame A. D. 450.
" time, You, *Cyclops, here, drink wine, ſince you have devoured hu-*
" *man fleſh.* And being baniſhed thence, he came to Alexandria,
" where, after his former manner he taught philoſophie to thoſe
" who reſorted to him. His good ſenſe may be ſeen in his writ-
" ings: in his Commentarie upon the Golden verſes of Pythagoras,
" in his book of Providence, and in many other works. By all
" which he appears to have been a man of an exalted mind, as
" well as of extenſive knowledge.

1. It is allowed, and is particularly obſerved by his annotator, that (*e*) this article of Suidas is taken from the Life of Iſidorus, writ by Damaſcius.

2. We may obſerve the ſtile of this Heathen writer, in the ſixth centurie. Speaking of Conſtantinople, he calls it by it's ancient name *Byzantium*, rather than by that, which generally obtained in his own time.

3. May not this action of Hierocles, who filled the hollow of his hand with bloud, and threw it at the Judge, be allowed to juſtify a like action in *Aedeſius*, a Chriſtian martyr mentioned (*) formerly?

4. I am ſorry, that Hierocles was ill-treated by the Chriſtians at Conſtantinople. But I am well pleaſed to ſee, that he afterwards philoſophized at Alexandria, in his uſual manner. Of this we are aſſured by *Damaſcius* himſelf, who was not wanting in zeal for Gentiliſm. And it is, I think, a proof, that the ſeverities, with which the Gentil people, and particularly, their learned men, and philoſophers, were treated, were not extremely rigorous.

Hierocles was a married man. " He (*f*) married only for the

" ſake

(*e*) Totum hunc articulum deſcripſiſſe Suidam ex Damaſcii Vita Iſidori philoſophi, vel ex Photio patet: apud quem in Excerptis ex illâ Vitâ, Cod. 242. p. 1037. nonnulla eorum, quae hic de Hierocle Grammaticus noſter habet, *αὐτολεξεὶ* leguntur. *Kuſter. in Suidae locum.*

(*) *See Vol.* 3. *p.* 241.

(*f*) Γυναῖκα παιδοποιῶν ἄγεται. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο τὸ δαιμόνιον τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελθεῖν λόγοις ἡμετέροις, ὅρκῳ αὐτὸ ἀπαναγκάζει ὁ Θεοσέβιος· κἀιτα ἔτε μαγεῦειν ἐᾶσε, ἔτε θεουργίας μελετήσας· ὥρκιζε δὲ τὰς τῆ ἡλίῳ

A. D. 450. "ſake of children. His wife, as Damaſcius writes, became poſſeſ-
"ſed. As the demon would not be perſuaded to depart by good
" words, his diſciple Theoſebius compelled him by an oath: though
" he did not underſtand magick, nor theurgie. But he adjured him
" by the rays of the ſun, and the God of the Hebrews. Where-
" upon the demon departed, crying out, that he reverenced the
" Gods, and Him in particular."

I need not make any remarks. But I thought it not improper to relate this ſtorie of a Gentil Philoſopher, told by a Gentil Hiſtorian.

His Works In this article we have ſeen particular mention made of two works of Hierocles, his Commentarie upon the Golden Verſes of Pythagoras, which is ſtill exſtant: and his diſcourſe on Providence, of which there are large extracts in *(g)* Photius. It conſiſted of ſeven books, and was inſcribed to Olympiodorus, well known for ſome ambaſſies, and other ſervices for the Empire.

Beſide theſe, there are large fragments of other works, preſerved in Stobaeus, and generally publiſhed together with the works abovementioned.

All theſe are valuable, tending to recommend, and promote virtue: but not with that force, which flows from revelation, enjoyning every part of moral righteouſneſſe by divine authority, and with the aſſurance of recompenſes in a future ſtate. This is a defect, common to him, with other Gentil writers.

However, it is not my deſign to detract from Hierocles: whom I eſteem as a good, and uſeful man, and all his writings valuable. Several of the fragments are of conſiderable length. Some of the ſubjects treated of in the fragments, are theſe: " Our *(b)* Duty to the
" Gods: our duty to our countrey: our duty to Parents: of bro-
" therly love: of Marriage: of our duty to relations: of oecono-
" mie,

ἥλιε πρατέων ἀκτίνας, καὶ Ἑβραίων θεόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπειλήλατο ὁ δαίμων, ἀναχραγὼν, ἐυλαβεῖσθαι τὸς θεός, αἰσχύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτόν. *Ap. Phot. Cod.* 242. *p.* 1037.

(g) *Cod.* ccxiv. *p.* 548. &c.

(b) *Hieroclis fragmenta apud Needham. p.* 280. &c.

" mie, or the management of a familie: where he treats of the dif- A. D. 450.
" ferent offices of the husband and the wife, or the master and the
" mistresse." The fragment on marriage, meaning (*i*) the society of one man and one woman, is copious, enlarging on the benefits, the pleasures, the honour of marriage, and that it is becoming in a wise man. It must be owned, that here occur those expressions: " In (*k*) this discourse concerning marriage, and the procreation of " children, it will be needfull to say something concerning the en- " crease of children. For it is agreeable to nature, and marriage, " that all, or however the most, should be preserved, and brought " up."

Here seems to be a licence given to parents to expose their children, if they are numerous and burthensome. However, he argues against that in the next words, after this manner. " Indeed " (*l*) many dislike this rule, for a reason not very becoming. They " have too great a desire of riches, and too great a dread of po- " verty." Then he observes the benefits of a numerous offspring, and says, that men beget children, not only for themselves, but also for their country: which cannot be upheld, and prosper, without a succession of men, one after another.

(*i*) *P.* 300. *edit. Needham.*

(*k*) Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας τόπῳ θετέον ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς πολυτεκνίας λόγος. Κατὰ φύσιν γάρ πως καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ γάμῳ τὰ πάντα, ἢ τά γε πλεῖστα, τῶν γενομένων διατρέφειν. *Ibid. p.* 308.

(*l*) Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν πλείους ἀπεύδοιεν τῇ παραινέσει, δι' αἰτίαν οὐ μάλα πρεπώδη· διὰ γὰρ φιλοπλουτίαν, καὶ τὸ πάμμεγα κακὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν πενίαν, τοῦτο πάσχουσι. *Ibid. p.* 308.

CHAP.

CHAP. LX.

PROCLUS.

Proclus, Preſident of the ſchool of Philoſophie at Athens, Author of a treatiſe againſt the Chriſtians, and many other works.

A. D. 464. I. PROCLUS (a) ought to be reckoned among the writers againſt the Chriſtian Religion. I ſhall begin with the account given of him by Suidas in his Lexicon, and then add what may be farther needfull.

2. "*Proclus (b) of Lycia*, ſays Suidas, ſcholar of Syrianus, a hear-" er alſo of the philoſopher Plutarch, ſon of Neſtorius, was a Pla-" tonic Philoſopher. He preſided in the philoſophical ſchool at A-" thens. Marinus of Neapolis was his ſcholar and ſucceſſor. He " wrote

(a) *Cav. Hiſt. Lit. Tom. i. p.* 552. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap.* 16. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 455. *&c. et Prolegom. in Procli vitam a Marino ſcriptam. Vid. et Phot. Cod.* 239. *p.* 982.

(b) Πρόκλος, ὁ Λύκιος, μαθητὴς Συριανῦ, ἀκυσὴς δὲ καὶ Πλυτάρχυ τῦ Νεςορίυ, τῦ φιλοσόφυ· καὶ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός. Οὗτος προέςη τῆς ἐν Αθήναις φιλοσόφυ σχολῆς· καὶ αὐτῦ μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος χρηματίζει Μαρῖνος ὁ Νεαπολίτης. Ἐγραψε πάνυ πολλὰ, φιλοσοφά τε καὶ γραμματικά. Ὑπόμνημα εἰς ὅλον τὸν Ὁμηρόν· Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ Ησιόδυ Ἔργα καὶ Ημέρας. Περὶ Χρησομαθίας βιβλία γ. Περὶ ἀγωγῆς β.... Περὶ τὰ Λόγια, βιβλία ς. Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Θεῶν. Επιχειρήματα κατὰ Χριςιανῶν ιή. Οὗτος ἐςὶ Πρόκλος, ὁ δεύτερος μετὰ Πορφύριον κατὰ Χριςιανῶν τὴν μιαρὰν καὶ ἐφίβριςον αὐτῦ γλῶσσαν κινήσας.... *Suid.*

" wrote very many books, philoſophical, and grammatical: a Com- A. D.
" mentarie upon all Homer: a Commentarie upon Heſiod's Works 464.
" and Days. Of Theurgie two books, upon the Republick of Pla-
" to four books, of Oracles ten books . . . [*and others, whoſe titles are*
" *there mentioned*] and eighteen Arguments againſt the Chriſtians.
" This is that Proclus, who after Porphyrie moved his impure and
" petulant tongue againſt the Chriſtians. Againſt him wrote John,
" called Philoponus, who admirably confuted his eighteen Argu-
" ments, and likewiſe ſhewed his ignorance and unſkilfullneſſe in
" the Greek learning, upon which he ſo much valued himſelf. Pro-
" clus alſo wrote a book concerning the Mother of the Gods, which
" if any perſon takes into his hands, he will ſee, that the Philoſo-
" pher did not without divine impulſe explain the theologie of that
" Goddeſſe, ſo that men need not any longer be diſturbed about the
" lamentations, which are heard in that ſolemnity."

This laſt part of the article Suidas had from Marinus, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

3. Suidas ſays, he was of Lycia. And Marinus *(c)* in his Life of Proclus, ſays, that his father Patricius, and his mother Marcella, were both of Lycia, but that Proclus was born at Byzantium. He lived in the fifth centurie, being born, as Fabricius *(d)* has computed, in the year of Chriſt 412. and dying when he was about ſeventy five years of age, in the year 485. I have placed him at the year 464. When he was above forty years of age: at which time it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, he was ſettled in his preſidentſhip in the

(c) Marini Proclus. cap. 6. *p.* 11. *edit. Fabric.*

(d) Haec genitura . . docet, Proclum, qui Byzantinus fuit, et citra controverſiam ſeculo poſt Chriſtum natum 5. floruit, natum eſſe Anno Chriſti 412. die 8 Februarii. . . Ex ejuſdem iterato teſtimonio ſcimus, Proclum vixiſſe annos quinque et ſeptuaginta, (lunares nempe, quibus uſi Graeci) ut adeo mortuus ſit Athenis Anno Chriſti Juliano 485. die 17. Aprilis. *Fabric. Prolegom. in Marini Proclum. p.* vi. *Vid et Bib. Gr. ubi ſupra. p.* 456.

A. D. 464. the ſchool at (e) Athens, and had been the author of ſeveral works.

4. Proclus's book againſt the Chriſtians is not exſtant, by itſelf. And many learned men have ſuppoſed, that John Philoponus's anſwer to him was alſo loſt. But Fabricius (f) ſhews this to be a miſtake. And he obſerves likewiſe, that the Eighteen Arguments of Proclus are preſerved in the eighteen books of Philoponus againſt him.

It ſhould be alſo obſerved, that thoſe Eighteen Arguments of Proclus were not againſt the Chriſtian Religion in general, but only, or chiefly, againſt that one opinion of the Chriſtians, that the world had a begining.

5. I add nothing farther here. But I intend to make extracts in the next chapter, out of the Life of Proclus, writ by his ſcholar Marinus. In which, as ſeems to me, there are not a few things deſerving our notice.

(e) Athenas autem venit Proclus circa A. D. 463. aut 464. ſi Lambecii judicio ſtandum ſit. *Pet. Needham. in Praef. ad Hieroclem. ſub fin.*

(f) Equidem hoc Philoponi adverſus Proclum opus non minus quam Procli ipſius argumenta intercidiſſe putat Caveus, vir doctiſſimus in Hiſtoria Literaria . . ratus a Proclo, ad Celſi, Juliani, Porphyrii denique exemplum, ut ex Suidae verbis male collegit, univerſam Chriſtianam Religionem illis xviii. argumentis impugnatam fuiſſe. Enimvero duodeviginti ἐπιχειρήματα directa ſunt potiſſimum adverſus unum dogma Chriſtianorum de mundo non aeterno, et etiamnum exſtant in Johannis Philoponi libris duodeviginti de aeternitate mundi contra Proclum, quod hoc ipſum opus eſt tantis a Suida celebratum laudibus. *Fabric. de Procli Scriptis editis, ad calcem Marini Procli. p.* 80.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

MARINUS.

Marinus, ſucceſſor of Proclus in the chair of the ſchool of Philoſophie at Athens, Author of the Life of Proclus. Extracts out of that Life. Where alſo of Syrianus, predeceſſor of Proclus.

1. MARINUS, of †† Flavia Neapolis in Paleſtine, ſcholar of Proclus, and his ſucceſſor in the chair of the ſchool of Philoſophie at Athens, wrote the Life of Proclus, who died in 485. ſoon (*a*) after his maſter's death. A. D. 485.

2. In this Life are two paſſages, which have a reference to the Chriſtians. If I tranſcribe them at length, there will appear ſome other things deſerving our regard. And afterwards I ſhall tranſcribe ſeveral other paſſages.

3. "If

†† *The origin of Marinus ſhall be more particularly related by and by in an article taken from Damaſcius, in chap. lxii.*

(*a*) Hinc merito videor mihi colligere hanc vitam a Marino ſcriptam editamque non diu a Procli obitu, certe anno nondum integro poſt illum elapſo, quia de Eclipſi hac ut futura loquitur. *Fabric. not. in Marini Proclum. cap.* 37. *p.* 76.

A. D. 485.

3. " If *(b)* I ſhould allow my-ſelf to enlarge here, ſays *Marinus*, " I might relate very many theurgic operations of this bleſſed man. " One, however, out of innumerable, I ſhall mention, and it is won- " derfull to hear. *Aſclepigenia*, daughter of Archiades and Plutarcha, " and wife of Theagenes, to whom we are much indebted, when " ſhe was yet but a young maiden, and lived with her parents, " was ſeiſed with a grievous diſtemper, incurable by the Phyſicians. " *Archiades*, as all the hopes of his familie depended upon her, was " much grieved, and afflicted. All help from the Phyſicians fail- " ing, as in other caſes, ſo now, in this alſo, he applyed to the ſheet- " anchor, that is, to the Philoſopher, as his good Saviour, earneſt- " ly entreating him to pray for his daughter, whoſe condition was " not unknown to him. He therefore taking with him Pericles, " of Lydia, who alſo was a Philoſopher, and worthie of that name, " went *(c)* to the temple of *Aeſculapius*, intending there to offer up " his prayers to the God for the afflicted young woman. For the " city [*Athens*] was then happy in him, and enjoyed the temple " of the Saviour entire and undemoliſhed. Whilſt he was praying, " after the antient manner, the young woman immediatly perceiv- " ed an alteration for the better, and recovered. For the Saviour, " as being God, healed her eaſily. The ſacred rites being perfotm- " ed, Proclus went to *Aſclepigenia*, and found her freed from her " diſtemper, and in the enjoyment of health. However, this whole " affair was tranſacted privatly, without the knowledge of any o- " thers: and without giving any occaſion to make inquiries. And " this was the more eaſily ſo tranſacted, his habitation being near " to the Temple. Which was one of the felicities of this man, that " he

(b) Marini Procl. cap. 29. p. 58. &c.

(c) . . . ἐπὶ τὸ Ασκληπεῖον, προσευξόμενος τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς καμούσης. Καὶ γὰρ ἀυτύχει τότε ἡ πόλις τότε, ἢ ἔτι ἔσχεν ἄτρωτον τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἱερόν. Ευχομένῳ ἀυτῷ τὰ ἀρχαιότερον τρόπον, αἰφνίδια μεταβολὴ περὶ τὸν κόρην ἐφάνη, ἢ ῥᾳδίως ἐξαίρνης ἐγίγνετο. Ρᾳστα γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὡς τὰ Θεὸς ἰᾶτο. *Ib.* p. 60.

" he had a very convenient houſe, which his father, *Syrianus*, and A. D. 485.
" his grandfather *Plutarch* (for ſo he called *(d)* them) had lived in,
" and which was near to the temple of Aeſculapius."

4. Preſently afterwards he ſpeaks of the favours, which Proclus received from *Minerva*. " And *(e)* ſays he, how dear he was to the " Goddeſſe, Preſident of philoſophie, appeared from the great pro- " greſſe, which he made in that ſtudie, to which he had been di- " rected by the Goddeſſe herſelf. And ſhe alſo manifeſted her great " regard for him, when her image, which had been hitherto pla- " ced in the *Parthenion*, (or temple of Minerva) was taken away " by thoſe who move ſuch things as ought not to be moved. " For when that was done, a woman of excellent beauty appeared " to him in a dream, who bid him preſently put his houſe in or- " der. For, ſays ſhe, *the Lady Minerva intends to come and live* " *with you.* And, as Marinus goes on to ſay, in the words next " following. And how much he was favored by the God Aeſcu- " lapius, is evident from what was before related by us. And was " farther apparent from the preſence of the God with him in his " laſt ſickneſſe. For when he was between ſleeping and waking, " he ſaw a dragon creeping about his head, which occaſioned ſome " remiſſion of his diſtemper. By that viſion there was an abate- " ment made in his ſickneſſe. And it is eaſie to believe, that were " it not for his preparedneſſe for death, and his deſire of it, he

(d) He calls *Syrianus* his father, as he had been inſtructed by him: and *Plutarch* his grandfather, as he had inſtructed his maſter. Pater, non qui genuerat, ſed qui inſtituerat: et avus pro magiſtro praeceptoris. *Fabric. in loc.*

(e) Ὅπως δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ τῇ φιλοσόφῳ Θεῷ προσφιλὴς ἐγίνετο, παρίστησι μὲν ἱκανῶς ἡ αἵρεσις τοῦ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ βίου, τοιαύτη γενομένη, οἵαν ὁ λόγος ὑπέδειξε. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ Θεὸς ἐδήλωσε, ποίκα τὸ ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς τὸ ἐν Παρθενῶνι τέως ἱδρυμένον ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀκίνητα κινούντων μετεφέρετο. Εἴκει γὰρ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ὄναρ, φοιτᾷν παρ' αὐτὸν εὐχήμων τις γυνὴ, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι χρὴ τάχιστα τὴν οἰκίαν προπαρασκευάζειν· ἡ γὰρ κυρία Ἀθηνᾶ, ἔφη, παρὰ σοὶ μένειν ἐθέλει. *Ibid. cap.* 30. *p.* 62.

A. D. 485. " might have recovered, if he had been more carefull about his " health."

We may ſuppoſe, that when Marinus ſpeaks of the taking away the ſtatue of Minerva, out of her Temple, he ſhews ſome caution and modeſtie, out of reſpect to the times, in which he lived, ſaying in thoſe ſoft terms, that *they moved ſuch things, as ought not to be moved.* For he muſt have eſteemed it ſacrilege, and the utmoſt profaneſſe.

5. I have tranſcribed more of both thoſe paſſages, than might be thought needfull. But I was willing to ſhew the credulity of thoſe Philoſophers, a weakneſſe very common to men of all characters: and therefore we ought to be upon our guard againſt it, and exerciſe our reaſon, and our Senſes. Which, certainly, God has beſtowed upon us for ſome good purpoſes, beſide procuring the immediate comforts of life.

6. I ſhall add a few more like things, for ſhewing how much the thoughts of this great Philoſopher *Proclus*, and of his diſciple *Marinus*, were engaged in theſe ſuperſtitions, and the fables, on which they were founded.

7. " But, ſays *(f)* Marinus, if I ſhould go over all the like things, " and relate his friendſhip with *Pan*, ſon of *Mercurie*, and the ma- " ny favours, and bleſſings, which he received from this God at " Athens, and particularly the many advantages conferred upon him " by *the Mother af the Gods*, upon which he highly valued himſelf, " I ſhould perhaps ſeem to the reader to ſay things very unlikely, " and even incredible. For indeed there were very many, and al- " moſt innumerable inſtances of the favour of this Goddeſſe toward " him, and more than I can my-ſelf now recollect. However, if " any are deſirous to have a full knowledge of them, he may con- " ſult his book of the Mother of the Gods. By which he will " perceive, that it was not without divine aid, that he was able to " bring

(f) Cap. 32. p. 69.

" bring to light all the theologie concerning that Goddeſſe, and the ſe- A. D.
" veral things, which are myſtically ſaid and done by Her and At- 485.
" tis. All which he has philoſophically explained: ſo that men
" need no longer to be diſturbed about the lamentations, and other
" myſteries of that ſolemnity."

8. And in a preceding chapter, among other ſuperſtitions of Proclus, Marinus informs us, that *(g)* once a month he purified him-
" ſelf according to the rites of the Mother of the Gods.

Nor can we forbear to recollect here, that *the Mother of the Gods* was a ſubject, which employed the fine pen of the Emperour Julian *(b)* who compoſed a long oration to recommend and explain her myſteries.

9. Marinus ſays, " that *(i)* Proclus died in the hundred and twen-
" ty fourth year after the reign of Julian."

Which ſhews, that the memorie of Julian was ſtill dear to the Heathen people, of whoſe reign they were willing to make an epoch.

He was buried in the ſame ſepulchre with his maſter *(k)* Syrian.

10. In a place before cited, we ſaw, how Marinus ſays, that *(l)* beſide other felicities, Proclus had an advantage in the ſituation of his houſe, which was near the temple of Aeſculapius. And Marinus *(m)* has ſeveral times aſſured us, that Proclus abounded, and even overflowed in the goods of fortune. This has occaſioned Fabricius to refer to a paſſage in the extracts of Photius from *Damaſcius.*

(g) Τὰς δὲ μητρωακὰς παρὰ Ρωμαίοις, ἣ καὶ πρότερον ποτε παρὰ Φρυξὶ, σπουδασθείσας ἀγισείας ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἤγνευεν. *Cap.* 19. *p.* 36.

(b) *Or. V. ap. Spanhem. p.* 158. *&c.*

(i) Τελεύτησε δὲ τῷ δ' καὶ κ' καὶ ρ' ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλείας. *Cap.* 36. *p.* 73.

(k) *Cap.* 36. *p.* 74.

(l) *See before, p.* 290.

(m) Οὐδ' ἂν πάλιν τὴν πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ὠνυμένην εὐποτμίαν, εἰ καὶ αὐτὴ πάλιν ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ ἐυπαρασκέυασε, ἓν τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων. Κεχορήγητο γὰρ ἀφθόνως ἅπασι τοῖς ἔξωθεν λεγομένοις ἀγαθοῖς. *Cap.* 2. *p.* 3. 4. *Vid. et cap.* 34 *p.* 71.

A. D. 485.

cius. Which indeed appears to me very curious. Where (*n*) it is ſaid, "the revenues of the ſchool were not then ſuch as they were "in the time of Plato, as ſome imagine. For Plato was poor, and "had only one garden, which was in the Academie, and a ſmall "revenue of three crowns. But in the time of Proclus the reve-"nue was a thouſand crowns, or more, many having left handſome "legacies to the ſchool."

And I ſhall alſo place below the note of (*o*) Fabricius. Undoubtedly, ſuch an annual revenue was very comfortable. And I cannot but think, that this ſhews the good temper of the Chriſtian Magiſtracie at that time. For Proclus, and the other Preſidents of the philoſophical ſchool at Athens, were Heathens. To me it ſeems alſo that the large catalogue of the works of Proclus, in Suidas, is another argument of the freedom, which the Gentil people then enjoyed. Proclus could not have publiſhed ſo many works of philoſophie, and literature, if the diſcouragements, under which the Gentils lay, had been very ſtrict and rigorous. And I have therefore tranſcribed above the more of that catalogue, that my readers might be the better ſenſible of this. And one of thoſe books was againſt the Chriſtians, as others were in favour of the myſteries of Gentiliſm. This Life of Proclus, writ by Marinus, muſt be reckoned another example of freedom of ſpeech, owing to the privileges, which thoſe diſſenters and nonconformiſts then enjoyed.

11. It

(*n*) Ἡ τῶν διαδόχων οὐσία, οὐχ' ὡς τοσαῦτα νομίζουσι, Πλάτωνος ἦν τὰ ἀνέκαθεν. Πένης γὰρ ἦν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ μόνον τὸν ἐν ἀκαδημίᾳ ἐκέκτητο κῆπον, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος τριῶν. Ἡ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ὕλη χιλίων ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ Πρόκλε, πολλῶν τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων κτήμασι τῇ σχολῇ καταλιμπανόντων. *Phot. Cod.* 242. *p.* 1057.

(*o*) Marinus ſupra dixerat, Proclum bonis fortunae undique affluiſſe et abundaſſe. Cui adde quod Photius ex Damaſcio refert p. 536. reditus ſcholae, cui Proclus praefuit, ex variis legatis non mediocriter auctos fuiſſe, ita ut ſumma mille amplius numum, hoc eſt thalerorum, inde quotannis philoſophus fieret ditior. *Fabric. annot. ad Marini Procl. cap.* 29. *p.* 61.

11. It may be thought, that I have already concluded this chapter. Nevertheleſs I have a word or two more to add. A. D. 485.

The works of Proclus were very numerous, and voluminous, as we have ſeen. Fabricius (p) has enlarged in his account of them very much to the ſatisfaction of learned and curious readers.

In Photius (q) are extracts out of a work of Proclus, entitled χρησομαθία, in two books, which is alſo in the catalogue of Suidas. The work itſelf is loſt. But from the extracts of Photius it appears to have been a work filled with ancient learning. He therein diſcourſed of the ſeveral ſorts of poetrie. "He (r) obſerved, "that among Epic Poets the moſt excellent were *Homer*, *Heſiod*, "*Piſander*, *Panyaſis*, and *Antimachus*. And he there repreſented, ſo "far as he could learn, their families, their countreys, and works." Upon which part of Photius's extract, I place below an obſervation of (s) Fabricius.

12. SYRIANUS likewiſe, who was of Alexandria, and was maſter of Proclus, and his predeceſſor in the ſchool at Athens, was author of divers works. There is a catalogue of them, under his name in Suidas: though (t) poſſibly, there may be in it ſome miſtakes. And ſome things may be aſcribed to Syrianus, which were writ by Proclus. Syrianus is ſuppoſed to have died about (u) the year of Chriſt 450. *Syrianus.*

It

(p) *Bib. Gr. l. v. cap.* 26. *T.* 8. *p.* 455. *&c.*

(q) *Cod.* 239 *p.* 981. *&c.*

(r) Πραγματεύεται δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιητῶν, κράτιστος μὲν Ὁμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πίσανδρος, Πανύασις, Αντίμαχος. Διέρχεται δὲ τίνων, ὡς ἂν τὶ ἐγί, γένος τε καὶ πατρίδας, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ μέρους [al. ἐπιμέτρους] πράξεις. *Phot. p.* 981. *infr. m.*

(s) Hinc non temere conjicio *brevem vitam Homeri*, quam ſub Procli nomine edidit Leo Allatius in libro de Homeri vita, et V. C. Joſua Barneſius praeclarae ſuae Homeri editioni praemiſit, ex priore Chreſtomathias hujus libro decerptam eſſe. *Fabr. ut ſupra. p.* 522.

(t) *Vide Fabric. ib. p.* 450.

(u) . . . diem obiit circa annum Chriſti, ut conjicio, 450. *Fabric. ibid. p.* 449.

A. D. 485.

It may be thought by ſome, that I have enlarged too much in my account of this Life of Proclus by Marinus. Nevertheleſs I have not fully gratified my-ſelf. If I had, inſtead of making extracts, I ſhould have made a tranſlation of the whole work, as I did of Libanius *for the Temples:* it affording, as ſeems to me, a genuine, and curious ſpecimen of Heatheniſh credulity and ſimplicity. I believe, that *Marinus* was an honeſt man. At leſt, I ſee nothing to the contrarie. I am glad, that he lived ſo comfortably, though he was not of the prevailing religion.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

DAMASCIUS.

I. *His Time, and Works.* II. *Extracts from his Works in Photius.* III. *Divers paſſages from his Works in Suidas.*

I. DAMASCIUS is mentioned by Cave in his Hiſtoria Literaria of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. He (*a*) reckons him among Gentil authors, who in the ſixth centurie had reflected upon the Chriſtian Religion. He placeth him as flouriſhing in the year (*b*) of Chriſt 540. A. D. 540. *His Time, and Work.*

The account, which Suidas gives of Damaſcius, is to this purpoſe. " He (*c*) was a Stoic Philoſopher of Syria, intimatly acquainted with Simplicius and Eulalius, who were Phrygians. He flouriſhed in the time of Juſtinian: He wrote Commentaries upon Plato, of Principles, (*d*) and a Philoſophic Hiſtorie."

Suidas

(*a*) Scriptores Gentiles Chriſtianam Religionem hoc ſeculo perſtringentes. *H. L. T. i. p.* 552.

(*b*) Damaſcius, patria Damaſcenus, ſecta Stoicus, aliis Peripateticus, . . claruit circa ann. 540. *Id. ib.*

(*c*) V. Δαμάσκιος. *p.* 506. *Kuſter.*

(*d*) ἡ περὶ ἀρχῶν. That work is ſaid to be ſtill in ſeveral libraries of Europe. Wolfius publiſhed from the public librarie of Hamburg the begining, and large extracts from it, in his Anecdota Graeca, Sacra et Profana. Tom. 3. p. 195. &c.

A. D. 540.

Suidas says, he flouriſhed in the time of Juſtinian, who (*e*) reigned from the year 527. to 565. But Damaſcius himſelf, in his Life of Iſidorus, ſays, that (*f*) at that time Theodorich was King of all Italie. Theodorich (*g*) died in 526. We might therefore, perhaps, place Damaſcius, as flouriſhing ſomewhat ſooner, than Cave has done. And Fabricius ſays, he (*h*) preſided in the ſchool of Philoſophie at Athens in the time of Theodorich. However, (*i*) Pagi relyes upon Suidas, who placeth him, as flouriſhing in the time of Juſtinian. And we ſhall ſee proofs of it in the chapter of *Simplicius*, which will follow this.

They who deſire to know more of Damaſcius, may conſult the writers, (*k*) mentioned below.

Extracts out of his Works in Photius.

II. Of this Author there are large extracts in Photius. And in Suidas, under divers articles of his Lexicon, ſeveral paſſages are quoted from him. I intend firſt of all to obſerve ſome remarkable things in *Photius*. Afterwards I ſhall put down divers paſſages, collected out of *Suidas*.

1. In Photius are three articles concerning this Author: the firſt at Code cxxx. the ſecond at clxxxi. the third at ccxlii.

2. In the firſt Photius ſays: "We (*l*) read the four books of Da-
"maſcius,

(*e*) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 565. *n. iii.*

(*f*) Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Βαλάμερι Θεοδερίχου πατρὸς, ὃς νῦν τὸ μέγιστον ἔχει κράτος ἰταλίας ἁπάσης. *ap. Phot. p.* 1041. *in.*

(*g*) *Vide Pagi ann.* 526. *n. iv. ix. x. et conf. ibid. A.* 475. *n. vi.*

(*h*) De Damaſcio hoc Damaſceno, qui regnante in Italia Theodorico Athenis in ſchola Platonica floruit, plura Photius, . . nec non Suidas. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom.* 13. *p.* 784.

(*i*) Damaſcius autem Juſtiniani Imp. temporibus floruit, ut docet Suidas in voce Δαμάσκιος, qui haec ideo ſcire potuit. *Pagi* 470. *n. iii.*

(*k*) *Voſſ. Hiſt. Gr. l.* 2. *cap.* 22. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom.* 9. *p.* 416. 437. *Pagi ann.* 470. *num. i.*

(*l*) Ἀνεγνώσθησαν Δαμασκίου λόγοι τέσσαρες, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει περὶ παραδόξων πραγμάτων κεφάλαια τνβ. Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, παραδόξων περὶ δαιμονίων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια νϛ. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος περὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιφαινομένων ψυχῶν παραδόξων διη-

γη-

" maſcius, of which the title of the firſt is, Concerning ſtrange and A. D. 540.
" wonderfull things, in three hundred and fifty chapters: the ſe-
" cond, Wonderfull ſtories concerning demons, in two and fifty
" chapters: the third, Wonderfull ſtories concerning ſouls, which
" appeared after death, in ſixty three chapters: the fourth, Of other
" wonderfull things, in a hundred and five chapters. In all which
" are many impoſſible, and incredible things, and fooliſh, and ill-
" contrived ſtories of falſhoods, and truly worthie of the irreligion
" and impiety of Damaſcius: who, when the light of religion
" illuſtrated the whole world, ſlept in the thick darkneſſe of ido-
" latrie." However, of the ſtile Photius ſays, it is compendious, elegant, and conſpicuous, ſuited to ſuch relations.

3. In the ſecond article Photius gives a general account of the Life of Iſidorus. " We (*m*) read, ſays he, the life of the philoſo-
" pher Iſidorus, writ by Damaſcius of Damaſcus, a large work,
" dedicated to Theodora, alſo a zealous Greek as to religion, and
" well inſtructed in philoſophie ... deſcended likewiſe from anceſ-
" tors, noted for their zeal for the impiety of idolatrie ... As to religi-
" on, this Author is altogether impious, and often reviles our holy
" religion, though ſomewhat cautiouſly."

Some of thoſe paſſages, in the very words of Damaſcius, would have been entertaining to us now. And could not have perverted any.

Near the end of this article of Photius is an account of our Au-

γημάτων φιλάλαιθ ξγ'. Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ... Ἐν οἷς ἄπασιν ἀδύνατά τε καὶ ἀπίθανα, καὶ κακόπλαστα τερατολογήματα, καὶ μυρὰ, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξια τῆς ἀθεότητος καὶ δυσσεβείας Δαμασκίου· ὃς καὶ τὸ φωτὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸν κόσμον πληρώσαντος, αὐτὸς ὑπὸ βαθεῖ σκότῳ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἐκάθευδε. κ. λ. *Cod.* 130. *p.* 312.

(*m*) Γράφει δὲ τὸν Ἰσιδώρου βίον προθέμενος, Θεωδώρᾳ τινὶ τὸ σύνταγμα προσπεφώνηκεν, Ἕλληνα μὲν καὶ αὐτῇ θρησκείαν τιμῶσῃ, ... Ἔστι δὲ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὰ θεῖα δόξαν εἰς ἄκρον δυσσεβὴς ... Διὸ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ δειλότερα καθυλακτῶν εὐσεβείας. *Cod.* 181. *p.* 408.

A. D. 540. thor's maſters. "In (n) rhetorick Theon was his maſter, under "whom he ſtudied three years. Afterwards Damaſcius himſelf "preſided in the ſame ſchool nine years. Geometrie, and arithme-"tick, and other parts of mathematicks, he learned from Marinus, "and Harmonius, ſon of Hermias of Alexandria. Logick he learn-"ed from Iſidorus, whoſe life he wrote, and whom he highly "commends."

Suidas, as before ſeen, ſays, that Damaſcius wrote *a Philoſophic Hiſtorie*. I ſuppoſe, he means the Life of Iſidorus, which, according to Photius, was (o) a large work. Or elſe, this Life of Iſidorus was one part of that Hiſtorie. Even the extracts of that Life in Photius, are large, and exhibit a great variety of matters.

I ſhall tranſcribe below the account, which Fabricius has given of this article of (p) Photius.

4. In the third article (q) of Photius, concerning this Author, are large extracts from his Life of Iſidorus the Philoſopher. Several of which will be tranſcribed by me.

5. Here (r) is a ſtorie concerning the celebrated Alexandrian Philoſopher, *Hierocles*, and his wife. Which I do not take now, becauſe

(n) P. 412.

(o) ... πολύστιχον. p. 408. lin. 35.

(p) Cod. clxxxi. Damaſcii Damaſceni *De Vita Iſidori Philoſophi*, liber prolixus in capita lx. diviſus, variaque refertus jucunda de aliis etiam illius aetatis philoſophis notitia, ſed jam pridem deperditus, ex quo uberiora excerpta dabit Photius infra Cod. 242. Hoc ſcriptum Damaſcius, ſuperſtitione Ethnica imbutus ſcriptor, et Chriſtiana ſacra ſubinde laceſſens, dicavit *Theodorae*, eruditae feminae, quam ipſe et Iſidorus inſtituerant, filiam Cyrinae et Diogenis, qui patre Euſebio, avo Flaviano natus, (iiſdem, quos celebrat Macrobius,) genus referebat ad Lampſigeranum, Monimumque, a quibus et ſuam Jamblichus duxerat originem. Damaſcium in oratoria facultate per triennium inſtituerat *Theon*, in mathematices diſciplinis *Marinus*, in Philoſophia Athenis alter cum Marino Procli ſucceſſor, *Zenodotus*, et Alexandriae *Ammonius* Hermiae, Platonem et Ptolomaei aſtronomica ipſi interpretatus. In dialecticis denique is ipſe, cujus vitam deſcribendam ſuſcepit, *Iſidorus*. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. Tom.* 9. *p.* 437.

(q) *Cod.* 242. *p.* 1028. *&c.*

(r) *Ibid. p.* 1037. *infr. m.*

cauſe I have made a diſtinct article of Hieroclès, and have placed that ſtorie (*) there. A. D. 540.

6. "He ſays, that (s) *Marinus*, ſucceſſor of *Proclus*, came from "Neapolis in Paleſtine, near the mountain Garizin. This writer "then blaſphemouſly adds, in which mountain is a moſt ſacred "temple of the moſt high Jupiter, in which Abram, the father of "the ancient Hebrews, was prieſt, as Marinus himſelf ſays: Mari-"nus therefore, who was originally a Samaritan, forſook their doc-"trine, as being a novelty, derived from the Abramic religion, and "embraced the Greek religion."

7. Damaſcius mentions *Peter Mongus*, the Arian Biſhop of Alexandria, in this manner. "But (t) he who was Biſhop of the prevailing religion, being an impudent and wicked man, behaved thus." *Peter* (u) was ordained Biſhop in 477. and died in 490. Valeſius, in his notes upon Euſebius, has quoted this paſſage. He has obſerved divers others, in which Heathen writers, after the converſion of Conſtantin, call the Chriſtian Religion the *prevailing opinion*, and the Chriſtians the prevailing (x) party.

8. Damaſcius ſays, "that (y) Marcellinus, count of Dalmatia, was of the Greek religion:" that is, in the time of the Emperour Zeno, near the end of the fifth centurie.

9. In

(*) *See here, p.* 284.

(s) Ὅτι ὁ διδάσκαλος Πρόκλου, φησὶν, ὁ Μαρῖνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαισίνῃ νέας πόλεως πρὸς ὄρει κατωκισμένης, τῷ ἀργαρίζω καλουμένῳ. Εἶτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβὴς φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Ὑψίστου ἁγιώτατον ἱερὸν, ὃ καθιέρατο Ἄβραμος, ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρῖνος. Σαμαρείτης ὢν τὸ ἀπαρχῆς ὁ Μαρῖνος γεγονὼς, ἀπετάξατο μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν, ἅτε εἰς καινοτομίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβράμι θυσίας ἀποῤῥυεῖσαν, τὰ δὲ ἑλλήνων ἠγάπησεν. κ. λ. *P.* 1056. *m.*

(t) Ὁ δὲ τῶν κρατούντων τῆς πολιτείας ἡγεμὼν τὴν δόξαν ἐπισκοπῶν ἤλιγχος, ὄνομα Πέτρος, ἀνὴρ ἴταμος ὢν καὶ περιπόνηρος. κ. λ. *P.* 1057. *fin.*

(u) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 477. *x.* 490. *xxiv.*

(x) *Not. p.* 62. *ad Euſeb. H. E. l.* 4. *cap.* 7.

(y) Ὁ δὲ Μαρκελλῖνος τῆς Δαλμάτων ἦν χώρας αὐτοδέσποτος ἡγεμὼν, ἕλλην τὴν δόξαν. *P.* 1048. *in.*

A. D. 540.

9. In another place, as obſerved by Photius, " Damaſcius ſays, " that (z) *Anthemius*, the Roman Emperour, was of the Greek reli- " gion, and of the ſame opinion with *Severus*, who was an idolater, " and whom he appointed Conſul: and that they ſecretly conſulted " together about reſtoring the execrable worſhip of idolatrie. He " ſays likewiſe, that *Illus*, and *Leontius*, whom he ſet up to be " Emperour with Zeno, were of the ſame opinion, and had the " ſame deſign in favour of impiety, *Pamprepius* leading them that " way. He relates the vain pretenſes of *Pamprepius*, and his un- " faithfulneſſe to his friends, and his violent death in the ſame " manner that others do. *Pamprepius* was an Egyptian, and by " profeſſion a Grammarian."

We might have been well pleaſed to ſee Damaſcius's own words in this place. But we muſt be content with the extracts in Photius.

Anthemius was Emperour from the year 467. to 472. That he was a Gentil, there *(a)* is no proof, but the contrarie. Severus *(b)* was appointed Conſul at Rome by Anthemius in the year 470. " Damaſcius (c) in another place tells a ſilly ſtorie of a horſe of this " *Severus*, of which he was very fond: and which, when ſtroaked, " emitted large ſparks of fire, which alſo portended his Maſter's " Conſulſhip." *Illus* and *Leontius* were two great officers, who together began a rebellion againſt Zeno in 482. and were put to death (d) in 488. or about that time. As to *Pamprepius*, we have here a general account of him from Photius. More may be ſeen of him

(z) *P.* 1049. *infr. m.*

(a) Verum conſilium de reſtituenda idololatria, non niſi per calumniam Anthemio adſcribi poteſt, ut liquet ex Annal. Eccl. *Pagi ann.* 470. *num. i.*

(b) Coſſ. Severus et Jordanes. . . Prior occidentalis, ut liquet ex Damaſcio in Vita Iſidori Philoſophi, &c. *Pagi ibid.*

(c) Τέτυ τοίνυν ὁ ἵππος, ὧ τὰ πολλὰ ἐχρῆτο, ψαχόμενος σπινθῆρας ἀπὸ σώματος πολλούς τε καὶ μεγάλους ἠρίει, ἵνα αὐτῷ τὸ τέρας εἰς τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταντῆσθαι. *Ibid. p.* 1040. *fin.*

(d) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 482. *n.* xviii. *et* 488. *vi.*

him in an article (**) in Suidas, ſuppoſed to be taken from Malchus, mentioned by Photius, Cod. lxxviii. p. 172. *(e)* a Greek Hiſtorian, and a Chriſtian: who wrote a hiſtorie from the time of Conſtantin to Anaſtaſius, who ſucceeded Zeno, in the year 491. A. D. 540.

10. Before I proceed any farther, I ſhall tranſcribe here another like paſſage from theſe extracts of Photius. "Damaſcius, ſays *(f)* "Photius, reckoning up thoſe who have oppoſed our holy and in-"violable faith, unwillingly, and as it were compelled by the force "of truth, writes thus. The Emperour *Julian* likewiſe attempted "it, but he did not exceed four years. And a good while after-"wards *Lucius*, captain of the guard at Byzantium under the Em-"perour Theodoſius, attempted the ſame thing. Who intending "to kill the Emperour, was got into the palace, and after thrice "endeavouring to draw his ſword, was affrighted from executing "his deſign. For at the ſame time he ſaw a woman of a large "and terrible countenance at the back of Theodoſius, embracing "him. After that the great General in the Eaſt aimed at the ſame "thing, but was prevented by a violent death. For falling from his "horſe, he broke his leg, and died by that accident. Then, ſays "he, in our time *Severianus*, our fellow-citizen, together with di-"vers others. But he narrowly eſcaped with his life, through the "unfaithfulneſſe of thoſe who were with him, and perhaps of "others, and of *Americbus*, who diſcovered the conſpiracie to Ze-"no. And, beſide theſe, *Marſus* and *Illus*. Of whom, *Marſus* "died of a diſtemper in the very inſurrection. And *Illus* was ap-"prehended, and beheaded. After which his head was thrown "from a rock into the enemies camp. *Ammonius (g)* being a for-"did wretch, and aiming at nothing but money, came to an agree-"ment with a Biſhop of the prevailing religion."

So

(**) V. Παμπρέπιος.

(e) *Vide et Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Gr. l. 2. cap. xxi.*

(f) *Ibid. p.* 1072.

(g) Ὁ δὲ Ἀμμώνιος διεχρειῶδὴς ὢν, καὶ πάντα ὁρῶν εἰς χρηματισμὸν ὑπτιαῦν ὁμολογίας τίθεται πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοπεῦντα τὸ τιμιαῦτα τὴν κρατῦσαν δόξαν. *Ib. p.* 1072.

A. D. 540.

So writes Damaſcius. Who, as it ſeems, approved of any attempts againſt Chriſtians, and the Chriſtian Religion. Upon theſe ſtories may be ſeen ſome remarks of Cave in his Introduction, p. lxv.

11. In another place (*b*) he juſt mentions *Athanaſius* alſo with the ſame character of "a Biſhop of the prevailing religion." He means *Athanaſius*, who ſucceded *Peter Mongus* at Alexandria, in the year (*i*) 490.

12. He complains of ſome, who (*k*) privatly broke down, and deſtroyed ſacred images.

13. I do not know, whether it would be excuſed, if I ſhould forbear to take notice of ſome of this writer's ſtories of incredible things.

He ſays expreſsly, "that (*l*) in a battle fought near Rome with "the Scythians commanded by Attila in the time of Valentinian "[the third] who ſucceded Honorius, [in 425.] the ſlaughter on "both ſides was ſo great, that none on either ſide eſcaped, except "the Generals, and a few of their attendents. And, which is very "ſtrange, he ſays, when the bodies were fallen, the ſouls ſtill ſtood "upright, and continued fighting three whole days and nights, no"thing inferior to living men, either for the activity of the hands, "or the fierceneſſe of their minds. The images of the ſouls there"fore were both ſeen and heard, fighting together, and claſhing "with their armour." He moreover endeavours to confirm the truth of this by other relations of a like kind.

Of himſelf this writer ſays, "that (*m*) ſometimes, when he pulls "off, or puts on his cloaths, great ſparks fly out, and ſometimes with a noiſe:

(*b*) Πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα τὰ τυχόντα τὴν κρατοῦσαν δόξαν Αθανάσιον. *P.* 1060. *ver.* 20.

(*i*) *Vide Pagi A. D.* 490. *num.* xxiv.

(*k*) Τινὲς δὲ ἔλαθον τὰ ἱέρωμα κατάξαντες, καὶ διαφθείραντες. κ. λ. *P.* 1044. *ſub in.*

(*l*) *P.* 1040. *m.*

(*m*) *P.* 1041. *in.*

" a noiſe: that at other times his cloaths are all over of a flame, " and yet not hurt." A. D. 540.

He ſays, " that *(n) Hierius*, ſon of Plutarch, and ſcholar of Pro- " clus, had ſeen a human head, no larger than a pea: which yet " was a compleat human head with hair, eyes, a face, and a mouth, " that had a voice as loud as a thouſand men together."

Certainly, the learned Heathen Sophiſts and Philoſophers of that time did not reject the Chriſtian Religion for want of credulity. They received many incredible things. And yet would not attend to the credible relations in the hiſtorical books of the Old and New Teſtament.

III. I now proceed to the paſſages in Suidas. *Paſſages of Damaſcius in Suidas.*

1. " *Ammonianus*, (*o*) the Grammarian, was related to Syrianus, " whom he reſembled in body and mind: being both of them tall " and handſome. They agreed very much in temper and manners. " But Syrianus was deareſt to God, and a Philoſopher indeed: " whilſt the other employed his time in correcting the Greek Poets, " and putting out correct editions of them. This is *Ammonianus*, " who had an aſſe, that was ſtudious of wiſdom."

This article is plainly taken from Damaſcius. As may be collected from Photius's extracts of that author. Where a good part of it ſtill appears. There it is thus expreſſed: " This (*p*) is *Am-* " *monianus*, who had an aſſe, which, as is ſaid, when he attended " the lectures upon poetrie, often neglected his food, when layed before

(*n*) *Ibid. p.* 1045. *fin.*

(*o*) Ἀμμώνιος, Γραμματικὸς, κατοικῶντος τῇ συγγενείᾳ Συριανῷ . . . ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν θειοτέρως ἦν ὁ Συριανὸς, καὶ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος. Ὁ δὲ ἠγάπα τὰ ἐπὶ ποιηταῖς ἐξηγήσει καὶ διορθώσει τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν λέξεων καθαιμάττων τύχην. Οὗτος ἦν Ἀμμώνιος, ᾧ ἀκτᾶσθαι συμβέβηκεν ὄνον σοφίας ἀκροατήν. *Suidas.*

(*p*) *Ap. Phot. p.* 1040. *in.*

A. D. 540.

" before him, though at the ſame time he was hungrie. So much " was the aſſe taken with the love of poetrie."

Kuſter, in his notes upon Suidas, puts the queſtion, whether Damaſcius wrote this ſeriouſly. And thinks, he (q) muſt be reckoned an aſſe, who believed, there ever was ſuch an aſſe. Nevertheleſs, I think, it cannot be denied, that the Philoſophers of that time delighted in ſuch ſtories.

2. In the article of *Seberianus*, or *Severianus*, is another paſſage, fairly concluded to be taken from Damaſcius: foraſmuch as a part of it is found in Photius's extracts of that (r) Author, as Kuſter has obſerved in his notes upon Suidas. It is here ſaid, " that Severia- " nus was of Damaſcus, a man of a good familie, deſcended from " Roman anceſtors, who had lived at Alexandria. He ſays, Seve- " rianus was perfectly free from covetouſneſſe, but allowes, that " he was of a ſtiff and rigid temper. He (s) was extremely devout, " and zealous for the Greek religion: unhappy man, not moved " by ſufferings, or threatnings ... To him the Emperour Zeno " offered the higheſt government next to himſelf, if he would be " one of the prevailing religion. But neither ſo did he perſuade " him. Nor would he be perſuaded. He ſhewed us the letter, " containing thoſe offers. But it did not affect him."

So writes Damaſcius. And there are other things in that article, as it ſtands in Suidas, which may deſerve notice. For I have tranſcribed but a ſmall part of it: however, as much as is needfull for my deſign.

3. Un-

(q) Serione haec an joco ſcripſiſti, Damaſcie? Certe aſinis accenſendum eum puto, qui talem unquam aſinum exſtitiſſe credat. *Kuſter.*

(r) *Ap. Phot. pag.* 1057.

(s) Ἱερώτατος δ' ἦν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ Ἕλλην, καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλὰ ἀνελεῖν καὶ φόβων ἐκ ἀνέδωκεν ὁ ἀλιτήριος ... τούτῳ κατεπηγγέλατο Ζήνων βασιλεὺς εἰ γένοιτο τῶν κρατούντων, τὴν μετὰ βασιλέα μεγίστην ἀρχήν. Αλλ' οὐδὲ ὡς ἔπεισθεν, οὐδὲ ἔμελλε πείσειν. Καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ὑπεκύκλησε τὴν ἐπαγγελλομένην ἐπιστολὴν, καὶ μὴ πάθοσαν. *Suid.* V. Σεβηριανός.

A. D. 540.

3. Under the name *Hypatia* is another paſſage in Suidas, which with good reaſon is ſuppoſed to be taken from Damaſcius.

" HYPATIA (*t*) daughter of Theon, the Geometrician, and " Philoſopher of Alexandria, herſelf a Philoſopher, and well known, " wife of Iſidorus the Philoſopher. She flouriſhed in the time of " Arcadius. [*Then he mentions her writings.*] She was torn to pieces " by the Alexandrians, and her body with the greateſt ignominie " was dragged through the whole city. This ſhe ſuffered, becauſe " ſhe was envied for her excellent wiſdom, and eſpecially for her " ſkill in aſtronomie. Her death ſome aſcribed to *Cyril*, others to " the ſeditious and tumultuous temper of the Alexandrians. For " ſo they have ſerved ſeveral of their own Biſhops, particularly " *George*, and *Proterius*. She was born, bred, and educated in A- " lexandria. Having a genius ſuperior to her father, ſhe was not " contented with the mathematical learning, which ſhe had receiv- " ed from him, but ſtudied alſo the other parts of philoſophie to " good advantage. And though a woman, habiting herſelf in a " cloak, ſhe went about the city, and publicly explained Plato, " Ariſtotle, and the other Philoſophers, to all who deſired it of her. " Nor was ſhe learned only. She arrived likewiſe at the higheſt " eminence in virtue, chaſt, and always a virgin, and ſo very fair and " beautifull, that one of her ſcholars fell in love with her. And " not being able to govern his paſſion, he made it known to her. " [*however (u) a cure was wrought upon the young man by muſick,* " *or ſome other method. For it is differently related.*] Hypatia being " ſuch a perſon, ſo knowing in words and things, and ſo chaſt and " diſcreet in her behaviour, ſhe was beloved and admired to a " great degree by the whole city in general. And the magiſtrates " of the higheſt dignity waited firſt upon her at their arrival, as is " done at Athens. For though the thing itſelf was loſt, the name " of philoſophie ſtill ſeemed auguſt and venerable to thoſe who poſ-

(*t*) *Suid.* V. Υπατία. (*u*) *Suid. p.* 533.

A. D. 540. "ſeſſed the chief poſts in the ſtate. It happened, that (x) Cyril, "Biſhop of the oppoſite ſect, paſſing by the houſe of Hypatia, he "ſaw a great croud at her door, on foot and horſeback, ſome com- "ing, ſome going, and the houſe full of people. When he aſked, "what thoſe people were, and what was the reaſon of ſuch a croud "at that houſe, he was anſwered by his attendents, that they were "paying their reſpects to the philoſopher Hypatia, and that was "her houſe. Whereupon he became ſo poſſeſſed with envie, that "he contrived a murder, the moſt villainous of all murders. For, "as ſhe was one day coming out of her houſe, ſhe was ſet upon "by a number of brutal wretches, of accompliſhed wickedneſſe, "who fearing neither the judgement of God or men, killed this "Philoſopher, bringing thereby the utmoſt guilt and reproach up- "on their countrey. The Emperour was extremely provoked at "this action, and would have puniſhed it, if *Aedeſius (y)* had not "by bribes corrupted thoſe about him. So he pardoned the mur- "derers, but brought down vengeance npon himſelf and his fa- "milie."

Other things follow in that article, which deſerve notice. But I have propoſed to take nothing but what relates to *Hypatia*.

That is the account of *Damaſcius*, a learned Gentil. It may not be amiſs to ſee how this ſtorie is told by *Socrates*, a Chriſtian, who likewiſe is earlier, he having writ his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie about the year 440.

Having in ſome preceding chapters taken notice of a miſunderſtanding between *Oreſtes*, Governour of Egypt, and *Cyril*, Biſhop of Alexandria, he goes on. "There (z) was a woman at Alexan- "dria,

(x) Ἦν γάρ ποτε συνέβη τὸν ἐπισκοπεύοντα τὴν ἀντικειμένην αἵρεσιν Κύριλλον, παριόντα διὰ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς Υπατίας, κ. λ. *Ibid. p.* 534.

(y) *Aedeſius, was a Monk at Conſtantinople, agent for the Biſhop Cyril of Alexandria.*

(z) *Socrat. H. E. lib. 7. cap. xv. p.* 352.

" dria, by name *Hypatia*, daughter of Theon the Philoſopher. She A. D.
" was ſo eminent for learning, that ſhe excelled all the Philoſophers 540.
" of her time. She had ſucceeded in the Platonic ſchool, and ex-
" plained all the branches of philoſophie to thoſe who came to hear
" her. And from all parts ſuch as were ſtudious of philoſophie re-
" ſorted to her. And by reaſon of the authority, which ſhe had
" gained by her diſtinguiſhed knowledge, ſhe often had acceſſe to
" the magiſtrates with ſingular modeſtie. Nor was ſhe aſhamed to
" appear in a public aſſemblie of men. Foraſmuch as all admired
" and revered her for her uncommon virtue. Nevertheleſs envie
" laid hold of her. For becauſe ſhe often was with Oreſtes, the
" Chriſtian populace admitted a calumnie againſt her, that ſhe was
" the perſon, who obſtructed a reconciliation between Oreſtes and
" the Biſhop. Some perſons therefore of a fierce diſpoſition, head-
" ed by *Peter*, a Reader, conſpired againſt her. They waited for
" her, as ſhe was returning home from ſome place. And pulling
" her out of her chariot, they dragged her to the church called
" Caeſarium. Where they ſtript her naked, and killed her with
" ſharp ſhells. And when they had torn her to pieces, they car-
" ried all her members to a place called *Cinaron*, and conſumed them
" with fire. This action brought no ſmall diſgrace upon *Cyril*, and
" the church of Alexandria. And indeed, ſays Socrates, murders,
" and fightings, and all ſuch things, are altogether foreign to the
" Chriſtian principles. Theſe things were done in the fourth year
" of the epiſcopate of Cyril, in the tenth Conſulſhip of Honorius,
" and the ſixth of Theodoſius, in the month of March, in the time
" of lent." That is the year of Chriſt 415.

This chapter of Socrates is tranſcribed by Nicephorus (*a*) almoſt word for word, with very little alteration.

Syneſius, made Biſhop of Ptolemais in Libya about the year 410. was her ſcholar, and ever retained a high reſpect for her. Several of

(*a*) *Lib.* 14 *cap.* 16. *p.* 469.

A. D. 540.

of his letters are ſent to her, and inſcribed in this manner. " To (*b*) the Philoſopher," or (*c*) " to the Philoſopher Hypatia." And in one of them, writ after he was Biſhop, he calls her (*d*) his mother, his ſiſter, his miſtreſſe, and his benefactreſſe. In another (*e*) he ſays ſhe had a moſt divine ſoul. In (*f*) another, to *Herculian*, he mightily congratulates himſelf, " that by a journey with him to " Alexandria, he had made him know what he could not believe " upon the report of fame, till he ſaw and heard that extraordinarie " perſon, who ſet open the door of the myſteries of true phi- " loſophie."

One thing in the preceding hiſtorie may create a difficulty in the minds of ſome of my readers. Hypatia is there ſaid to have been always a virgin, and yet ſhe was wife of (*g*) Iſidorus. But thoſe things are not (*h*) inconſiſtent. For in thoſe times ſome people, both Chriſtians and others, married without intending to cohabit together. However, I think, that this circumſtance, of her marriage, muſt be underſtood to aggravate the indiſcretion of the young man, her ſcholar, who fell in love with her.

Du Pin, having related the ſtorie of Hypatia's death, adds: " It " (*i*) is not Socrates only, who relates this hiſtorie. It is alſo at- " teſted by Damaſcius, who in the Life of the Philoſopher Iſidorus " deſcribes the tragical death of this illuſtrious Lady, and accuſeth " Cyril

(*b*) Τῇ φιλοσόφῳ. *Ep.* 15. *p.* 172.

(*c*) Τῇ φιλοσόφῳ Ὑπατίᾳ. *Ep.* 10. *p.* 170.

(*d*) . . . μῆτερ, καὶ ἀδελφὴ, καὶ διδάσκαλε, καὶ διὰ πάντων τέτων ἐυεργετική. *Ep.* 16. *p.* 173.

(*e*) . . . τῆς θειοτάτης σου ψυχῆς. *Ep.* 10. *p.* 170.

(*f*) *Ep.* 136. *p.* 272.

(*g*) *Iſidori* Philoſophi conjux, ſed ita ut conjugii uſu abſtineret. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l.* 5. *cap.* 22. § *x. T.* 8. *p.* 220.

(*h*) Hinc erat, cur celeberrima hujus ſectae philoſopha, *Hypatia*, maritum quidem haberet Iſidorum, at corpus tamen caſtum et inviolatum ſervaret. *Moſheim. Diſſertation.* § 49. *p.* 214. *not.* (*z*).

(*i*) *St. Cyril. d' Alex. Bibliotheque. Tom.* 3. *P.* 2. *p.* 41.

" Cyril of being the author of it. But we are not to give credit to A. D. 540.
" that hiſtorian. Cyril had no hand in that murder. They were
" ſome ſeditious people, who laid hold of the occaſion of the dif-
" ference which there was between him and Oreſtes, to commit
" that aſſaſſination." So ſays Du Pin. But does not *Socrates* deſerve ſome regard, if *Damaſcius* be entitled to none?

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIII.

SIMPLICIUS.

His Time, Hiſtorie, and Works, with Remarks: where alſo of Agathias, and Procopius.

A. D. 550. SIMPLICIUS is well known for his Commentarie upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus, of which there have been ſeveral editions, in Greek and Latin, and ſome tranſlations into modern languages, particularly French and Engliſh. Of him I muſt give ſome account. And I think it not improper firſt to take ſome notice of *Agathias*, from whom that account muſt be taken.

In his Commentarie upon Epictetus, Simplicius has an argument againſt the *(a) Manichæans*. And for that reaſon may be juſtly placed among my witneſſes to Chriſtianity. But if there were no ſuch thing, Simplicius could not be omitted by me, his hiſtorie being connected with the Chriſtian affairs in the time, in which he lived.

Agathias (b) has himſelf informed us, who he was. His *(c)* native

(a) *In Epictet. cap.* 34. *p.* 163. *&c.*

(b) *Vide Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. l.* 2. *cap. xxii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l.* 5. *cap. v. Tom.* 6. *p.* 260. *&c.*

(c) Ἐμοὶ Ἀγαθίας μὲν ὄνομα, Μυρίνα δὲ πατρὶς, Μεμνόνιος πατὴρ, τέχνη δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων νόμιμα, ᾗ ὁτὲ τῶν δικασηρίων ἀγῶνες. *Agath. l. i. p.* 3. *fin.*

native place was *Myrina* in Aſia, which was a colonie of the ancient Aeolians. His father's name was *Memnonius*, and by profeſſion he was a lawyer. But he has not told us, where (*d*) he pleaded: though we know from himſelf, that (*e*) for a while he ſtudied the law at Alexandria. A. D. 550.

He appears to have been a very ingenious man, author of many ſhort poems, and (*f*) of a Hiſtorie of the reign of the Emperour Juſtinian in five books. It is a kind of ſupplement to Procopius, who concluded (*g*) at the 26. year of Juſtinian, the year of Chriſt 552. He did not begin to write his hiſtorie, till (*h*) after the death of Juſtinian in the year 565. and the acceſſion of Juſtin the younger in the ſame year. Pagi (*i*) ſuppoſeth him to have finiſhed his work about the year 579. Fabricius (*k*) ſays, not before the year 593.

Voſſius, and others, have ſuppoſed, Agathias to have been a Gentil: but (*l*) Pagi, ſays, he was a Chriſtian, and Fabricius (*m*) has ſhewn it more at large.

However

(*d*) Falluntur qui Smyrnae cauſſas in foro peroraſſe Agathiam colligunt ex Suidae loco, Vulcanius, Voſſius, Heidenreichius. Nam licet patronum cauſſarum fuiſſe certum eſt, atque ipſe non uno in loco hoc tradit, tamen qua in urbe id fecerit, numquam declarat. &c. *Fabric. ut ſupr. p.* 260. *in notis.*

(*e*) *Agath. l.* 2. *p.* 48.

(*f*) *Agathiae Hiſtorici et Poetae eximii, [aliter ſcholaſtici] De Imperio et Rebus geſtis Juſtiniani Imperatoris Libri quinque.*

(*g*) *Agath. l. i. p.* 6.

(*h*) *Agath ib. p.* 4.

(*i*) Ex morte interim Choſroes ab Agathia memorata colligo, Agathiam ante currentem annum Hiſtoriam ſuam, quam ad uſque Chriſti 559. tantum perduxit non publicaſſe, nec abſolviſſe. *Pagi ann.* 579. *num. v. Conf. eundem ad ann.* 552. *n. xiv. xv.*

(*k*) . . . compoſuit poſt Juſtiniani Auguſti, A. C. 566. defuncti fata, neque ante ann. 593. edidit, de ejus Imperio ſive de rebus ipſo imperante geſtis libros v. initio ſumpto ab ejus xxvi. Chriſti 553. ubi deſinit Procopius Caeſareenſis, uſque ad cladem Hunnorum in ſe ipſos inſtigante Juſtiniano arma vertentium anno ejus xxxii. Chriſti 559. *Fabr. T.* 6. *p.* 261.

(*l*) *Ann.* 579. *num. v.*

(*m*) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 261. *et in notis. Vid. et Spanhem. Tom. i. p.* 1167. 1168.

A. D. 550.

However he was a man of candour and moderation. "The (n) "Germans, he ſays, had a multitude of deities, and practiſed cruel "ſacrifices, but by converſing with the Franks, they were growing "more polite. However, as he adds, they who are in errour are "rather objects of commiſeration, than of contempt and hatred. "For all men aim at truth. If they are in errour, it is not the "fault of their will, but of their judgement, they being attached "to opinions once embraced by them."

"And in the introduction to his work, he laments, that (o) wars "and battles are ſo much the ſubjects of poems and hiſtories. "Which, as he ſays, he cannot aſcribe to the ſtars, nor to fate, "as ſome do. For if the world were governed by fate, there "would be an end of choice, and there would no longer be vir-"tue among men, nor any room for inſtruction, or emprovement "in arts and ſciences. Nor are wars and contentions agreeable to "the mind of God, who is ſupremely good. They muſt therefore "be aſcribed to the avarice and ambition of men."

"Fabricius has obſerved, that (p) Procopius, predeceſſor of Aga-"thias in the hiſtorie of Juſtinian, was a Chriſtian, and that he did "not approve of the fierce contentions, which there were among "Chriſtians upon abſtruſe and difficult points: and that he blamed "Juſtinian for his ſeverity againſt heretics, ſtripping them of their "goods, and inflicting upon them other puniſhments." By which we

(n) *Agath. l. i. p.* 13. *m.*

(o) Καὶ ξυμπασα μὲν ἡ ποίησις, πλήρης δὲ ξύμπασα ἱστορία πολέμων τε καὶ παρατάξεων. *Ag. l. i. p.* 6.

(p) Procopius, ex Caeſarea Palaeſtinae Rhetor, ſive Cauſſarum patronus, ac fortaſſe ſophiſta, hoc eſt, eloquentiam profeſſus Conſtantinopoli. Hunc licet Paganis adſcribere non dubitent Eichelius, et Mottanus Vayerus. Chriſtianum utique et Catholicum fuiſſe ſcripta ipſius perſpicue teſtantur, cum vero qui ſubtiles et acres de religione concertationes neutiquam probaret, nedum eas putaret, Hiſtoriae ambitioſe inferendas eſſe: quique reprehendat Juſtinianum, quod haereticos ſpoliandos bonis et ſuppliciis afficiendos duxit. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 6. *p.* 248. *Vid. et Spanhem. Tom. i. p.* 1166.

we can be assured, that there have been in all times among Christians men of learning, and good sense, who did what lay in their power to recommend moderation, and secure the peace of the world. A. D. 550.

I now proceed to the passage of Agathias, for the sake of which I have given this account of him. Divers Philosophers are here mentioned. But I aim principally at Simplicius.

" Nor *(q)* long before this, says Agathias, *Damascius* the Syri-
" an, *Simplicius*, of Cilicia, *Eulamius*, of Phrygia, *Hermias* and
" *Diogenes* of Phenicia, and *Isidorus* of Gaza, who all were, as I may
" say, the very top and pinnacle of the Philosophers of our time,
" not approving the doctrine concerning the Deity, which prevailed
" among the Romans, and imagining the Persian government to be
" much better, they were disposed to a removal: and besides, not
" being allowed by the Roman laws to act according to their own
" sentiments, they went into that strange countrey, intending to
" live there for the future. But when they were come into Persia,
" things did not answer their expectations. The King was not such
" a Philosopher, or so wise a man, as he had been reported to be.
" The nobles were proud and arrogant: and among the common
" people of Persia, as well as among the Romans, fraud and rapine
" prevailed greatly. They were likewise offended at the practise
" of polygamie: which nevertheless did not secure against adulterie.
" Upon those accounts these Philosophers were filled with much
" concern of mind, and repented of their removal out of their own
" countrey. The King had a respect for them, and was desirous to
" detain them. Nevertheless they determined to return home, and
" there spend the remainder of their days, though the greatest hon-

(q) Οὐ πολλῷ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν Δαμάσκιος ὁ Σύρος, καὶ Σιμπλίκιος ὁ Κίλιξ, Εὐλάμιός τε ὁ Φρὺξ, καὶ Πρισκιανὸς ὁ Λύδος, Ἑρμείας τε, καὶ Διογένης, οἱ ἐκ Φοινίκης, καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Γαζαῖος· οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντες, τὸ ἄκρον ἄωτον, καὶ τὸ τῆς σύμπασιν, τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων φιλοσοφησάντων, ἔπαθλον αὐτοὺς ἡ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κρατοῦσα ἐπὶ τῷ πρόσθεν δόξα ὠθεῖται, ἄσμενοι τὸ τῆς Περσικῆς πολιτείας πολλῷ εἶναι ἀμείνονα. . . . κ. λ. *Agath. l.* 2. *p.* 65. 66.

A. D. 529. "ours should be proposed to them. And this benefit they reaped "from their extraordinarie journey, that henceforward they lived "very contentedly, and comfortably. At that time the Romans "and Persians made a truce with each other. And one of the "conditions in that agreement was, that these men upon their "return home should (r) be allowed to live quietly, and not be "constrained to any thing which they did not approve of, nor to "alter their opinion concerning the ancient religion. Upon this "condition *Chosroes* insisted, and would not consent to the truce "otherwise."

I have thought it best to transcribe this paragraph of Agathias at length, in which so eminent a man as Simplicius is concerned. The same is almost word for word in (s) Suidas.

Baronius speaks of this transaction at the year of Christ (t) 554. Fabricius (u) placeth the return of those Philosophers at the year 549. Mr Mosheim (x) seems to incline to the year 533. When according to our best Chronologers (y) a truce, was concluded with the Persians. However, there was another truce with the Persians after-

(r) *Ibid. p.* 66.

(s) V. Πλούσιος.

(t) *A. D.* 554. *n. xiv.*

(u) Simplicius . . unus ex illis Philosophis, qui cum pertinaciter Ethnicismo adhaererent, rebus suis sub Justiniani imperio parum fidentes, profecti sunt cum Areobindo ad Regem Persarum Cosroën, sed spe suâ frustrati Athenas reverterunt, postquam in induciis Romanorum cum Persis anno Christi 549 cautum esset, ut illis tuto redire in sedes suas, et arbitratu suo vivere liceret, nec avita sacra mutare a Christianis cogerentur. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 8. *p.* 621.

(x) Ex quâ licet dein redirent provincia, postquam pacem cum Persis inierat Imperator, quod an. 533. factum esse nuper contendit vir eruditus Petrus Wesselingius, Observationum Variar. libr. i. cap. 28. pag. 120. 121. *Mosheim. De turbata per Platonicos Ecclesia.* § *xi. p.* 115.

(y) *Vide Pagi an.* 533. *v. Basn. ann.* 533. *i.*

afterwards, in the year (z) 545. or (a) 546. in the ſame reign of Juſtinian: and afterwards (b) in 556. A. D. 550.

Fabricius has collected from his own writings, that (c) Simplicius, who was of Cilicia, was diſciple of Ammonius ſon of Hermias, and of Damaſcius the Syrian, and Stoic Philoſopher, and friend of Eulamius, or Eulalius, the Phrygian.

As therefore I have placed Damaſcius at the year 540. I place his ſcholar Simplicius at the year 550. Moreover Fabricius has obſerved from a work of Simplicius, that (d) it was writ by him after the death of Damaſcius. In Suidas (e) Damaſcius is called friend of Simplicius and Eulalius. And undoubtedly they were contemporaries. But we have now found, that Simplicius ſurvived Damaſcius.

Agathias ſays nothing of the works of Simplicius. But Fabricius has given an account of them. He ſpeaks particularly of theſe following: A Commentarie upon the eight books of Ariſtotle's Phyſicks: A Commentarie upon the Categories or Predicaments of Ariſtotle: A Commentarie upon the four books of Ariſtotle concerning the Heavens: A Commentarie upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus.

Fabricius (f) eſteems his works a valuable treaſurie of ancient philoſophie,

(z) *Pagi* 545. *v.*

(a) *Baſn. ann.* 546. *i.*

(b) *Pagi* 556. *xx. Baſn.* 556. *num. i. ii.*

(c) Simplicius, patriâ Cilix, Ammonii (Hermiae) et Damaſcii Syri Stoici Philoſophi diſcipulus, et Eulamii Phrygis familiaris, &c. *Fabr. ib. p.* 620.

(d) Damaſcius itidem ὁ καθηγεμὼν, et ὁ ἡμέτερος Δαμάσκιος a Simplicio appellatur, qui poſt eum defunctum ſcripſiſſe ſe in Phyſica Ariſtotelis innuit pag. 184. *Fabr. ib. p.* 620.

(e) Δαμάσκιος . . . Σιμπλικίῳ καὶ Εὐλαλίῳ τῶν Φρυγῶν ὁμιλητής. V. *Damaſcius.*

(f) . . . quod ex ſcriptis ejus etiamnum apparet, quae aetatem tulerunt, cum non pauciora interciderint. Sed haec quae exſtant tamquam theſaurus quidam veteris philoſophiae, magni merito facienda, exiſtimo tum ob inſigne Simplicii ipſius judicium, tum ob fragmenta ex monumentis vetuſtiſſimorum Philoſophorum, quae illa jam aetate raro obvia ſervavit, hypomnematiſque ſuis paſſim intexuit. *Ibid. p.* 621.

A. D. 550. loſophie, in which are many fragments of the works of the moſt ancient Philoſophers, then in being, but now loſt. And from the Indexes, which Fabricius has made of the names of Authors quoted by Simplicius, and ſome of them often, they appear to be very numerous. It is, I think, an evidence, that there were then in the poſſeſſion of ſome private men large collections of books: or that the learned men of thoſe times had acceſſe to ſome public libraries, which were well ſtored with the writings of ancient Philoſophers. The works of Simplicius, above mentioned, which ſtill remain, and are but a part of what he wrote, are a proof, that though he was a firm Gentil, and made open profeſſion of Gentiliſm, he enjoyed, for a good part of his life, peace and quietneſſe in the proſecution of his ſtudies. Among all the ancient authors alleged by Simplicius, I ſee not the names of any writers of our canonical Scriptures, except *(g)* Moſes the Jewiſh Lawgiver. Mr. Moſheim ſays, "It (*) may be perceived, that Simplicius in his *Illuſtration of the Ariſtotelian Philoſophie*, did ſometimes reflect upon the Chriſtian doctrine." I have never read that work of Simplicius. Fabricius takes no notice of this particular. If Simplicius did at all reflect upon the Chriſtian doctrine, I imagine, that it was done indirectly, and that he never mentioned the Chriſtians expreſsly.

Of his Commentarie upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus Fabricius ſays: "There (*b*) are exſtant very few ancient Heathen writings, in which the divine Providence is better aſſerted, or better precepts delivered for the regulation of mens manners."

I ſhall

(*g*) Moſes Judaeorum legiſlator, p. 268. de origine mundi, μυθικὴ παράδοσις, ἀπὸ μύθων Αἰγυπτίων εἰλυμένη. ib. et p. 270. *Ap. Fabric. ibid. p.* 630.

(*) Simplicius in Explanationibus Ariſtotelis dogmata noſtra haud obſcure mordet. *Moſhem. Inſtit. p.* 236.

(*b*) Commentario autem ejus in Enchiridion Epicteti, fateor me ita eſſe affectum, ut in tota antiquitate putem exſtare pauciſſima ſcripta (de Ethnicis loquor) quae vel ad mores formandos ſaniora praecepta contineat, vel providentiam divinam rectius aſſerant propugnentque. *Fabr. ib. p.* 621.

I ſhall here put down the prayer, with which Simplicius concludes that Commentarie: "*Grant, I beſeech thee, o Lord, the father and guide of our reaſon, that we may be mindfull of the dignity, which thou haſt conferred upon us: and afford us thy aſſiſtance, that we may act as free beings: that we may be purified from unreaſonable paſſions, and may ſubdue and govern them, and that by the light of truth our judgement may be ſo directed, that we may adhere to thoſe things, which are really good. Finally, I entreat thee, the Saviour, entirely to remove the miſt from the eyes of our mind, that, according to the expreſſion of Homer, we may know both God and man, and what to each is due.*" Or, in other terms, our Duty to God and men. A. D. 550.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

A Review of the Jewiſh, and Heathen Teſtimonies in the ſeveral Volumes of this Work.

I add no more Teſtimonies. I therefore ſhall now make a review of all the Writers, which have been alleged by me as witneſſes to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

In the former part of the firſt volume are paſſages of *Joſephus*, and of the *Miſhnical and Talmudical writers*, and *Joſippon*, bearing witneſſe to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the conqueſt of Judea by Veſpaſian, and Titus, and to the diſperſion of the Jewiſh people, and therein to the accompliſhment of our Saviour's predictions of thoſe events. Which to me appears a demonſtrative argument for the truth of the Chriſtian religion: as has been particularly ſhewn in the ſeventh chapter of that part, in which (*a*) is a recollection of the foregoing articles, with reflections upon them.

What (*b*) they have ſaid of John the Baptiſt, or of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, or of his diſciples and followers, has alſo been taken notice of.

In the later part of the ſaid firſt volume, and in the ſecond volume, are Heathen Writers, who lived in ſeveral parts of the Roman Empire, in the firſt and ſecond centuries of the Chriſtian aera: all of them men of great note, ſuch as *Tacitus*, *Martial*, *Juvenal*, *Suetonius*,

(*a*) *Vol. i. p.* 247. *&c.*

(*b*) *See Vol. i. p.* 142. *&c. p.* 182. 188. 189. . . 203.

Suetonius, *Epictetus* the Stoic Philoſopher, *Trajan*, the Younger *Plinie*, *Adrian*, *Bruttius Praeſens*, *Titus Antonin*, *Mark Antonin*, *Apuleius of Madaura in Africa*, *Celſus*, *Lucian of Samoſata*, *Ariſtides* the Sophiſt, *Galen*, and divers others: who in their remaining works have bore teſtimonie to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, at the time, and in the circumſtances predicted by our Saviour: to the antiquity and genuinneſſe of the books of the New Teſtament: to *the crucifixion of Jeſus Chriſt*, the founder of the Chriſtian Religion, *in* (*c*) *the reign of Tiberius, when Pontius Pilate was Procurator in Judea*, and to many other facts of the Evangelical hiſtorie: to the perſecutions endured by the Chriſtians in the times of *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, and *Mark Antonin*, and to the patience and fortitude of the Chriſtians under them, and to the progreſſe of the Chriſtian Religion, notwithſtanding thoſe diſcouragements: to the innocence, and inoffenſiveneſſe of their principles, worſhip, and manners, and to their remarkable mutual love, and readineſſe to perform good offices to each other, when under difficulties. *Adrian*'s (*d*) letter to *Seruianus*, his brother-in-law, bears teſtimonie to the great number and influence of the Chriſtians in Egypt in the year 134. His (*e*) Reſcript to *Minucius Fundanus*, Proconſul of Aſia, and *Titus Antonin*'s (*f*) Edict, and Letters to the *States of Aſia*, *and to the Lariſſeans*, *Theſſalonians*, *Athenians*, *and other Greeks*, are very favourable to the Chriſtians. In the Letter of *Plinie* to *Trajan*, and *Trajan*'s Reſcript, and in the extracts from the fragments of the work of *Celſus*, are too many things worthie of obſervation, to be here rehearſed. I muſt therefore refer my readers to the ſummaries of thoſe (*g*) articles, and to the reflexions there made upon them. And if I may here deliver my own opinion, theſe *early* teſtimonies of Heathen writers,

(*c*) *See Tacitus, Vol. i. p.* 345. *Celſus Vol. 2. p.* 298. . . 310. *Lucian p.* 357.
(*d*) *Vol. 2. p.* 115. 116.
(*e*) *Vol. 2. p.* 110.
(*f*) *Ibid. p.* 155. . . 162.
(*g*) *For Plinie and Trajan, ſee Vol. 2. p.* 77. . . 86. *and for Celſus, ſee p.* 339. . . 354.

writers, in the firſt two centuries, are very material, and highly valuable, and as important a part as any, if not the moſt important part of this work. I would likewiſe here refer my readers to the chapter (*b*) entitled, *the Concluſion of the ſecond Century.*

We now proceed to the *third* volume, in which are the teſtimonies of *Heathen Writers of the third century*, and to the converſion of Conſtantine.

In *Diogenes Laertius* (*i*) about the year 210. is a hiſtory, which gives great light to St. Paul's diſcourſe at Athens, when he put the Athenians, and their learned Philoſophers, in mind of an *Altar* of theirs, *with an Inſcription, To the Unknown God.*

From Lactantius (*k*) we learn, that the great Lawyer, *Domitius Ulpianus*, about the year 222. in his book of the Duty of a Proconſul, made a collection of all the *edicts* of former Emperours againſt the Chriſtians: and, probably, with a deſign to let the Proconſuls ſee, how they might treat the Chriſtians. And the connexion in Lactantius leads us to think, there were in that work of Ulpian not only *laws of Princes*, but alſo *decrees of Lawyers*, which were prejudicial to the Chriſtians. And, as was formerly obſerved, if this work of Ulpian ſhould ever be found, it would be a very great curioſity, and afford us a diſtinct knowledge of ſome things, which we now know only imperfectly.

In *Dion Caſſius*'s noble work, the Hiſtory of the Romans, publiſhed about the year 230. we have ſeen (*l*) another valuable teſtimonie to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the overthrow of the Jewiſh people in Judea by Veſpaſian and Titus. In him alſo we have ſeen another teſtimonie (*m*) to Domitian's perſecution of the Chriſtians, and ſeveral circumſtances of it. From him alſo we learn (*n*) Nerva's

(*b*) *Vol.* 2. *p.* 388. . . 395.
(*i*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 19. . . 31.
(*k*) . *p.* 41.
(*l*) . *p.* 47. . . 52.
(*m*) *p.* 52. . . 55.
(*n*) . *p.* 56.

va's favourable regard to them. And by him, or by Xiphilin his abridger. We are aſſured, that (o) Marcia, concubine of the Emperour Commodus, bore good will to the Chriſtians, and did them good offices, ſhe having a great aſcendence over Commodus.

In *Amelius (p)* a Platonic Philoſopher, who wrote about the year 263, we have ſeen a very diſtinct and honourable teſtimonie to St. John's Goſpel.

That eminent critick, *Longinus*, about the year 264, in his work of the Sublime, has (q) made very honourable mention of Moſes, the Jewiſh Lawgiver, and commends the ſtile, in which he repreſents the creation of the world. There is alſo a fragment, aſcribed to him, in which the Apoſtle Paul is mentioned to (r) advantage. But I do not think, it genuine.

The ſaying of (s) *Numenius*, *What is Plato, but Moſes in Greek?* is well known, and is recorded by divers ancient writers. But the time of Numenius is uncertain. Nor is it clear, that he has all referred to the affairs of the Chriſtians, or their Scriptures.

In the ſix Writers of the Auguſtan Hiſtorie, who flouriſhed about the year 306, in their Lives of the ſeveral Roman Emperours, we have met with divers things concerning the Chriſtians deſerving of notice.

Spartian, in his Life of the Emperour *Septimius Severus*, has recorded the ſubſtance and the time of his edict againſt the Chriſtians more particularly, than any of our own writers. *In (t) his journey through Paleſtine, he enacted ſeveral laws. He forbid under a ſevere penalty, that any ſhould become Jews. He alſo publiſhed a like edict againſt the Chriſtians.* Which determines the begining of that perſecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Chriſt, 202. When He and his ſon Caracalla where Conſuls together.

(o) *p.* 57. 58.
(p) *p.* 96. . . 98.
(q) *In the ſame, vol.* 3. *p.* 105.
(r) *P.* 105. 106.
(s) *P.* 108, 109.
(t) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 10. 11.

The same writer in the Life of *Caracalla*, eldest son of Severus, has given an account of (u) some childish behaviour of his, when seven years of age, which, compared with some things said by Tertullian, lead us to think, that *Severus*, and his familie, were well acquainted with the Christians: to whom also, as we evidently perceive, Severus was favourable in the former part of his reign.

Aelius Lampridius in his Life of *Antonin Heliogabalus*, who reigned from 218 to 222, lets us know, that that wild Emperour (x) *erected a temple upon mount Palatin, near the Imperial palace, to the god Elagabalus, intending to bring into that temple every object of the veneration of the Romans. He said likewise, that the Religion of the Jews, and of the Samaritans, and the devotion of the Christians, must be transferred thither, that the priesthood of Elagabalus might comprehend in it the mysteries of all religions.* Which manifestly shews, that the Christian religion was then well known in the world.

The same writer, in his Life of *Alexander Severus*, who reigned thirteen years from March 222, to March 235, says, He (y) *maintained the privileges of the Jews. He tolerated the Christians.* He also says, *that* (z) *this Emperour had two private chapels, one more honourable than the other; and that in the former were placed the deified Emperours, and also some eminent good men, and among them Abraham, Christ, and Orpheus.* He has several other passages concerning that Emperour (a) which are very honourable to the Christians, which have been transcribed by us with remarks. And the reader is now referred to them.

Flavius Vopiscus, in his Life of the Emperour *Aurelian*, gives an account of a (b) *Letter* of his *to the Senate of Rome*, probably, writ in the begining of his reign, in the year 270 or 271, where the Christians are expressly mentioned. And it shews that they, and their

(u) . . p. 3, 4.
(x) *Vol.* 3. p. 225, 226.
(y) P. 34.
(z) p. 34, 35.
(a) p. 35. 36. &c.
(b) P. 115. &c.

their diſtinguiſhing principles, and the worſhip in their religious aſſemblies, were well known in the Roman Empire, and to men of quality, and of the higheſt rank, as well as to others.

The Emperour *Philip*, whoſe reign began in the year 244. has by ſome been reckoned a Chriſtian. That (*c*) queſtion therefore has been carefully conſidered by us in it's proper place.

Beſide all the above mentioned writers, who have occaſionally mentioned the Chriſtians, or their affairs, or who have afforded elucidations to ſome parts of our Scriptures, we have in this period met with three learned men, who exerted their talents, in writing againſt the Chriſtians.

One of whom is *Porphyrie* (*d*) who flouriſhed about the year 270. a diſciple of *Plotinus*, a man of great abilities, who publiſhed againſt the Chriſtians a large work, in fifteen books. His objections againſt Chriſtianity were in eſteem with Gentil people, for a long while. And the Chriſtians were not inſenſible of the importance of his work. As may be concluded from the ſeveral anſwers made to it by *Euſebius*, and others, in great repute for learning, and from the violent, though ill-judged attempts of Chriſtian magiſtrates to have them deſtroyed. His enmity to the Chriſtians, and their principles, was very great. Nevertheleſs from the remaining fragments of his work againſt the Chriſtians, and from his other writings, we may reap no ſmall benefit.

He (*e*) appears to have been well acquainted with the books of the Old and New Teſtament. We have obſerved in him plain references to the *Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the epiſtle to the Galatians*, and, in his remarks upon that epiſtle, probable references to the other epiſtles of St. *Paul*. There can be no queſtion made, that in his work againſt the Chriſtians, many other books of the New Teſtament were quoted, or referred to by him.

In

(*c*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 62. *&c.* (*d*) *See p.* 121. *&c.*
(*e*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 183.

In (f) a fragment of his work against the Christians, he has these expressions. *And now people wonder, that this distemper has oppressed the City so many years, Esculapius, and the other gods no longer conversing with men. For since Jesus has been honoured, none have received any benefit from the Gods.* And again, in (g) his Life of *Plotinus*, he says there were then *many Christians.* But the work, entitled *the Philosophie of Oracles*, which has been sometimes quoted, as his, I reckon to be (h) *spurious.*

At (i) the begining of Diocletian's persecution, about the year 303. as we learn from Lactantius, another work was published against the Christians, by a learned man, who was by profession a Philosopher. It consisted of three books, and therefore must have been a large volume. But we do not know his name, nor much of the contents of his work.

About the same time another work was writ against the Christians, in two books, by *Hierocles* (k) a man of learning, and a person of authority and influence, as a magistrate. He was well acquainted with our Scriptures, and made many objections against them: Thereby bearing testimonie to their antiquity, and to the great respect, which was shewn to them by the Christians. For he has referred to both parts of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Epistles. He mentions (**) Peter and Paul by name, and casts reflections upon them. He did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles. But in order to overthrow the argument, which the Christians formed from them in proof of our Saviour's divine authority and mission, he set up *Apollonius Tyaneus* as a rival, or superior to him. But it was a vain effort, as we have largely shewn.

In that volume is an account of all the persecutions endured by the Christians from the year of our Lord 202, when the Emperour *Severus* published his edict against the Christians, to the end of *Diocletian's*

(f) p. 184. *where, and at* p. 333. *are remarks upon that passage.*
(g) p. 191. *and see likewise* p. 333.
(h) *See* p. 193. . . 222.
(i) p. 229. . . 233. *See also* p. 331.
(k) P. 233. . . 245, &c. *and see* p. 331, 332.
(**) *See* p. 234. *and* 238.

ocletian's perſecution, and the year 313. When (*l*) *Conſtantin* and *Licinius*, publiſhed an edict in favour of the Chriſtians, and gave leave to them, and to all men in general, to worſhip God in the way moſt agreeable to their own judgement. After which (*m*) we have made ſome remarks upon the ſtate of Chriſtianity under Heathen Emperours. And it was ſhewn, that during that time Chriſtianity was always in a ſtate of perſecution, and that nevertheleſs it greatly prevailed, which is honourable to the Religion of Jeſus, and to the profeſſors of it at that time.

We now proceed to the fourth and laſt volume of this work, containing the teſtimonies of Heathen Writers in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth centuries of the Chriſtian aera.

The firſt witneſſe here alleged, is *Chalcidius*, (*n*) a Platonic Philoſopher, about the year 330. who bears teſtimonie to the appearance of an extraordinarie ſtar at the time of our Saviour's nativitye thereby plainly confirming the hiſtorie, which is in the ſecond chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel.

Alexander of Lycopolis in Egypt, (*o*) about the year 350. ſpeaks honourably of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and his religion, or the *Chriſtian Philoſophie*, as he calls it, and which he commends, as *plain and ſimple, and deſigned to reform the manners of men of all kinds.* And he has ſome references to the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament.

Praxagoras (*p*) an Athenian, about 350. publiſhed ſeveral works of hiſtorie, and wrote alſo the hiſtorie of *Conſtantin* the Great, in two books, and gives that Emperour a great character.

Bemarchius (*q*) of Ceſarea in Cappadocia, Sophiſt, about the ſame time

(*l*) *See Vol.* 3. *p.* 313. *&c.*
(*m*) *P.* 335. *&c.*
(*n*) *Vol.* 4. *p.* 3.
(*o*) *P.* 8.
(*p*) *P.* 15.
(*q*) *p.* 16.

time wrote the hiſtorie of *Conſtantin* in ten books. Nothing of that hiſtorie now remains, but it was a large work. And there is reaſon to believe, that it was favourable to that Emperour.

Next follows the Emperour (*r*) *Julian*, who ſucceded Conſtantius in the year 361. In writing his hiſtorie, we have endeavoured to exhibit the moſt material and remarkable parts of it: his conduct in early life, and after his acceſſion to the Empire: his behaviour toward the Chriſtians, and his regard for the Jewiſh people. And we perſuade ourſelves, that we have repreſented his character impartially. We have alſo made large extracts (*s*) out of his work againſt the Chriſtians, and out (*t*) of his Orations and Epiſtles.

In his work againſt the Chriſtians, he (*u*) has bore a valuable teſtimonie to the hiſtorie, and to the books of the New Teſtament. He allowes, that Jeſus was born in the reign of *Auguſtus*, at the time of a taxing made in Judea by *Cyrenius*. That the Chriſtian Religion had it's riſe, and began to be propagated in the times of the Roman Emperours, *Tiberius and Claudius*. He bears witneſſe to the genuinneſſe, and authenticity of *the four Goſpels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apoſtles*. And he ſo quotes them, as to intimate, that theſe were the only hiſtorical books, received by Chriſtians, as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allowes the early date of the Goſpels, and even argues for it. He quotes, or plainly refers to *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, as already ſaid, to St. *Paul's Epiſtles to the Romans, to the Corinthians, and to the Galatians*. He does not deny the miracles of Jeſus Chriſt, but allowes him to *have healed the blind, and the lame, and demoniacs, and to have rebuked the winds, and to have walked upon the waves of the ſea*. He endeavours indeed to diminiſh thoſe works, but in vain. The conſequence is undeniable. Such works are good

(*r*) *p.* 18, *&c.*
(*s*) *P.* 71, *&c.*
(*t*) *P.* 94, *&c.*
(*u*) *See p.* 71, *&c. and p.* 93, 94.

good proofs of a divine miſſion. He endeavours alſo to leſſen the number of the early believers in Jeſus. And yet acknowledgeth, that there were *multitudes of ſuch men in Greece and Italie*, before St. John wrote his Goſpel. He likewiſe affects to diminiſh the quality of the early believers: and yet he acknowledgeth, that beſide *men-ſervants, and maid-ſervants*, *Cornelius*, a Roman Centurion at Ceſarea, and *Sergius Paulus*, Proconſul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jeſus, before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often ſpeaks with great indignation of *Peter* and *Paul*, thoſe two great Apoſtles of Jeſus, and ſucceſsfull preachers of his goſpel. So that, upon the whole, he has undeſignedly bore witneſſe to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Teſtament. He aimed to overthrow the Chriſtian Religion, but has confirmed it. His arguments againſt it are perfectly harmleſs, and inſufficient to unſettle the weakeſt Chriſtian.

There follow in this volume teſtimonies of *Himerius*, *Themiſtius*, *Libanius*, *Eutropius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Vegetius*, *Eunapius*, *Claudian*, *Macrobius*, *Rutilius*, *Olympiodorus*, *Zoſimus*, *Hierocles of Alexandria*, *Proclus*, *Marinus*, *Damaſcius*, *Simplicius*, men of great note in their times: ſome in the fourth, others in the fifth, and ſome in the ſixth centurie, Sophiſts, Hiſtorians, Poets, Philoſophers, and ſome Senators, and Magiſtrates: all of ſome uſe to us, none of whom could be omitted in a collection of ancient teſtimonies to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

To be a little more particular, in rehearſing the teſtimonies of ſome of thoſe eminent men, laſt mentioned.

Themiſtius (*x*) has a good argument for *allowing to all men full liberty to worſhip the Deity according to their own ſentiments.* The principles of toleration were agreeable to the judgement of the Emperour *Jovian*. Themiſtius applauds him for it, and ſupports that determination by divers reaſons and conſiderations, of no ſmall weight.

(*x*) *Vol.* 4. *p.* 118, *&c.*

weight. *Libanius (y)* pleads the cauſe of Gentiliſm with great freedom in the preſence of Theodoſius himſelf. In *Ammianus Marcellinus (z)* are many paſſages, deſerving attentive regard, too many to be brought up here in a general review. *Eunapius, (a)* a zealous Gentil, has entertained us with many curious hiſtories of learned Sophiſts and Philoſophers, and honourable Magiſtrates, all zealous likewiſe for Gentiliſm, though not without ſome marks of candour and moderation. In all which we have ſeen the true ſpirit, and the genuine principles of Gentiliſm. *Claudian (b)* bears witneſſe to the memorable victorie of *Theodoſius* over *Arbogaſtes and Eugenius* in 394. *Macrobius (c)* at about the year 400. bears teſtimonie to *Herod*'s ſlaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem, ſoon after the nativity of our Saviour. *Rutilius (d)* at 418. ridicules Monkerie, and laments the progreſſe of the Chriſtian Religion. In (e) *Zoſimus*, about 425. we have ſeen many invectives againſt Conſtantin and Theodoſius, which have given us occaſion to ſet ſome things in a clearer light. He alſo loudly complains of the progreſſe of the Chriſtian Religion. At the ſame time he is himſelf ſo ſuperſtitious, and ſo credulous in receiving, and recording ſilly fables and fictions, as to expoſe, rather than recommend the ancient religion, to which he adhered.

But among all the teſtimonies to Chriſtianity, which we have met with in the firſt ages, none are more valuable and important, than the teſtimonies of thoſe learned Philoſophers, who wrote againſt us. All know, whom I mean: *Celſus*, in the ſecond centurie: *Porphyrie*, and *Hierocles*, and the *Anonymous* Philoſopher of Lactantius, in the third, and *Julian* in the fourth centurie. Theſe may be ſeemingly againſt us, but are really for us. They are not come down to us entire. But we have large and numerous fragments of ſome of them.

(y) P. 135, &c.
(z) 169, &c.
(a) 191. &c.
(b) p. 214.
(c) p. 224. &c,
(d) p. 228.
(e) p. 236.

them. Which bear a fuller, and more valuable teſtimonie to the books of the New Teſtament, and to the facts of the Evangelical Hiſtorie, and to the affairs of Chriſtians, than all our other witneſſes beſides. They propoſed to overthrow the arguments for Chriſtianity. They aimed to bring back to Gentiliſm thoſe who had forſaken it, and to put a ſtop to the progreſſe of Chriſtianity, by the farther addition of new converts. But in thoſe deſigns they had very little ſucceſſe, in their own times. And their works, compoſed and publiſhed in the early days of Chriſtianity, are now a teſtimonie in our favour, and will be of uſe in the defenſe of Chriſtianity, to the lateſt ages.

One thing more which may be taken notice of, is this: That the *remains of our ancient adverſaries* confirm the preſent prevailing ſentiments of Chriſtians concerning thoſe books of the New Teſtament, which we call *canonical*, and are in the greateſt authority with us. For their writings ſhew, that thoſe very books, and not any others, now generally called *apocryphal*, are the books, which always were in the higheſt repute with Chriſtians, and were then the rule of their faith, as they now are of ours.

The State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours.

Sect. I. *Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their worſhip.* II. *A Conſultation and Divination of Heathen People in the time of Valens, about the year* 373. III. *The Petition of the Roman Senate to Valentinian the Younger, in* 384 *that the Altar of Victorie, which had been removed by Gratian, might be reſtored.* IV. *The Correſpondence between Maximus of Madaura, and Auguſtin, in* 390. V. *The Demolition of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other Temples in Egypt, and ſome other Temples elſewhere in* 391. VI. *A pretended Heathen Oracle in* 398. *foretelling the Period of the Chriſtian Religion.* VII. *The Demolition of the Temple of the Goddeſſe Coeleſtis at Carthage, in* 399. VIII. *An Image of Hercules deſtroyed by the Chriſtians at Suffecta in Africa, in* 399. IX. *A Diſturbance at Calama in Numidia in* 408. X. *The Overthrow of Rhadagaiſus the Goth in* 405. XI. *Rome beſieged, taken, and ſacked by Alarick the Goth in* 410. XII. *The Correſpondence between Auguſtin and Voluſian in* 412. XIII. *The Correſpondence between the People of Madaura and Auguſtin.* Time uncertain. XIV. *The Correſpondence between Auguſtin and Longinian.* Time uncertain. XV. *Obſervations of Oroſius and Auguſtin upon the Treatment given to the Gentils by Chriſtian Magiſtrates.* XVI. *Concluding obſervations upon the State of Gentiliſm, under Chriſtian Emperours.*

SECT. I. Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their Worſhip.

I. *Laws of Conſtantin.* II. *Laws of his Sons Conſtans and Conſtantius.* III. *Julian.* IV. *Laws of Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.* V. *Laws of Theodoſius* I. *and his Succeſſors.*

Laws of Conſtantin.

I. THAT is a neceſſarie article in this work. And in ſhewing what it was, I preſume it will be proper to begin with the *laws* and *edicts* of Chriſtian Emperours concerning Gentil people, and

and their worſhip. In doing this I ſhall have aſſiſtance not only from the *Theodoſian Code*, and *James Gothofred*'s annotations upon it, but alſo from divers modern writers of eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie. Cave, in particular, at the begining of his ſecond Volume of *the Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, has a long Introduction concerning the State of Paganiſm in the reign of Conſtantin, and under the reigns of the ſucceding Emperours, till the end of the reign of Theodoſius the firſt, or the Great, and his ſons Arcadius and Honorius, and then of Theodoſius the younger. Of this I ſhall make good uſe, not neglecting the obſervations, which may be found in other writers, who have treated of the ſame argument.

The third volume of this work concluded with ſome obſervations upon *the State of Chriſtianity under Gentil (a) Emperours:* wherein it was ſhewn, that all along, during that time, Chriſtianity had been in a ſtate of perſecution. We ſhall now be able to judge, whether under Chriſtian Emperours Gentiliſm was not all along in a ſtate of perſecution: however, I would hope, not ſo ſevere and rigorous, as that of the Chriſtians in the foregoing period of near three hundred years.

Here, the thing to be firſt taken notice of is the law or edict of Conſtantin and Licinius in the year 313. giving liberty to all men, Chriſtians and others, to follow that way of worſhip, which ſhould be moſt agreeable to them. Which was tranſcribed by us at length (*b*) formerly. The ſubſtance of which may be reckoned to be comprized in theſe words, a part of it. " *Theſe (c) things we have thought proper to ſignify to you, in order to your perceiving, that we have given free and full liberty to thoſe ſame Chriſtians, to follow their own religion. And you may perceive, that, as we have granted full liberty to them, ſo in like manner we have granted the ſame liberty to others, to obſerve their own inſtitution and religion. For, as is manifeſt, this is ſuitable to the tranquillity of our times, that every one ſhould have liberty to chooſe and follow the worſhip of that Deity, which he approves. This we have determined, that it may appear, we do not forbid, or reſtrain any religion, or way of worſhip whatever.*

In order to form a right judgement of the conduct of Conſtantin in the treatment given by him to Gentil people, it will be of uſe to us to diſtinguiſh his reign into two periods, the firſt preceding the final defeat, and death of Licinius, the other after thoſe events.

In

(*a*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 335. *&c.* (*b*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 313. . . 316. (*c*) . . *p.* 315.

The State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours.

Sect. I. *Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their worſhip.* II. *A Conſultation and Divination of Heathen People in the time of Valens, about the year* 373. III. *The Petition of the Roman Senate to Valentinian the Younger, in* 384 *that the Altar of Victorie, which had been removed by Gratian, might be reſtored.* IV. *The Correſpondence between Maximus of Madaura, and Auguſtin, in* 390. V. *The Demolition of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other Temples in Egypt, and ſome other Temples elſewhere in* 391. VI. *A pretended Heathen Oracle in* 398. *foretelling the Period of the Chriſtian Religion.* VII. *The Demolition of the Temple of the Goddeſſe Coeleſtis at Carthage, in* 399. VIII. *An Image of Hercules deſtroyed by the Chriſtians at Suffecta in Africa, in* 399. IX. *A Diſturbance at Calama in Numidia in* 408. X. *The Overthrow of Rhadagaiſus the Goth in* 405. XI. *Rome beſieged, taken, and ſacked by Alarick the Goth in* 410. XII. *The Correſpondence between Auguſtin and Voluſian in* 412. XIII. *The Correſpondence between the People of Madaura and Auguſtin.* Time uncertain. XIV. *The Correſpondence between Auguſtin and Longinian.* Time uncertain. XV. *Obſervations of Oroſius and Auguſtin upon the Treatment given to the Gentils by Chriſtian Magiſtrates.* XVI. *Concluding obſervations upon the State of Gentiliſm, under Chriſtian Emperours.*

SECT. I. Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their Worſhip.

I. *Laws of Conſtantin.* II. *Laws of his Sons Conſtans and Conſtantius.* III. *Julian.* IV. *Laws of Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.* V. *Laws of Theodoſius* I. *and his Succeſſors.*

Laws of Conſtantin.

I. THAT is a neceſſarie article in this work. And in ſhewing what it was, I preſume it will be proper to begin with the *laws* and *edicts* of Chriſtian Emperours concerning Gentil people, and

and their worſhip. In doing this I ſhall have aſſiſtance not only from the *Theodoſian Code*, and *James Gothofred*'s annotations upon it, but alſo from divers modern writers of eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie. Cave, in particular, at the begining of his ſecond Volume of *the Lives of the Prim tive Fathers*, has a long Introduction concerning the State of Paganiſm in the reign of Conſtantin, and under the reigns of the ſucceding Emperours, till the end of the reign of Theodoſius the firſt, or the Great, and his ſons Arcadius and Honorius, and then of Theodoſius the younger. Of this I ſhall make good uſe, not neglecting the obſervations, which may be found in other writers, who have treated of the ſame argument.

The third volume of this work concluded with ſome obſervations upon *the State of Chriſtianity under Gentil (a) Emperours:* wherein it was ſhewn, that all along, during that time, Chriſtianity had been in a ſtate of perſecution. We ſhall now be able to judge, whether under Chriſtian Emperours Gentiliſm was not all along in a ſtate of perſecution: however, I would hope, not ſo ſevere and rigorous, as that of the Chriſtians in the foregoing period of near three hundred years.

Here, the thing to be firſt taken notice of is the law or edict of Conſtantin and Licinius in the year 313. giving liberty to all men, Chriſtians and others, to follow that way of worſhip, which ſhould be moſt agreeable to them. Which was tranſcribed by us at length (*b*) formerly. The ſubſtance of which may be reckoned to be comprized in theſe words, a part of it. " *Theſe (c) things we have thought proper to ſignify to you, in order to your perceiving, that we have given free and full liberty to thoſe ſame Chriſtians, to follow their own religion. And you may perceive, that, as we have granted full liberty to them, ſo in like manner we have granted the ſame liberty to others, to obſerve their own inſtitution and religion. For, as is manifeſt, this is ſuitable to the tranquillity of our times, that every one ſhould have liberty to chooſe and follow the worſhip of that Deity, which he approves. This we have determined, that it may appear, we do not forbid, or reſtrain any religion, or way of worſhip whatever.*

In order to form a right judgement of the conduct of Conſtantin in the treatment given by him to Gentil people, it will be of uſe to us to diſtinguiſh his reign into two periods, the firſt preceding the final defeat, and death of Licinius, the other after thoſe events.

In

(*a*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 335. &c. (*b*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 313. . . 316. (*c*) . . *p.* 315.

In the year 313. Thoſe two Emperours were at Milan, when Conſtantin gave to Licinnius his Siſter Conſtantia in marriage. At the ſame place, and in the ſame year, was publiſhed the edict above mentioned. In that law, as has been often obſerved already, Licinius joyned with Conſtantin. But their friendſhip did not laſt long without interruption. In *(d)* the year 314. broke out a war betwixt them, which was concluded in the ſame year. Afterwards, there was another war between them, which began in the year 323. and was concluded in 324. when Licinius was reduced to a private condition. And though his life was then granted him, at the requeſt and interceſſion of Conſtantia, he was put to death in the year 324. or 325. From that time Conſtantin was ſole Emperour both of the Eaſt and the Weſt, till the time of his death, on the day of Pentecoſt, May 22. in the year 337.

About the year 319. aroſe a great coldneſſe between Conſtantin and Licinius. And from that time Licinius began to treat the Chriſtians, and their Miniſters, very hardly, till he proceeded to an open perſecution of them. Of which accounts may be ſeen in *(e)* Euſebius. In ſo much, that as that hiſtorian ſays. "If *(f)* you divide the Roman Empire into two parts, that in the Eaſt was covered with thick darkneſſe: whilſt that in the Weſt enjoyed a bright day." A war between the two Emperours then became unavoidable.

I formerly (*g*) cited three laws of Conſtantin, relating to ſouthſayers, enacted in the year 319. and 321. forbidding them to go to private houſes, and appointing, that all divinations ſhould be made in the temples, or at public altars only, and requiring, that the reſult of thoſe conſultations ſhould be ſent to him, if they related to the publick. It may be allowed, that thoſe laws laid ſome reſtraints upon the practiſe of ſouthſaying. But I do not think, that they were any infringment of the edict of liberty to all, before taken notice

(*d*) Et tamen primum illud bellum anno 314. et inchoatum et abſolutum. Perſecutio anno 319. a Licinio excitari coepta, ultimumque Conſtantini cum Licinnio bellum non niſi anno 323. motum, ac ſubſequenti continuatum. *Pagi ann.* 316. *n. vi. Vid. et* 317. *iv. et vi.* 318. *ii. Conf. Baſn. ann.* 319. *ii. iii. iv.*

(*e*) *H. E. l.* 10. *cap.* 8. *De V. C. l. i. cap.* 49. . . 56.

(*f*) *De V. C. l. i. cap.* 49. *p.* 432. *D.*

(*g*) *See before, p.* 244. 245.

notice of. A Heathen Emperour might publiſh ſuch laws for his own ſafety, or for the ſecurity of the *(b)* publick.

Euſebius, ſpeaking of things, when Conſtantin was in poſſeſſion of the whole Empire: " And *(i)* now, ſays he, after that the Em-
" perour proceeding to act with great vigour, gave the government
" of the provinces chiefly to Chriſtians. And *(k)* when any Gen-
" tils were made Governours, they were prohibited to ſacrifice.
" Which law comprehended not only Preſidents of provinces, but
" alſo higher officers, and even the Pretorian Prefects. If they
" were Chriſtians, they were required to act according to their prin-
" ciples. If they were otherwiſe diſpoſed, ſtill the practiſe of ido-
" latrous rites was forbidden."

Euſebius goes on to ſay, in the very next chapter. " And *(l)*
" ſoon after that were two laws publiſhed at one and the ſame time,
" one prohibiting the deteſtable rites of idolatrie, hitherto practiſed
" in cities and countrey-places. And that for the future none ſhould
" erect ſtatues to the gods, nor perform the vain arts of divination,
" nor (*m*) offer up any ſacrifices. The other law was for enlarging
" Chriſtian oratories and churches, or for rebuilding them more
" grand and ſplendid."

The firſt of thoſe two laws, as I apprehend, muſt be explained with ſome reſtrictions. Conſtantin, I preſume, did not now abſolutly forbid *divination*. What Euſebius ſays here muſt be underſtood agreeably to the laws relating to ſouthſayers, before cited. He forbid private, but not public divination. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that *ſacrifices* were univerſally forbidden, and every where. They were allowed of at Rome, and Alexandria, long after this, as appears from Libanius's oration for the temples in the time of Theodoſius, as is alſo obſerved by Valeſius in his annotations upon this chapter of (*n*) Euſebius.

(*b*) Sed et contra Tiberius, ut memorat Suetonius l. 3. cap. 63. *Haruſpices ſecreto ac ſine teſtibus Conſuli vetuit.* Publica igitur permiſit. *Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. Tom.* 3. *p.* 115.

(*i*) *De Vita Conſtantin. l.* 2. *cap.* 44. *p.* 464

(*k*) Ὅσοι δ' ἑλληνίζειν ἐδόκουν, τούτοις θύειν ἀπείρητο.

(*l*) *Cap.* 45. *p.* 464.

(*m*) . . . μήτε μὴν θύειν καθόλου μηδένα.

(*n*) . . . μήτε μὴν θύειν καθόλου μηδένα.] De privatis ſacrificiis haec Euſebii verba intelligenda ſunt. Nam Conſtantinus Magnus lege lata vetuit, ne quis Gentilium privatim domi ſacrificaret, ut docet lex prima codice Theodoſ. de Paganis. Itaque aruſpices ſacrificii cauſſa domum evocare prohibuerat. Hi enim victimarum exta inſpiciebant. Publica vero templa adire ſacrificandi cauſſa, ibique aruſpicum operâ uti non vetuit Conſtantinus,

ut

Euſeblus. Cave expreſſeth himſelf differently. I cannot ſay, that he is in the right. But, I ſhall place below (*n*) what he ſays. However, there is another way of ſolving this difficulty. Conſtantin may have forbid ſacrificing every where. But at the acceſſion of Julian his laws were abrogated. By which means the Gentils obtained the liberty of ſacrificing. Which may have continued at Rome and Alexandria, till the time of Libanius.

Afterwards, ſtill lower in the Life of Conſtantin, comparing him with former Emperours, Euſebius ſays, "They (*o*) commanded the temples to be magnificently adorned: he demoliſhed them to the foundation, eſpecially ſuch as were moſt reſpected by ſuperſtitious people."

And in ſome following chapters (*p*) Euſebius has given a particular account of the demoliſhing ſeveral Heathen temples by Conſtantin's order, beſide depriving many others of their richeſt and moſt reſpected ornaments: as a temple dedicated to Venus in a grove at *Aphaca* in *Phenicia*. Euſebius ſays, it was a kind of ſchool for lewdneſſe, and all manner of vice, where no grave or modeſt people came. The Emperour ordered it to be totally demoliſhed. Which was done by the ſoldiers. A temple of *Aeſculapius*, at *Aegis* in *Cilicia*, was in like manner deſtroyed by the militarie power, at the Emperour's command. Euſebius does not ſay, that any lewdneſſe was practiſed there. But that temple was the means of ſeducing many people, and it was much reſpected by the Philoſophers. Beſide theſe, another temple of Venus, a place of much lewdneſſe, was deſtroyed at *Heliopolis* in *Phenicia*, and a ſpacious church was erected in the room of it.

Theodoret, reflecting upon the conduct of the ſeveral Roman Chriſtian

ut teſtatur lex prima codice Theod. de Maleficis. Vide Libanium in oratione pro templis p. 10. et quae ibi notavit Gothofredus. *Valeſ. in loc.*

(*n*) "In ſhort, by ſeveral laws he forbad to offer ſacrifices, or to erect any images to the gods, or to conſult their prieſts and oracles, or to exerciſe any of their myſterious rites. And though Libanius more than once affirms, [pro templis. p. 9. 20. 21. 22.] that their temples were left open, and ſacrifices permitted at Rome and Alexandria, yet was it no otherwiſe, than as they could do it by ſtealth, or by connivance, not by any public allowance, or conſtitution of the Empire, &c." *Cave Introd. p. xv.*

(*o*) . . . Ὁ δὲ ἐκ βάθρων καθαιρεῖ τούτων αὐτῶν, τὰ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς δεισιδαίμοσι πολλῆς ἄξια. *De V. C. l. 3. c. 1. p. 483. B.*

(*p*) *De V. C. l. 3. cap. 55. . . 58.*

Chriſtian Emperours to his own time, ſays, "That (*q*) the excellent Conſtantin abſolutly forbid ſacrificing to demons: nevertheleſs he did not demoliſh their temples. He only ordered them to be ſhut up." Which, from what we have ſeen, appears to be not very accurate. Eunapius ſays, "That (*r*) Conſtantin in the time of his reign deſtroyed the moſt magnificent temples, and erected Chriſtian ſtructures in their room." The general account of Conſtantin's conduct in this matter, in Jerome's Chronicle, at the year 333. or thereabout, and after the dedication of the city of Conſtantinople, is, "that (*s*) by an edict of Conſtantin the temples of the Gentils were thrown down." Oroſius, after mentioning the building of the city of Conſtantinople, ſays, "that (*t*) Conſtantin then appointed by an edict, that the temples of the Pagans ſhould be ſhut up, but without putting any of them to death."

This may ſuffice for an account of the treatment, given by Conſtantin to Gentil people. It appears hence very plainly, that this firſt Chriſtian Emperour did not ſtrictly obſerve his edict, publiſhed in the year 313. All men were not permitted to follow that way of worſhip, which they approved. Some things, juſt taken notice of, muſt be reckoned inconſiſtent with that edict of general toleration. And ſome reflections were made upon it by us (*u*) formerly: adding alſo the judgements of divers learned and judicious writers. To which I now only refer. For hereafter may be another occaſion to obſerve upon the treatment given to Gentils, not only by Conſtantin, but alſo by ſucceding Chriſtian Emperours. For the preſent, I add nothing more here, beſide an obſervation of Mr. Moſheim. "After (*x*) the "final

(*q*) . . . ἐν τῶν οἰκουμένων ἔτι μεμηνῖαν ὁρῶν, τὸ μὲν δαίμοσι θύειν πανταπασιν ἀπηγόρευσεν, τὰς δὲ τέτων ναὰς οὐ κατέλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐβάστας ὅπως προσέταξε. *Theod. l.* 5. *c.* 21. *p.* 226.

(*r*) Κωνσταντῖνος γὰρ ἐβασίλευσε, τά τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα κατασρέψας, καὶ τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀνηγόρευε δικήματα. *Eunap. Vit. Aedes, p.* 33.

(*s*) Edicto Conſtantini Gentilium templa everſa. *Chr. p.* 181.

(*t*) Tum deinde primus Conſtantinus juſto ordine et pio vicem vertit edicto, ſiquidem ſtatuit, citra ullam hominum caedem Paganorum templa claudi. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *c.* 28. *p.* 540.

(*u*) *Credib. P.* 2. *ch. lxx. Vol. vii. p.* 420. . . 432.

(*x*) Poſt hanc de Licinio victoriam, ſolus regnabat ad obitum Conſtantinus, et quantum poterat, conſiliis, inſtitutis, praemiis nitebatur, ut veteres religiones ſenſim deſtrueret, Chriſtianaque ſacra per orbem Romanum proferret. Intelligebat ſine

" final defeat of Licinius Conſtantin was ſole Emperour to the time " of his death. And according to the utmoſt of his power, by va- " rious methods, by laws, inſtitutions, rewards and encouragements, " he endeavoured gradually to root out the ancient religions, and to " promote the Chriſtian doctrine. The Emperour appears to have " been fully convinced by the wars and intrigues of Licinius, that " neither he, nor the Roman Empire could be ſafe, ſo long as the " ancient ſuperſtition ſubſiſted. Henceforward therefore he openly " oppoſed the gods, and their worſhip, as dangerous to the public " welfare." We now proceed.

Laws of the Sons of Conſtantin.

II. The ſecond ſection in Cave's Introduction *(y)* is thus entitled: *The Condition of the Gentils under the reign of Conſtantin Junior, Conſtantius, and Conſtans.*

Conſtantin (*z*) died in 337. and was ſucceded by his ſons, between whom the whole Empire was divided. Conſtantin, the eldeſt, had *Britain*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and part of *Africa*. Conſtans, the youngeſt, had *Italie*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, and the parts that border upon the *Euxine Sea*, and the remainder of *Africa*. Conſtantius, the ſecond ſon, had *Myſia*, *Thrace*, *Aſia*, *the Eaſt*, and *Egypt*. Conſtantin had reigned ſcarcely three years, when quarrelling with his brother Conſtans about the diviſion of the Empire, he marched with his armie as far as Aquileia to encounter him, where he was ſlain near the end of April in the year 340. In the year 350. Conſtans was killed by the procurement of the uſurper Magnentius, who in the year 353. was overthrown by Conſtantius, and then killed by himſelf, to prevent falling alive into Conſtantius's power, and to avoid a lingring death, after he had reigned three years and a half. Conſtantius died in 361. and was ſucceded by Julian.

Now therefore we are to recite the laws of Conſtantin's ſons, relating to the Gentil religion.

1. The (*a*) firſt is a law of Conſtans, with whom Conſtantius is to

ſine dubio Imperator ex Licinii bellis et machinationibus, neque ſe, neque Romanorum imperium, ſalva veteri ſuperſtitione, ſalvum eſſe poſſe, atque hinc ab eo tempore aperte deos, eorumque religionem, tanquam rei-publicae noxiam oppugnabat. *Moſhem. Inſt. p.* 146.

(*y*) *Introd. p. xviii.*

(*z*) *Ibid. p. xix.*

(*a*) *Conſtantis Imp. Lex adverſus ſacrificia. Ad Madalianum agentem vicem. PF. P.*

Ceſſet ſuperſtitio. Sacrificiorum aboleatur inſania. Nam quicumque contra Legem

to be ſuppoſed to have joined, in the year 341. directed to Madalian, Vice-Praetorian Prefect.

" Let ſuperſtition ceaſe. Let the madneſſe of ſacrificing be abo-
" liſhed. For whoever ſhall preſume, contrarie to the conſtitution of
" our Father, a Prince of bleſſed memorie, and contrarie to this com-
" mand of our Clemence, to offer ſacrifices, let a proper and con-
" venient puniſhment be inflicted, and execution preſently done up-
" on him."

Here is a reference to ſome law of Conſtantin againſt ſacrifices, which is not exſtant. But we may depend upon the truth of what is here ſaid: as it is agreeable to what is ſaid by Euſebius, and Theodoret, before quoted, as well as other Chriſtian writers, that Conſtantin did forbid ſacrificing. But as the law is not exſtant, we cannot ſay exactly what is was, and how it was conceived. It is here enacted, that they who act contrarie to this law, *ſhould undergo a proper and convenient puniſhment, and that execution ſhould be preſently done.* But it is not ſaid, what puniſhment, whether that of death, or ſome other.

2. This law is followed by (*b*) another law of Conſtans in the next year, 342. directed to *Catullinus, Prefect of the City: againſt demoliſhing temples, which ſtood without the walls of the City of Rome.*

" Although all ſuperſtition ought to be utterly rooted up, yet our
" pleaſure is, that the temples without the walls ſhould not be de-
" ſtroyed, nor defaced. For upon ſome of them is founded the
" origin of the Circenſian, and other ſports and games, which ought
" not to be ſuppreſſed, that the Roman people may ſtill partake in
" the ancient ſolemnities and entertainments."

Some may be apt to think it to be herein implied, that temples in the City might be deſtroyed, and that the law is deſigned for the ſecurity of ſuch only as were without the walls. Nevertheleſs the law

Legem Dei Principis Parentis noſtri, et hanc noſtrae manſuetudinis juſſionem, auſus fuerit ſacrificare, competens in eum vindicta, et praeſens ſententia exeratur. *Ap. Cod. Theod. lib.* 16. *Tit. x. l.* 2. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 261.

(*b*) Conſtantis Imp. Lex, de templis extra muros Urbis Romae poſitis non exſcindendis. Ad Catulinum. P. U.

Quamquam omnis ſuperſtitio penitus eruenda ſit, tamen volumus, ut aedes Templorum, quae extra muros ſunt poſitae, intactae incorruptaeque conſiſtant. Nam cum ex nonnullis, vel Ludorum, vel Circenſium, vel Agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus Populo Romano praebeatur priſcarum ſolemnitas voluptatum. *l.* 3. *ubi ſupr. p.* 261.

is not ſo underſtood by learned men. *Of thoſe within the walls*, ſays Cave, *there ſeems to have been no queſtion, they being ſpared, as highly conducing to the ſplendour and ornament of the City.* So likewiſe ſays (*c*) Gothofred.

Many of the public feſtivals were in honour of the Gods, and they were annually celebrated in memorie of the origin, or dedication of the temples, conſecrated to them, as is obſerved by (*d*) Lactantius. The Emperour therefore, it ſeems, was willing, that the people ſhould enjoy their uſual diverſions and entertainments, but without ſuperſtition.

It has been obſerved by Cave (*e*) and other learned men, that encouraged by theſe laws, *Julius Firmicus Maternus* wrote about this time, [that is, between the years 340. and 350.] his book *De Errore profanarum religionum*, which he dedicated to the two brother-Emperours: wherein, after having expoſed the follies and abſurdities of Paganiſm, he addreſſeth thoſe Emperours, that they would go on to make a perfect reformation, and by ſevere laws cut off what did yet remain, that the Roman world might be no longer infected with ſuch pernicious errours and impieties. (***)

From ſome things in that work of Julius Firmicus it may be concluded, that (*f*) before that time many temples had been deſtroyed.

3. The fourth law in the Title of the Theodoſian Code concerning *Pagans, and Sacrifices, and Temples*, and the firſt law of Conſtantius relating thereto, is directed to (*g*) *Taurus, Prefect of the*

(*c*) De templis igitur extramuranis tantum ſpecie *hujus legis* 3 quaerebatur, utrum haec ſaltem demolienda eſſent. Nam de intramuranis quaeſitum non fuit: nempe quod in his decor civitatis conſiſteret. *Gothof. lb. p.* 263.

(*d*) Nam ludorum celebrationes, Deorum feſta ſunt. Siquidem ob natales eorum, vel templorum novorum dedicationes ſunt inſtituti. *Lact. l.* 6. *c.* 20.

(*e*) *As before, p. xx.*

(***) *An account of that work of J. Firmicus, with divers obſervations upon it, may be ſeen. Credib. P.* 2. *Vol.* 8. *p.* 261. *&c.*

(*f*) Poſt extidia templorum in majus Dei eſtis virtute provecti. *J. F. p.* 463. *edit. Gronov. And ſee Credib. Vol.* 8. *p.* 263.

(*g*) Conſtantii prima hoc titulo Lex de Templis occludendis, et ſacrificiis prohibendis. *Ad Taurum. PF. P.*

Placuit, omnibus locis atque urbibus univerſis claudi protinus templa, et acceſſu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos ſacrificiis abſtinere. Quod ſi quis aliquid forte hujuſmodi perpetraverit, gladio ultore ſternatur. Facultates etiam perempti fiſco decernimus vindicari: et ſimiliter

the Praetorium, for ſhutting up the Temples, and for prohibiting ſacrifices.

" We ordain, that in all places, and in all cities, Temples be im-
" mediatly ſhut up, and that all men being forbid to enter therein,
" all occaſion of offending may be taken away from deſperate men.
" Our pleaſure likewiſe is, that all abſtain from ſacrifices. If any
" tranſgreſs, they are to be put to death. And their eſtates are to be
" confiſcated to the Treaſurie. In like manner are to be puniſhed
" Governours of provinces, if they neglect to puniſh ſuch tranſ-
" greſſors."

This law is placed by Gothofred in the year 353.

Agreeable to this Sozomen ſays, " that (*b*) not only Conſtantin,
" but his ſons likewiſe forbid ſacrifices, and ordered the temples to
" be ſhut up every where, in the cities, and in country-places."
Probably referring to this law.

Gothofred thinks, that (*i*) as this law was directed to Taurus, who was Prefect of the Praetorium for Italie, it ſhould be underſtood to reach no farther. But that does not appear clear to me. For about this time ſome temples were deſtroyed in other places and countreys. Nor is it, I think, very likely, that Sozomen ſhould take ſuch particular notice of a law, which had no effect out of Italie.

4. The (*k*) ſecond law of Conſtantius, of this kind, and alſo to be placed in the year 353. is directed to *Cerealis*, Prefect of the City.

" Let nocturnal ſacrifices be aboliſhed, which had been allowed
" by Magnentius."

This law, undoubtedly, was iſſued ſoon after the death of Magnentius, who, as is ſuppoſed, had relaxed the rigour of the laws againſt

ſimiliter adſtigi Rectores Provinciarum, ſi facinora vindicare neglexerint. *Cod. Theo. l.* 16. *Tit.* x. *l.* 4. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 263.

(*b*) . . πανὶ δὲ τὸν πανταχῇ κειμένων ἐν πόλεσι καὶ ἀγροῖς ναοὺς κλῄεσθαι προσετάξαν. *Soz. l.* 3. *c.* 17. *p.* 329. *B.*

(*i*) Atqui haec lex data eſt ad Taurum PP. Italiae ſcilicet, et ad Italiae praefecturam pertinet: *omnia*, ſcilicet, *loca atque urbes* hac lege ſunt, quae per eam praefecturam, non omnia, quae Romano Imperio gubernantur, quod nonnemo prodidit. Nempe ad inſcriptiones ſuas coarctandae ſunt ita, et ex iis explicandae leges . . . Quamquam non nego, hoc ipſum per Aegyptum a Conſtantio factum. *Goth. in l. p.* 264.

(*k*) Conſtantii ſecunda adverſus nocturna ſacrificia Romae. Ad Cerealem P. U. Aboleantur ſacrificia nocturna, et nefaria deinceps licentia repellatur. *Eod. Tit. l.* 5. *p.* 265.

againſt the Gentils. Now therefore nocturnal ſacrifices were prohibited at Rome.

Gothofred is of opinion, that (*l*) this law was enacted at the requeſt of *Cerealis*, who was a zealous Chriſtian, as he collects from ſome things ſaid of him by Jerome.

5. The third law of Conſtantius is againſt ſacrifices, and the worſhip of images, ſuppoſed to be publiſhed in the year 356.

" We (*m*) appoint Capital puniſhment to ſuch as are convicted of " performing ſacrifices, or worſhiping images."

6. In another book and title of the Code we find (*n*) three laws of the ſame Emperour publiſhed in the years 356. or 357. with the penalty of death againſt all who conſulted any of the maſters of divination: who are here reckoned up under their ſeveral titles of *Haruſpices, Mathematicians, Chaldeans, Harioli, Augures, Vates, Magicians.*

Theſe laws, as is ſuppoſed, were occaſioned by ſome inquiries of Pagans, inconſiſtent with the public quiet, and the ſafety of the Prince.

Theſe are laws of Conſtantin's ſons, and ſucceſſors. And it muſt be allowed, that there is in them a good deal of ſeverity.

Julian. III. We now come in courſe to the reign of *Julian*. But his hiſtorie has been already writ by us: in which we have ſufficiently ſhewn his zeal for Gentiliſm, and the treatment, given by him to the Chriſtians.

And I ſuppoſe, that at his acceſſion all the laws of preceding Chriſtian Emperours againſt Gentiliſm, and it's rites, were made void, and

(*l*) Illud ultimum notari cupio, datam hanc legem ad Cerealem Praefectum Urbis, proculdubio ad ejus ſuggeſtionem, quem Chriſtianae Religioni addictiſſimum fuiſſe credere licet. Sane id ſatis indicat ea quae de Cereali hoc memorat Hieronymus ep. 16. Tom. i. ambitioſius petente Marcellam viduam in uxorem. *Gothof. ib. p.* 266.

(*m*) Paenae capitis ſubjugari praecipimus eos, quos operam ſacrificiis dare, vel colere ſimulachra conſtiterit. *Eod. Tit. l.* 6. *p.* 266.

(*n*) Nemo haruſpicem conſulat, aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum. Augurum et vatum prava conſeſſio conticeſcat. Chaldaei ac magi, et ceteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curioſitas. Etenim ſupplicium capitis foret gladio ultore proſtratus, quicunque juſſis obſequium denegaverit. *Cod. Theod. lib.* 9. *Tit. xvi. de Maleficiis. l.* 4. *Vid. et l.* 5. *et l.* 6. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 119. . . . 124.

and abrogated: and that they remained without force, unleſs they were renewed, or revived by Imperial authority.

IV. The fourth ſection in Cave's Introduction is thus entitled: *In what caſe Gentiliſm ſtood under the reigns of Jovian, Valentinian and Valens.* *Laws of Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens.*

Here it is obſervable, that Gothofred (*o*) in the Title of *Pagans, Sacrifices, and Temples*, puts not down any laws of theſe three Emperours, nor of *Gratian*, againſt Gentiliſm. And, including Julian, this he computes to be the ſpace of five and twenty years from Conſtantius to Theodoſius.

Thoſe Emperours were Chriſtians, and they encouraged their people in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, and protected them in the enjoyment of the privileges conferred upon them by Conſtantin. And Sozomen ſays, particularly of Jovian, "that (*p*) he "recommended to all his ſubjects throughout the Empire the Chriſ-"tian Religion, as the only true religion. And he wrote letters to "the Governours of the provinces, that they ſhould give them full "liberty to frequent the churches, and worſhip God devoutly there." But, as it ſeems, there were now no new laws iſſued againſt Gentil people, and their ſacrifices.

In proof of this Gothofred obſerves ſeveral things: one thing, alleged by him, is a paragraph of Symmachus, in his Petition to the younger Valentinian, where he ſays: *Certainly (q) if we reckon up the princes of each ſect, and of each opinion, one of your near anceſtors* [meaning Julian] *favoured the rites of our fathers: another, ſtill nearer in time,* [meaning Valentinian the firſt] *did not remove them. If the piety*

(*o*) Ad Theodoſii Magni conſtitutiones, quae ſex numero hoc titulo occurrunt, puta 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. a Conſtantio Imp. magno principum et annorum hiatu, [25. ſc.] nunc provehimur: nullis Juliani Joviani, Valentiniani, Valentis, Gratiani, adverſus Paganos et Sacrificia hunc in titulum relatis. . . . Hujus vero rei cauſſa haec eſt: Quia (verba ſunt Symmachi in Relatione at Valentinianum, hanc in rem ſingularia:) *ſi numerentur hi* (quos modo dixi) *Principes utriuſque ſectae, utriuſque ſententiae, proximus eorum ceremonias patrum*, (id eſt, Gentilium) coluit, recentior non removit. Diſſimulationem ideo et conniventiam horum poſteriorum principum Symmachus laudat: memorat et Ambroſius, lib. 1. et 2 adverſus Symmachum. *Gothof. ibid. i. T. 6. p.* 267.

(*p*) . . . ἔγραψε τοῖς ἡγεμόνιοις τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβῶς θεραπεύειν, καὶ μόνην εἶναι σέβας τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστιν. *Soz. lib. 6. cap. 3. p.* 640.

(*q*) *See before, note* (a).

piety of the former does not afford an example to be imitated, however ſtill let the connivance of the later be of ſome weight.

But to be ſomewhat more particular.

Jovian publiſhed a law of univerſal toleration, for which he was commended by Themiſtius, as we ſaw ſome while *(r)* agoe.

Of Valentinian Ammianus *(s)* ſays, as we have alſo ſeen *(t)* already, " that he was remarkable for the moderation of his govern-" ment, and that he ſtood neuter among all the diverſities of reli-" gion, and was troubleſome to none. He did not require any to " follow either this, or that. Nor did he ſtrive by edicts to bend " the necks of his ſubjects to his own way of worſhip: but left " things untouched, in the condition, in which he found them." A ſtrong teſtimonie of moderation!

And in a law againſt ſouthſaying, publiſhed by him in 371. " he " *(u)* forbids it no otherwiſe, than as it might be hurtfull, and " openly declares, that from the begining of his government it had " been his maxim, to let all men follow that way of worſhip, which " was beſt approved by them." Which law conſpires compleatly with the teſtimonie of Ammianus, juſt mentioned, and abundantly confirms it.

And we may here recollect what we formerly ſaw in (*x*) Zoſimus, " that Valentinian had forbid nocturnal ſacrifices, with a view " of preventing thoſe enormities, which are ſometimes committed " in thoſe ſeaſons: but upon the remonſtrance of *Praetextatus*, as " he ſays, the Emperour was perſuaded to let that law lie dormant, " as to Greece at leſt."

And agreeably to our preſent argument, Cave *(y)* ſays: " the " Gentils for the main had enjoyed the peaceable exerciſe of their " religion for many years, having met with little or no interruption " in it, ſince the times of Conſtantius. And for the firſt two years " of

(*r*) *See before, ch. xlviii. p.* 120.

(*s*) *Amm. l.* 30. *cap. ix. p.* 660.

(*t*) *See here, ch li. p.* 186.

(*u*) Haruſpicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum cauſſis habere conſortium judico: neque ipſam, aut aliquam praeterea conceſſam a Majoribus religionem, genus arbitror eſſe criminis. Teſtes ſunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datae, quibus *unicuique, quod animo imbibiſſet, colendi libera facultas* tributa eſt. Nec haruſpicinam reprehendimus, ſed nocenter exerceri vetamus. *Cod. Th. lib.* 9. *Tit.* 16 *De Maleficiis et Mathematicis &c. l. ix. T.* 3. *p.* 128.

(*x*) *See before, ch. lviii. p.* 257.

(*y*) *See his Introduction, as before, p. lix. where he alſo refers to Zoſimus, l.* 4. *p.* 455.

" of Theodoſius, almoſt wholly taken up with wars, their temples " were open, and they had the freedom of their rites and ceremo- " nies."

It may be alſo not improper to put down here the general obſervations of Pagi upon this period, and the ſtate of Gentiliſm at this time. " During (z) the reign of Conſtantin, ſays he, the Gentils " had liberty, either in whole, or in part, to celebrate publicly the " rites and ſolemnities of their religion. And upon the reſtoration " of the Chriſtian Religion after Julian, in the time of Valentinian " the elder, the Pagans enjoyed great liberty. They ſtill had their " own opinion, their own rites, their temples, and the ſolemnities " belonging to them. And in the begining of the reign of Theo- " doſius, for ſome while they enjoyed the privilege of ſacrificing, " till the year 391. in which Valentinian the younger, with the " advice of Theodoſius, forbid at Rome and Italie the offering of " victims and ſacrifices, entrance into temples, and the worſhip of " images: as may be ſeen in the eleventh law in the Theodoſian " Code concerning *Pagans*, which was iſſued at Milan."

So Pagi. But inſtead of the *eleventh* law in that title, I ſuppoſe he meant the *tenth*. For the eleventh law in that title relates to Egypt.

V. We are now in the next place to obſerve the laws of Theodoſius, and ſucceding Emperours againſt the Gentils. *Laws of Theodoſius, and ſucceding Emperours.*

1. In the year 381. was iſſued a law of Theodoſius, with the joint authority of Gratian, and the younger Valentinian, againſt Apoſtates: " that *(a)* they who apoſtatiſed from Chriſtianity to " Paganiſm ſhould loſe the power of making a will."

This,

(z) Imperante Conſtantino Magno licuit adhuc Gentilibus ſua ſolemnia vel in totum vel in partem publice agitare. Reparata dein poſt Julianum Apoſtatam Chriſtiana religione ſub Valentiniano ſeniore, ſua quoque Paganis ſententia, ſui ritus, templaque et templorum ſolennia relicta fuere. Theodoſio demum imperante, et ſacrificia aliquandiu exercere licuit, ad annum Chriſti 391. quo Valentinianus junior Theodoſii M. conſilio Romae et in Italia ſacrificia hoſtiarum ſeu victimarum, templorumque ingreſſum et ſimulachrorum cultum prohibuit. Lege xi. Cod. Theod. *De Paganis*, eo anno Mediolani emiſſa, et in Annalibus a Baronio memorata. *Pagi ann.* 386. *num. vii.*

(a) His qui ex Chriſtianis Pagani facti ſunt, eripiatur facultas jusque teſtandi. Omne

This, as Gothofred (*b*) ſays, is the firſt law of the kind, that ever was enacted by a Chriſtian Emperour. However, this law (*c*) was afterwards ratified, and followed by other laws of Theodoſius the Great, Valentinian the Younger, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodoſius the ſecond, with the addition of other clauſes, ſo that the friends and kindred of Apoſtates might have no benefit of inheritance.

2. In the ſame year with the firſt law before mentioned, [that is in 381.] and by the ſame authority of Gratian, Valentinian the Younger, and Theodoſius, was enacted " a law (*d*) forbidding all " ſacrifices in the way of divination, either by day, or by night, ei- " ther in temples, or elſewhere, upon the pain of proſcription. " And it is there added: *that God is to be worſhiped with pure and* " *chaſte prayers, not with profane charms and incantations.*"

It is allowed by (*e*) Cave, and other learned men, that by this law no other ſacrifices are forbid, but ſuch as were performed in the way of divination, and for diſcovering futurities, and eſpecially ſuch as related to the ſtate, and public affairs.

However, upon occaſion of this, and perhaps ſome other like ſubſequent laws, Zoſimus complained, " that (*f*) the temples in " the city, and the countrey, were attacked, and that men might " no longer lift up their eyes to heaven, or pay their devotions to " the things therein without danger of their heads."

3, In the year 382. was publiſhed another law of Theodoſius, " concerning (*g*) a magnificent temple in the province of Oſrhoëne, " or

Omne defuncti, ſi quod eſt teſtamentum, ſubmota conditione reſcindatur. *Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. Tit. vii. De Apoſtatis. l.* 1. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 203.

(*b*) Inquies, nullaene ergo ante Theodoſium Magnum in hoc genus apoſtatarum, qui ex Chriſtianis Pagani facti fuiſſent ab Imperatoribus conſtitutiones promulgatae fuerunt? Nullae, inquam, mihi occurrunt. Et Theodoſius Magnus, ni fallor, primus Imperatorum Chriſtianorum eos conſtitutionibus inſectatus eſt &c. *Goth. T.* 6. *p.* 203.

(*c*) *Vid. lib. xvi. Tit. vii. de Apoſtatis l.* 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

(*d*) Si quis vetitis ſacrificiis, diurnis nocturniſque, velut vaeſanus ac ſacrilegus incertorum conſultorum, inmiſerit, fanumque ſibi aut templum ad hujuſmodi ſceleris excuſationem adſumendum crediderit, vel pulſaverit adeundum, proſcriptioni ſe noverit ſubjugandum: cum nos juſta inſtitutione moneamus, Caſtis Deum precibus, non diris carminibus profanandum. *lib.* 16. *Tit. x. l.* 7. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 266.

(*e*) *Introduction. p. lx.*

(*f*) *Vid. Zoſ. l.* 4. *p.* 758.

(*g*) Aedem olim frequentiae dedicatam, coetui etiam, populoque communem,

" or Edeſſa, as is ſuppoſed, which was adorned with many ſtatues, " and of curious workmanſhip, allowing, that it ſhould be open, " and be frequented, provided no ſacrifices were performed there."

It is ſuppoſed, that (*b*) this temple had been ſhut up, but now, at the earneſt requeſt of ſome, and for avoiding too much offenſe, it was allowed to ſtand open.

However, this temple, as it ſeems, had been deſtroyed, before Libanius compoſed his Oration for the Temples. It is ſuppoſed, that (*i*) he complains of it in one part of his Oration.

4. In the year 385. was (*k*) publiſhed another law of Theodoſius, " forbidding ſacrifices, eſpecially ſuch as were made in the way of divination, and for diſcovering futurities, upon pain of death."

This law is addreſſed to *Cynegius*, Prefect of the Praetorium in the Eaſt. And it muſt be underſtood to prohibit ſacrifices in Egypt, at leſt in the way of divination.

Libanius may refer to this law, when he ſays in the above-mentioned Oration, that ſacrifices were forbidden, but not incenſe: which was done ſoon after this, in a law publiſhed in 392. as we ſhall ſee preſently.

5. In the year 391. " was (*l*) publiſhed a law of Theodoſius, in " which all ſacrifices of innocent victims, and acceſſe to the tem- " ples, and the worſhip of ſenſleſs images, are prohibited."

This law was particularly deſigned for Rome and Italie. This is the law, to which Pagi referred in the paragraph cited from him

nem, in quâ ſimulachra feruntur poſita, artis pretio quam divinitate metienda, jugiter patere, publici conſilii auctoritate decernimus . . . Experientia tua, omni votorum celebritate ſervatâ, auctoritate noſtri ita patere templum permittat oraculis, ne illic prohibitorum uſus ſacrificiorum, hujus occaſionis aditus permiſſus eſſe credatur. *Lib.* 16. *Tit.* x. *l.* 8. *Tom* 6. *p.* 268.

(*b*) De quo tamen in conſilio ejus, [nempe Theodoſii] dubitatum fuerat: nonnullis contendentibus, occludi oportere, duobus argumentis. . . . Verum contra contendentibus aliis, ac nominatim Gentilibus, quorum magnus tum in palatio ſeu comitatu Theodoſii Magni numerus erat. *Goth. T.* 6. *p.* 268.

(*i*) *Vide pro Templis. Or. p.* 27. *&c.*

(*k*) Si quis mortalium ita faciendi ſacrificii ſumat audaciam, ut inſpectione jecoris, extorumque praeſagio vanae ſpem promiſſionis accipiat, vel quod eſt deterius futura execrabili conſultatione cognoſcat. Acerbioris etenim imminebit ſupplicii cruciatus eis, qui contra vetitum, praeſentium vel futurorum explorare temtaverint veritatem, *Lib.* 16. *Tit.* x. *l.* 9. *T.* 6. *p.* 270.

(*l*) Nemo ſe hoſtiis polluat, nemo infontem victimum caedat, nemo delubra adeat, templa perluſtret, et mortali opere formata ſimulacra ſuſpiciat: ne divinis atque humanis ſanctionibus reus fiat. *Ibid. l.* x. *T.* 6. *p.* 27.

ſome while ago. It is allowed by Gothofred *(l)* alſo, that all theſe things are here abſolutly forbidden by this law of Theodoſius, and the younger Valentinian. And *(m)* it is conſidered by him, as well as by Pagi, as the firſt law of the kind, ſince Conſtantius.

6. In the ſame year, 391. a like *(n)* law was publiſhed by Theoſius for Egypt, "forbidding ſacrifices and acceſſe to temples." The execution of this law is referred to *Euagrius* Prefect, and *Romanus* Count of Egypt. Soon after which followed the demolition of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

7. In the year 392. was publiſhed a ſevere law of Theodoſius, directed to Rufinus Prefect of the Praetorium, forbidding to men of all ranks every kind of Heatheniſh worſhip.

"Let *(o)* no man, of what order, rank, or quality ſoever he "may be —— preſume in any place, or any city to offer but an "harmleſs ſacrifice to ſenſleſs images, or pay any adoration to his "genius, or houſhold-gods, by offerings of wine, ſetting up lights, "burning frankincenſe, hanging up garlands to them. And if any "man ſhall dare to offer a ſacrifice, or conſult the reeking entrails, "let it be lawfull for any one to accuſe him, and being found guilty, "let him receive ſentence accordingly, as in caſes of high-treaſon, "although it ſhould appear, that he did not herein conſult any thing "againſt the life of his prince, or make any inquiries at all about it. "For

(l) Sacrificia hoſtiarum ſeu victimarum, templorum que ingreſſus, ſimulacrorum denique cultus hac conſtitutione, anno D. 391. prorſus inhibentur. *Goth. T. 6. p. 272.*

(m) Ergo hac primum poſt Conſtantinum, Conſtantem, et Conſtantium, Valentiniani Jun. conſtitutione ſacrificia Romae atque in Italia prohibita. Quae paullo ante hanc legem Romae ſtetiſſe Libanius diſerte teſtatur in oratione, quam edidi ὑπερ τῶν ἱερῶν, quae ſcripta eſt A. D. 387. [forte 391.]. *Goth. ibid.*

(n) Theodoſii M. quinta hoc titulo lex per Aegyptum: Quo ſacrificia, adituſque templorum interdicuntur.

Euagrio PF. Aug. et Romano Com. Aegypt. Nulli ſacrificandi tribuatur poteſtas: nemo Templa circumeat, nemo delubra ſuſcipiat, intercluſos ſibi noſtrae legis obſtaculo profanos aditus recognoſcant: adeo ut, ſi quis vel de Diis aliquid, contra vetitum, ſacriſque molietur, nullis exuendum ſe indulgentiis recognoſcat. &c. *Eod. Tit. l. xi. T. 6. p. 272.*

(o) Nullus omnino, ex quolibet genere, ordine hominum, dignitatum, vel in poteſtate poſitus, vel honore perfunctus, ſive potens ſorte naſcendi, ſeu humilis genere, conditione, fortuna, in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe, ſenſu carentibus ſimulacris, vel inſontem victimam coedat: vel ſecretiore piaculo, Larem ignem, Genium, Penates nidore veneratus accendat lumina, imponat thura, ſerta ſuſpendat. II. Quod ſi quiſpiam immolare hoſtiam ſacrificaturus audebit, aut ſpirantia exta conſulere, ad exemplum Majeſtatis reus, licita cunctis accuſatione, delatus, excipiat ſententiam conpetentem, etiamſi nihil contra ſalutem Principum, aut

" For it is enough to aggravate the greatneſſe of his crime, that he " would reſcind the laws of nature, ſearch into things unlawfull, " diſcloſe what is ſecret, attempt what is prohibited, inquire into " another's fate, and give hopes of his death, or ruin. But if any " man ſhall burn incenſe to a corruptible image, the work of mens " hands, and by a ridiculous example honour that which himſelf " has juſt now framed, and ſhall by crowning the ſtock with gar- " lands, or by erecting an altar of turfs, do what he can, though " but in a mean way, yet a way highly injurious to religion, to pay " worſhip to ſenſleſs images, let him, as a perſon guilty of the vi- " olation of religion, be puniſhed with the loſſe of that houſe or " field, wherein it ſhall be proved, that he practiſed ſuch Pagan " ſuperſtition. For it is our judgement, that all places, wherein it " ſhall appear that incenſe has been burned, (provided they be legal- " ly proved to be the perſons that did it) ought to be confiſcated to " our Treaſurie. But if it ſhall ſo happen, that the place where " ſuch a kind of ſacrifice has been performed, be a publie temple, " or conſecrated chaple, or another man's houſe or ground, if it " appear that it was done without the knowledge of the owner, let " him be fined in the ſum of xxv pounds of gold: and let him that " connives at it, and conceals it, be fined in the ſame ſum with him " who ſacrificeth. And our pleaſure is, that this be ſo obſerved by " the Judges, Defenſors, and Curiales of every city, that the Officers " having diſcovered any ſuch fact, ſhall immediatly bring it before " the

aut de ſalute quaeſierit. Sufficit enim ad criminis molem, naturae ipſius leges velle reſcindere, inlicita perſcrutari, occulta recludere, interdicta temptare, finem quaerere ſalutis alienae, ſpem alieni interitus polliceri. III. Si quis vero mortali opere facto, et aevum paſſura Simulachra impoſito thure venerabitur, ac (ridiculo exemplo metuens ſubitoque ipſe ſimulaverit) vel redimita vittis arbore, vel erecta effoſſis ara ceſpitibus vanas imagines, humiliore licet muneris praemio, tamen plenâ religionis injuriâ, honorare temptaverit, is, utpote violatae religionis reus, eâ domo ſeu poſſeſſione multabitur, in quâ eum Gentilitia conſtiterit ſuperſtitione famulatum. Namque omnia loca, quae thuris conſtiterit vapore fumaſſe, ſi tamen ea in jure fuiſſe thurificantium probabuntur) fiſco noſtro adſocianda cenſemus. IV. Sin vero in templis faniſve publicis, aut in aedibus, agriſve alienis, tale quiſpiam ſacrificandi genus exercere temptaverit, ſi ignorante domino uſurpata conſtiterit, xxv. librarum auri multae nomine cogetur inferre: conniventem vero huic ſceleri par ac ſacrificantem poena retinebit. Quod quidem ita per Judices ac Defenſores, et Curiales ſingularum urbium, volumus cuſtodiri, ut illico per hos comperta in Judicium deferantur: per illos

" the Judges: and they ſhall forthwith ſee to the execution of the " penalty. But if the Defenſors and Curiales ſhall conceal any thing " through favour, or careleſſneſſe, they ſhall be puniſhed by the " Judges. And if the Judges, after information received from the " Officers, ſhall take no notice of it, or defer puniſhment, they " ſhall be fined in the ſum of xxx pounds of gold. And their " Officers ſhall be liable to the ſame penalty." " Given at " Conſtantinople, the eighth day of November: Arcadius being " the ſecond time, and Rufinus Conſuls:" that is, in the year CCCXCII.

That is a prolix edict. I once intended to abridge it, and make remarks. But now I have tranſcribed it at length, almoſt entire, that my readers may themſelves make remarks. This law of Theodoſius is inſerted at length in an Engliſh Verſion by Cave in his *(p)* Introduction: of which verſion I alſo have made ſome uſe.

8. In the year 399. was publiſhed by Arcadius a law for deſtroying temples in countrey-places.

" If *(q)* there are any temples in the fields, let them be deſtroyed " without noiſe and tumult. For theſe being thrown down, and " taken away, all occaſion of ſuperſtition will be removed."

I do not take all the Imperial laws iſſued about this time, relating to Gentil worſhip. I omit ſeveral.

9. By a law of Theodoſius the younger, in 416. " They (*r*) " who are polluted with the profane errour of Gentiliſm are excluded from militarie power, and judicial authority."

10. In the year 423. is a law of the ſame Theodoſius to this purpoſe: " Let (*s*) the laws already enacted have their full force upon " the

illos delata plectantur. Si quid autem ii tegendum gratiâ, aut incuriâ praetermittendum eſſe crediderint, commotioni Judiciariae ſubjacebunt. Illi vero moniti, ſi vindictam diſſimulatione diſtulerint, xxx librarum auri diſpendio multabuntur: Officiis quoque eorum damno parili ſubjugandis. Dat. vi. Id. Nov. CP. Arcadio A. II. et Rufino Coſſ [392.] *Eod. Tit. l. xii. T. 6. p. 273. 274.*

(*p*) *p. lxvii. lxviii.*

(*q*) Si qua in agris templa ſunt, ſine turba ac tumultu diruantur. His enim dejectis atque ſublatis, omnis ſuperſtitionis materia conſumetur. *Eod. Tit. l. 16. Tom. 6. p. 283.*

(*r*) Qui profano Pagani ritus errore ſeu crimine polluuntur, hoc eſt, Gentiles, nec ad Militiam admittantur, nec Adminiſtratoris vel Judicis honore decorentur. *Eod. Tit. l. 21. T. 6 p. 293.*

(*s*) Paganos, qui ſuperſunt, quanquam jam nullos eſſe credamus, promulgatorum legum jamdudum praeſcripta compeſcant. *Eod. Tit. l. 22. T. 6. p. 294.*

" the Pagans that remain: though we rather think, that there are " none left."

11. Again, in the ſame year: " If (*t*) any of the Pagans that " remain, are found offering execrable ſacrifices to demons, let them " be puniſhed with baniſhment and confiſcation of goods: though " they ought to ſuffer capital puniſhment."

12. In the year 426. was promulgated another law of the ſame Theodoſius, and very ſevere: " forbidding (*u*) all Pagan oblations, " and ſacrifices, ordering their chapels, temples, and conſecrated " places, if any yet remained, to be deſtroyed by the authority of " the magiſtrate: or that they ſhould be expiated by placing in them " the venerable ſign of the Chriſtian religion. And if any are " convicted before a competent Judge of having ſacrificed contrarie " to this law, they are to ſuffer death."

Theodoret, who lived in the time of this Emperour, and concluded his hiſtorie at the year of Chriſt 429. ſays, " that (*x*) he " commanded all the temples of idols, which yet remained, to be " deſtroyed to the foundation, that they who ſhall live after us " may not ſee ſo much as the traces of the former ancient er- " rour."

13. Nevertheleſs after all, Gentiliſm ſtill ſubſiſted, though their temples, for the moſt part, had been long ſince ſhut up, or deſtroyed. For there is a ſevere law of *Valentinian the Third, and Marcian*, in the year 451. " forbidding (*y*) all Heathen ſacrifices, " and oblations of frankincenſe, and wine, and adorning images with

(*t*) Paganos, qui ſuperſunt, ſi aliquando in exſectandis daemonum ſacrificiis fuerint comprehenſi, quamvis capitali poena ſubdi debuerint, bonorum proſcriptione et exilio coerceri. *Eod. Tit. l.* 23. *T.* 6. *p.* 294.

(*u*) Omnibus ſceleratae mentis Paganae, exſecrandis hoſtiarum immolationibus, damnandiſque ſacrificiis, ceteriſque antiquarum ſanctionum auctoritate prohibitis, interdicimus. Cunctaque eorum fana, templa, delubra, ſi qua etiam nunc reſtant integra, praecepto magiſtratuum deſtrui, conlocationeque venerandae Chriſtianae religionis ſigni expiari praecipimus: ſcientibus univerſis, ſi quem huic legi apud competentem Judicem idoneis probationibus inluſiſſe conſtiterit, eum morte eſſe multandum. *Eod Tit. l.* 25. *T.* 6. *p.* 296.

(*x*) Τάυτα δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν εἰδωλικῶν σηκῶν τὰ λειπόμενα, ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασκαθῆναι προσέταξεν, ὅπως τοὺς μετ' ἡμᾶς ἀσομένους μηδὲ ἴχνος τῆς προτέρας ἐξαπάτης θεάσασθαι. *Theod. l.* 5. *cap.* 37. *p.* 243.

(*y*) *Ap. Baron. ann.* 451. *num.* 161. 162.

" with garlands, and all the rites of the ancient ſuperſtition in ge-
" neral." I put below (z) Pagi's obſervations upon this law.

I recite here no more laws of Chriſtian Emperours relating to Gentiliſm. It is a dull part of my work. But I thought it incumbent on me not to omit it entirely, that my readers may be able to judge for themſelves concerning this point, as well as others. Some more like laws may come before us hereafter, and be mentioned occaſionally.

Obſervations. And now ſome will be diſpoſed to make obſervations upon what we have juſt ſeen.

1. The period of twenty years, or five and twenty years, as it is ſometimes called by learned men, from the death of Conſtantius, to the acceſſion of Theodoſius, or thereabout, when the Gentils were treated with much mildneſſe, and few laws were iſſued againſt them, is remarkable.

2. Poſſibly, we here ſee the ground of the great animoſity of Zoſimus, and other Gentil writers againſt *Conſtantin* and *Theodoſius* above all other Chriſtian Emperours. Conſtantin was the firſt of the Roman Emperours, who forſook Gentiliſm, and embraced Chriſtianity. And in the later part of his reign divers Heathen temples were deſtroyed, and ſacrifices were forbid. Which law againſt ſacrificing ſubſiſted in force under his ſons. Who likewiſe iſſued divers ſevere laws againſt the Gentils. And again, after the interval of the reign of Julian, and a ſeaſon of great mildneſſe and moderation under his immediate ſucceſſors, in the reign of *Theodoſius* old laws againſt Gentiliſm were revived, and more added to them. And the conduct of Theodoſius was imitated by his ſons, and their ſucceſſors after them. Theſe things may have occaſioned the great animoſity of Gentil writers againſt the two fore-mentioned Emperours.

3. I think, it muſt be allowed, that the laws againſt Gentiliſm, which I have juſt rehearſed, were not rigorouſly executed. But of this we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully hereafter.

(z) Denique Gentiliſmi reliquiae in totum ſuppreſſae anno 451. edicto Valentiniani III. et Marciani, ut legere eſt eo anno in Annalibus numero ult. *Pagi an.* 389. *xv.*

SECT.

SECT. II. A Conſultation, and Divination of Heathen People, in the Time of Valens, about the year 373.

I. *An Account of it from Ammianus, and other Writers.* II. *Remarks upon their Accounts, and a Vindication of Valens from the charge of exceſſive Cruelty.* III. *The Hiſtorie and Character of the Philoſopher Maximus, favourite of the Emperour Julian, who now ſuffered Death.*

I. IN the year (*a*) 373. or (*b*) 374. whilſt Valens was at Antioch, a diſcoverie was made of a conſultation, which ſome Gentils had together for finding out the name of the perſon, who ſhould ſucceed the Emperour. There are accounts of it in ſeveral of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and in divers Heathen authors, particularly Ammianus Marcellinus, who is the fulleſt of all, and was then in the Eaſt, and poſſibly at Antioch. A. D. 374. *An Account of this Divination.*

"When (*c*) the affair was brought before Modeſtus, Prefect of "the Praetorium, *Palladius* being put upon the rack, as Ammianus "ſays,

(*a*) *Pagi ann.* 370. *n. xxxi. Vid. et* 371. *iii.* 372. *vi. Baſn. ann.* 373. *n. ii.*

(*b*) *Tillem. Valens. art. xiv. xv.*

(*c*) . . . et Antiochiam Imperator Romanus ingreſſus. Qui dum ibi moratur ſecurus interim hoſtium externorum, inteſtinis pene perierat fraudibus, ut aperiet ſeries relata geſtorum. . . Juſſuſque Palladius docere fidenter quae noverat, rudentem explicuit immenſum: adfirmans, Fiduſtium Praeſidialem, et cum Irenaeo Pergamium nomen Imperaturi poſt Valentem deteſtandis praeſagiis didiciſſe ſecretim. Et correptus Fiduſtius illico (namque aderat forte) occulteque inductus, viſo indice, nulla infitiatione adumbrare jam publicata conatus, rei totius calamitoſum aperit textum: abſolute confeſſus, ſe cum Hilario et Patritio vaticinandi peritis, quorum Hilarius militaverat in palatio, de imperio conſuluiſſe futuro: motaſque ſecretis artibus ſortes, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipſis conſultoribus luctuoſos exitus praedixiſſe. Atque cunctantibus, quiſnam ea tempeſtate omnibus vigore animi antiſtaret, viſus eſt aliis omnibus excellere Theodorus, ſecundum inter notarios adeptus jam gradum. Et erat revera ita ut opinati ſunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliis natus, et liberaliter educatus, &c. *Ammian. l.* 29. *cap. i. ii. p.* 596. 597. *ed. Gronov. qto.* 1693.

A. D. 374. " ſays, declared, that *Fiduſtius*, who had been in the office of a " Preſident, and *Pergamius*, and *Irenaeus*, had tried by ſecret arts, " to find out the name of him, who was to ſucceed Valens in the " Empire. *Fiduſtius* happened to be preſent. And being laid hold " of, he did not deny the charge, but confeſſed, that he, with *Hi-* " *larie*, and *Patritius*, both well ſkilled in the art of divination: " [moreover *Hilarie* had a militarie poſt at Court] had inquired af- " ter a ſucceſſor in the Empire. They ſoon diſcovered, that he " would be an excellent Prince, and that his name was *Theodorus*, " meaning him, who was then ſecond in the Secretaries office, " and was a perſon of a good familie, well educated, and commen- " dable for many virtues."

The confeſſions made by *Patritius* and *Hilarie*, upon farther examination, are particularly related by Ammianus after this manner.

" *A (d) tripod made of laurel was artificially prepared, and conſe-* " *crated with certain preſcribed ſecret charms and invocations. It was* " *then placed in the midle of a room, perfumed with Arabian ſpices.* " *The charger, upon which it was ſet, had upon it's utmoſt brim the* " *four*

(d) Inducti itaque Patritius et Hilarius, ordinemque explicare juſſi geſtorum, cum inter exordia variarent, fodicatis lateribus, inlato tripode quo utebantur, adacti ad ſummas anguſtias, aperiunt negotii fidem ab ipſis exordiis replicatam. Et prior Hilarius: Conſtruximus, inquit, magnifici judices, ad cortinae ſimilitudinem Delphicae, ditis auſpiciis de laureis virgulis infauſtam hanc menſulam quam videtis: et imprecationibus carminum, ſecretorum, choragiiſque multis ac diuturnis ritualiter conſecratam movimus tandem. Movendi autem, quoties ſuper rebus arcanis conſulebatur, erat inſtitutio talis. Collocabatur in medio domus emaculata odoribus Arabibus undique lance rotunda pure ſuperpoſita, ex diverſis metallicis materiis fabrefacta: cujus in ambitu rotunditatis extremo elementorum viginti quattuor ſcriptiles formae incitae perite, disjungebantur ſpatiis examinare dimenſis. Hac linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatuſque itidem linteis ſoccis, torulo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felicis arboris geſtans litato conceptis carminibus numine praeſeitiorum auctore, ceremoniali ſcientia ſuperſtitit: cortinulis, penſilem annulum librans, ſartum ex Carpathio filo perquam levi, myſticis diſciplinis initiatum: qui per intervalla diſtincta retinentibus ſingulis literis incidens ſaltuatim, heroas efficit verſus interrogantibus conſonos, ad numeros et modos plene concluſos: quales leguntur Pythici, vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum. Ibi tum quaerentibus nobis, qui praeſenti ſuccedet imperio, quoniam omni ex parte expolitus fore memorabatur, et adſiliens annulus duos perſtrinxerat ſyllabas ΘΕΟ, cum adjectione literae poſtrema, exclamavit praeſentium quidam, Theodorum praeſcribente fatali neceſſitate portendi. Nec ultra negotio eſt exploratum. Satis enim apud nos conſtabat, hunc eſſe qui poſcebatur. Cumque totius rei notitiam ita ſignate ſuper oculis judicum ſubjeciſſet, adjecit benivole, id Theodorum penitus ignorare. *Ammian. ibid.* p. 601. 602.

" *four and twenty letters of the alphabet, neatly engraved, and ſet at* A. D.
" *due diſtances from each other. Then a perſon, clad in linen veſt-* 374.
" *ments, with linen ſocks upon his feet, and a ſuitable covering upon*
" *his head, came in with laurel branches in his hands, and after ſome*
" *myſtic charms performed, he ſhaked a ring, hanging at a curtain*
" *about the edge of the charger : which jumping up and down, fell*
" *upon ſuch and ſuch letters of the alphabet, where it ſeemed to ſtay :*
" *the prieſt alſo then compoſing certain heroic verſes in anſwer to the*
" *interrogatories that had been propoſed. The letters, which the ring*
" *pointed out in this caſe, were four :* ΘΕΟΔ. *which being put toge-*
" *ther compoſed theſe two ſyllables,* THEOD. *whereupon one that ſtood*
" *by, preſently cried out, that the oracle plainly intended Theodorus.*
" *Nor did we make any farther inquiries, being all well ſatisfied, that*
" *he was the perſon intended.*"

Ammianus then adds, " that when the whole affair had been
" thus diſtinctly laid before the judges, the deponent *Hilarie* ſub-
" joyned, that *Theodorus* himſelf had no concern in it, being total-
" ly ignorant of this proceeding."

I have taken (*e*) Cave's tranſlation of this depoſition, making but little alteration in it. The words of Ammianus are at the bottom of the page, to be read by ſuch as are ſo diſpoſed. An exact literal tranſlation would be very difficult. But certainly this hiſtorie is very curious, and well deſerving to be attended to.

Zonaras *(f)* gives a different account of the method of divination now made uſe of. He ſays, " that the four and twenty letters of
" the alphabet were written upon the ground, and at each one was
" placed a grain of wheat or barley. Then, after ſome myſtic
" forms a cock was let out, which picked up ſuch grains as lay
" at thoſe four letters." But it is much more reaſonable, to relye upon Ammianus, who was contemporarie, and likely to be well informed. His account alſo is agreeable to that in *(g)* Sozomen, and (*h*) Zoſimus, who have both mentioned the tripod.

All the ancient writers, who ſpeak of this tranſaction, repreſent the public executions made upon this occaſion, as very ſevere and cruel. Ammianus has mentioned ſeveral of the ſufferers. " *Eutropi-*

(*e*) *See his Introduction, as before, p. liv.*

(*f*) *Zon. Ann. T. 3. p. 28.*

(*g*) *Sozom. l. 6. cap. 35. p. 693. C.*

(*h*) *Zoſ. p. 743. in.*

A. D. 374. "*us* (*i*) Proconſul of Aſia, was accuſed, as an accomplice, but at "length was acquitted . . . The perſon next mentioned by Ammia- "nus, is *Simonides*, whom he calls a Philoſopher. He ſays, he "was a young man of ſtrict virtue. When he was accuſed, he "acknowledged, that he had been acquainted with the conſulta- "tion, but did not think himſelf obliged to betray a ſecret, with "which he had been entruſted. However, he was condemned to "be burnt alive. Whoſe fortitude in undergoing that death is here "extolled and celebrated by Ammianus, in a high degree. And "he is compared to *Peregrinus*, a well-known philoſopher, who "had burnt himſelf at the Olympic games in the ſight of all "Greece. After him many others were put to death in a cruel "manner, and in different ways. And heaps of books were brought "forth, and conſumed in the fire, which had been ſought for, and "collected from many houſes, as illicit: though many of them "were works relating to the liberal ſciences, and others were law- "books. But they were brought out, and burnt in public view, "in the preſence of the Judges, to mollify the reſentment of peo- "ple at ſo numerous executions. And not long after the philoſo- "pher *Maximus*, who was ſo celebrated for his learning, by whom "the Emperour Julian had been inſtructed, and from whom he "had received much improvement, was accuſed of having been "acquainted with the above-mentioned oracle. Which he did not "deny,

(*i*) Quibus poſt haec cognita ſequeſtratis, Eutropius Aſiam proconſulari tunc obtinens poteſtate, ut factionis cenſeius arceſſitus in crimen, abſceſſit innocuus . . . His acceſſit philoſophus Simonides, adulescens ille quidem, verum noſtra memoria ſoveriſſimus. Qui cum audiſſe negotium per Fiduſtium deferretur, et cauſſam non ex veritate, ſed ex unius nutu penſari vidiſſet, didiciſſe ſe dixit praedicta, et commiſſa pro firmitate animi tacuiſſe . . . Ducti univerſi flebiliter jugulantur, praeter Simonidem: quem ſolum ſaevus ille ſententiae lator efferatus ob conſtantiam gravem juſſit flammis exuri. Qui vitam ut dominam fugitans rabidam, ridens ſalitas momentorum ruinas, immobilis conflagravit. Peregrinum illum imitatus, Protea cognomine, philoſophum clarum: qui cum mundo digredi ſtatuiſſet, Olympiae quinquennali certamine ſub Graeciae conſpectu totius, adſcenſo rogo, quem ipſe conſtruxit, flammis abſumtus eſt. Et poſt hunc diebus ſecutis omnium fere ordinum multitudo, quam nominatim recenſere eſt arduum. . . . Deinde congeſti innumeri codices, acervi voluminum multi conſpectu judicum concremati ſunt, ex domibus eruti variis, uti illiciti, ad leniendam caeſorum invidiam: cum eſſent plerique liberalium diſciplinarum indices variarum, et juris. Neque ita multo poſt Maximus ille philoſophus, vir ingenti nomine doctrinarum, cujus

" deny, but ſaid, he did not think himſelf obliged to divulge it. A. D.
" However, he had told the perſons concerned, that they would 374.
" all ſuffer exquiſite puniſhments. He was ſent to Epheſus, his na-
" tive place, and was there beheaded. And now found by his
" own experience, what it is to fall into the hands of an unjuſt
" judge. *Diogenes* was falſly accuſed, who ſome while before had
" been Governour of Bithynia. He was a man of a noble familie,
" ingenious, ſkilfull in the law, a good pleader, and of a mild tem-
" per. He was condemned to die for the ſake of his great eſtate.
" Then *Alypius*, Vicar of Britain, who had now lived long in a
" private ſtation, and was a man of an amiable character, was ta-
" ken up, and with his ſon *Hierocles*, a youth of an excellent diſ-
" poſition, was accuſed of poyſoning. But it was upon the ſole
" teſtimonie of one *Diogenes*, a very mean perſon. However *Aly-*
" *pius*, after having been firſt deprived of his eſtate, was only ba-
" niſhed. The ſon, when they were having him out to death, was
" happily ſaved." So writes Ammianus.

Zoſimus likewiſe has briefly given an account of the conſultation with the tripod, which pointed out *Theodorus* as ſucceſſor to Valens. " The *(k)* cauſe, he ſays, was brought before Modeſtus, Prefect of
" the Praetorium. Many were accuſed. The priſons were full.
" And great numbers of people fled from their habitations. The Em-
" perour was greatly provoked. He became ſuſpicious of all who
" profeſſed philoſophie, or were at all diſtinguiſhed for literature, or
" had

cujus ex uberrimis ſermonibus ad ſapientiam copioſus Julianus exſtitit Imperator, oraculi ſupra dicti verſus vidiſſe inſimulatus: ſeque comperiſſe adſenſus, ſed reticenda profeſſionis conſideratione non effudiſſe, verum ultro praedixiſſe, conſultores ipſos ſuppliciis poenalibus perituros: Epheſum ad genuinam patriam ductus, ibique capite truncatus, ſenſit docente periculo poſtremo, quaeſitoris iniquitatem omnibus eſſe criminibus graviorem. Conſtrictus etiam Diogenes laqueis impiae falſitatis, vir nobili proſapia editus, ingenio, facundia forenſi, ſuavitateque praeſtans, dudum Bithyniae rector, ut opimum patrimonium ejus diriperetur, capitali eſt poena adfectus. Ecce autem Alypius quoque ex Vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo jucundae poſt otioſum et repoſitam vitam (quoniam hucuſque injuſtitia tetenderat manus) in ſqualore maximo volutatus, ut veneficii reus citatus eſt, cum Hierocle filio, adoleſcente indolis bonae, urgente Diogene quodam et vili et ſolo, omnique laniena excruciato, ut verba placentia Principi, vel potius arceſſitori, loqueretur: quo cum poenis non ſufficerent vivo exuſto, ipſe quoque Alypius poſt multationem bonorum exſulare praeceptus, filium miſerabiliter ductum ad mortem, caſu quodam proſpero revocatum excepit. *Ammian. l.* 29 *cap. i. p.* 604. 605.

(*k*) *Zoſ. l.* 4. *p.* 743 744.

A. D. 374. "had places at Court. At this time was put to death that great "philoſopher *Maximus*, as alſo *Hilarie* of Phrygia, as having given "a clearer explication of an obſcure oracle, *Simonides*, *Patritius* of "Lydia, *Andronicus* of Caria: who were all eminent for learn-"ing, and ſuffered rather through envie, than for any juſt ac-"cuſation brought againſt them."

Eunapius likewiſe complains of the great numbers of men, who were then put to death, promiſcuouſly, innocent and guilty. And among them the great philoſopher *Maximus*, who had been told of the conſultation, and did not divulge it. "But (*l*) at the ſame "time that he was informed of it, he told them, that they had "thereby ruined him. He foretold alſo the death of the conſpira-"tors, and many others, and alſo the death of the Emperour him-"ſelf, and that it ſhould be in an uncommon manner, and without "burial. All which came to paſs. As for *Maximus*, he was ſent "for, and brought to Antioch, where the Emperour was. But "not thinking fit to puniſh him there, they ſent him to Epheſus, "where was Feſtus, the Governour of Aſia, a man of a moſt cruel "diſpoſition, who after executing many others, guilty and innocent, "put to death alſo the great *Maximus*."

Of this alſo Libanius complains, ſaying, they (*m*) would not wait for the death of *Maximus*, till diſtemper put an end to his life.

Socrates, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, having given an account of this convention and divination, ſays: "And (*n*) the Emperour "neglecting the precepts of Chriſtianity, for which he profeſſed "great zeal, put many to death, whom he ſuſpected of a deſign "to ſeize the Empire. And now were deſtroyed many, who went "by the name of *Theodorus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodoſius*, *Theodulus*, and "others, whoſe names had a like begining. Among them was "one *Theodoſiolus*, a worthie man, of a good familie in Spain. "And at that time many changed their names, and rejected the "names given them by their parents, becauſe of the imminent dan-"ger they were in."

Tille-

(*l*) *Eunap. de Vita Maximi. p.* 88.

(*m*) ... Δίκαιον μετὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον, μὴ φθάσαι τὸν ἐκείνου σίδηρον ἢ νόσον ἀπενέγκασθαι τὸν Μάξιμον. *Liban. de Vita ſua. p.* 52.

(*n*) *Socrat. l.* 4. *cap.* 19.

Tillemont giving an account of this tranſaction remarks upon Socrates after this manner. "Socrates (*o*) ſays, that this was the "occaſion of the death of *Theodoſiolus*, or Theodoſius, a nobleman "of Spain, and a man of virtue. It is hard to believe, that he did "not intend the Count Theodoſius, unjuſtly executed at Carthage "in the year 376. It was indeed for other reaſons. But the "people, who are always making conjectures, and oftentimes "wrong, may have believed, that it was for having aſpired to "empire, and becauſe of his name. Which would be ſufficient "ground for adding afterwards all the reſt." Valeſius himſelf (*p*) in his notes upon Socrates has the ſame thought: though he does not make it out ſo clearly, as Tillemont. Pagi (*q*) was of the ſame opinion, and has ſhewed it as clearly as Tillemont. And therefore he alſo may be conſulted. A. D. 374.

Sozomen, giving an account of the ſame conſultation, and the great diſpleaſure of the Emperour thereupon, ſays, "that (*r*) "throughout the whole empire almoſt all who were eminent for "philoſophie were deſtroyed, and not only they, but many other "men of letters likewiſe: ſo that it was dangerous for any to wear "a fringed garment. And ſuch was the madneſſe of the Empe-"rour, that he ſeemed to think, he could kill his ſucceſſor. And "therefore not only they were put to death, who had conſulted the "oracle, but they alſo, about whom the conſultation was made. "Inſomuch that, as is ſaid, he ſpared not thoſe whoſe names be-"gan with thoſe four letters, ΘΕΟΔ of which there were many "others, and men of great eminence in the empire."

Sozomen therefore ſpeaks not quite ſo poſitively as Socrates. And yet allowes himſelf to harangue upon it. But the truth of this, I ſuppoſe, may be called in queſtion. Tillemont obſerves, and as ſeems to me, both candidly and judiciouſly: "that (*s*) ſince neither "Ammianus, nor Zoſimus accuſe Valens of ſo unreaſonable and "odious

(*o*) *Tillem. Valens. art. xv. p.* 183. 184.

(*p*) Quiſnam ſit hic Theodoſius, incertum eſt Neque enim Theodoſium illum exiſtimo, Theodoſii Imperatoris patrem, de quo Ammianus Marcellinus loquitur paſſim in libris ſuis ... Verba tamen illa, quae addit Socrates, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος ἐκ τῶν ὑπατρίδων Ἰσπανίας, optime illi conveniunt. *Valeſ. in Socratis locum.*

(*q*) *A. D.* 373. *num v.*

(*r*) Παραπλησίως δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν διέφθαρσαν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ πάσαν τὴν ἀρχομένην λαμπρὰς φιλοσοφοῦντες, κ. λ. *Sozom. l. 6. cap. 3. p.* 694. *A.*

(*s*) *L'Emp. Valens. art. xv. p.* 183.

A. D. 374. "odious a cruelty, there is at leſt reaſon to doubt, whether he was "guilty of it."

And again, afterwards: "If (t) indeed he did put to death ſe- "veral perſons, becauſe they bore the name *Theodorus*, or other "names reſembling it, nothing is more unjuſt, nor leſs reaſonable." I would add, that not only Ammianus, and Zoſimus, but Eunapius alſo, and Libanius, are ſilent about this particular. And farther, among the many perſons, whom they or others mention, as put to death, or as accuſed, upon this occaſion, there is not one, whoſe name begins with theſe letters, excepting only *Theodorus* himſelf, the principal perſon ††. concerned. There is no ground therefore for the obſervation of Sozomen, and divers others of late times, who have ridiculed Valens, as if he aimed to kill his ſucceſſor.

Remarks upon this Account.

II. I have already enlarged in this hiſtorie, and, as ſome may think, to prolixity. And yet it remains, that I make ſome farther remarks upon what appears to me a very curious relation. And I the rather think my ſelf obliged to it, becauſe it is placed by me in *the State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours*. And I have here an opportunity to ſhew the temper and principles of Gentil people at this time, and particularly the principles of their learned men, as well as others.

1. In the firſt place, then, it ſeems to me ſomewhat ſtrange, that neither Ammianus, nor Zoſimus, nor any other ancient writer, ſhould exactly mention the place, or the time of this conſultation, which made ſo much noiſe in the world. Valens, as is obſerved by ſeveral of thoſe writers, was at Antioch, when the diſcoverie was made: and there the criminals were tried before Modeſtus, and other magiſtrates. But none have ſaid, that the conſultation was at Antioch, or at ſome other place not far from it. Nor is the time exactly mentioned. Poſſibly, it was not long before the diſcoverie. And yet it ſeems to have been known to ſeveral, before the judicial proceedings were begun, or any inquiries made about it by the magiſtrates.

2. To me it ſeems, that the cruelty of the proceedings upon this occaſion has been much aggravated.

1.) There

(t) *Ibid. p.* 386.

†† *There is one exception only, which is Theodoſiolus, by miſtake mentioned by Socrates, as has been ſhewn.*

1.) There is no ground, as has been already ſhewn, to charge Valens with having put to death many perſons, whoſe names began with thoſe two ſyllables, *Theod.* That therefore is an unjuſt aggravation without reaſon, made by Socrates, and Sozomen, and other eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who have followed them. Sozomen's expreſſions likewiſe muſt be reckoned hyperbolical, if not extravagant, when he ſays, "that *(u)* at that time almoſt all the Greek Philo-"ſophers were taken off." And again, "that (*x*) almoſt all "throughout the whole Empire, who were eminent for philoſo-"phie, were deſtroyed." Whereas, I preſume, theſe executions were confined to that part of the Empire, which was under Valens. A. D. 374.

But when I ſpeak of aggravations of the cruelty of theſe proceedings, I chiefly intend *Ammianus Marcellinus*, from whom we have the moſt particular account of this tranſaction. Ammianus is, generally, a fair and impartial hiſtorian. But here, as ſeems to me, he *(y)* has not acted up to that character. I ſhall therefore obſerve ſeveral things ſaid by him, and refer my obſervations to the conſideration of my readers.

2.) Ammianus enlargeth mightily in the commendation of Theodorus. "For *(z)* when the perſons preſent at the conſultation, "conſidered with themſelves, who ſhould be the perſon intended "by the letters *Theod.* they were, as he ſays, ſoon led to think, it "muſt

(*u*) Τῶν δὲ ἑλληνιστῶν μικρῦ πάντες κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν διεφθάρησαν. *Soz. l.* 6. *c.* 35. *p.* 693. *C.*

(*x*) *Ibid. p.* 694. *A et vide ſupra, not.* (*r*).

(*y*) Tillemont ſeems to have been ſenſible of this. I put down what he ſays in his own words, and in in his own language. Ammien, qui ce ſemble eſtoit alors à Antioche, ou au moins en l'Orient, le decrit fort amplemont, rendant les plus odieuſes qu'il peut et les informations qu'on fit pour decouvrir les coupables, et la punition tant de Theodore que de ſes Companions. *L'Emp. Valens. art. xiv. p.* 180.

(*z*) Atque cunctantibus, quiſnam ea tempeſtate omnibus vigore animi antiſtaret, viſus eſt aliis excellere Theodorus, ſecundum inter Notarios adeptus jam gradum. Et revera erat ita ut opinati ſunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Gallia natus, et liberaliter educatus a primis pueritiae rudimentis, modeſtiâ, prudentiâ, humanitate, gratiâ, literis ornatiſſimus, ſemper officio locoque quem retinebat, ſuperior videbatur, altis humilibuſque juxta acceptus. Soluſque pene omnium erat, cujus linguam non infrenem, ſed diſpicientem quae loqueretur, nullius claudebat periculis latus. *Amm. l.* 29. *cap. i. p.* 597.

A. D. 374. " muſt be *Theodorus*, who was the ſecond in the Secretaries office, " a man of a diſtinguiſhed excellence, as indeed he was, being of " a good familie in Gaul, well educated from his childhood, mo- " deſt, prudent, human, agreeable, learned, who always appeared " ſuperior to the poſt in which he was, acceptable to all men, " high and low, carefull of his words, and never exceeding beyond " truth and reaſon."

This high character of *Theodorus* was the firſt things that led me to ſuſpect Ammianus of partiality, and awakened my attention to other things in this narrative.

For Ammianus himſelf has acknowledged, that *(a)* this *Theodorus* had formed deſigns upon the Empire. It appeared from letters writ by him to *Hilarie* above-mentioned. Ammianus alſo acknowledgeth, that *(b)* deſigns had been at ſeveral times entered into againſt the Emperour's life, and that it had been more than once in imminent danger from conſpiracies.

Moreover Zoſimus ſays, " that *(c)* Theodorus was indeed of a " good familie, and well educated, but he was yet young, and " being in the heat of youth was eaſily miſled by flatterers. He " adds, that he ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of his raſhneſſe." However, it muſt be owned, that *(d)* Sozomen gives Theodorus the character of a worthie man, though a Gentil.

3.) Ammianus is the principal hiſtorian of this tranſaction. Let me then obſerve farther, that according to him, all who ſuffered now were men of excellent characters, or, if I may ſay ſo, more than excellent, even extraordinarie. Such are *Theodorus*, *Simonides*, *Maximus*,

(*a*) Deinde haec eadem Euſerio ſub cruenta quaeſitione confeſſo; confutabant Theodorum litterae ſuae, per ambages obliquas ad Hilarium ſcriptae: quibus ſpe jam firma concepta ex varibus, de re non cunctabatur, ſed tempus patrandae cupidinis quaeritabat. *Ib. p.* 603.

(*b*) Et quia fallere non minus videtur qui geſta praeterit ſciens, quam ille qui numquam facta fingit: non abnuimus, (neque enim ambigitur,) ſalutem Valentis et antea ſaepius per occultas coitiones; et tunc in extrema demerſam: ferrumque ad jugulum ejus prope adactum a militaribus, fato reflectente depulſum, quem lacrimoſis in Thracia diſcriminibus deſtinarat. *Id. l.* 29. *cap. i. p.* 598.

(*c*) Ἦν τις Θεόδωρος τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπογραφεῦσιν ἀναριθμούμενος. Τοῦτον ἐν μὲν γένει τὰ πρῶτα, νέον δὲ ἔτι καὶ τῶν τῆς ἡλικίας θερμῶν ῥᾳδίως κολάκων θωπείαις ἐπὶ τὰ χείρονα σαλευόμενον. . . . Καὶ δυτὸς μὲν ἀξίαν εἰδὼς τῆς ἐγκωμίσεως δίκην. *Zoſ. l.* 4. *p.* 742. 743.

(*d*) . . . ἀνδρα τῶν ἐν ταῖς βασιλείοις ἐπισήμων στρατευόμενον, ἐλλησικὸν καὶ ἐλλόγιμον. *Soz. p.* 673. *D.*

imus,

imus, *Diogenes*, formerly Governour of Bithynia, *Alypius*, and his ſon *Hierocles*. The accuſers, according to him, are mean people, and the judges are all ſevere and cruel. Are not theſe ſtrong ſymptoms of partiality? A. D. 374.

Simonides, the only perſon condemned to be burnt alive, is greatly commended by Ammianus, as a philoſopher, and a young man of ſingular virtue. [His acceſſit philoſophus Simonides, aduleſcens ille quidem, verum noſtra memoria ſeveriſſimus.] And his fortitude is greatly extolled.

4.) Then he ſays, *numerous books, and heaps of volumes were burnt in the preſence of the Judges, as illicit, which had been brought together from many houſes, the more to mollify the reſentment of the people againſt ſo numerous executions: when, at the ſame time*, as he ſays, *a great part of them were law-books, and ſyſtems of liberal arts and ſciences.* Which, as ſeems to me, are the expreſſions of a man determined to give an invidious turn to the tranſactions, of which he is writing. For, I pray, was any thing more natural, after ſuch a conſultation, as Ammianus has himſelf deſcribed, than to give orders for inquiries after books containing myſtic arts and incantations? It is very likely, that there ſhould be an order of court for producing ſuch books, and with threatnings of puniſhment, in caſe of concealment. Such an order might occaſion the producing a large number of volumes, capable of making ſeveral large heaps, to be conſumed in the preſence of the Judges. For, I preſume, there were many ſuch books in the poſſeſſion of Heathen people. And there was no need to join with them volumes of liberal arts and ſciences, to make a large heap, and a good ſhow. Chryſoſtom *(d)* who was a young man at this time, has told a ſtorie, repreſenting the great danger, which all were in, who then concealed any books of this ſort.

5.) I cannot but think likewiſe, that the cruelty of *Feſtus*, then Proconſul of Aſia, by whoſe order *Maximus* was beheaded, is much aggravated upon this occaſion. For Ammianus himſelf has acknowledged, that *(e)* when Governour of Syria, he gave proofs of mild-

(*d*) *Chryſ. in Act. Ap. hom.* 38. *Tom.* 9. *p.* 293. *Bened.*

(*e*) Feſtus quidam Tridentinus ultimi ſanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus ut ſodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fatis ad Orientem tranſ-

A. D. 374. mildneſs and lenity: though he will have it, that afterwards he was altered, and acted very differently.

Before we proceed, I muſt take notice, that we have in the Latin tongue *(f) a Breviarie of the Hiſtorie of the Roman people by Sextus Rufus*, who is ſuppoſed by divers learned men (*g*) to be Rufus Feſtus, who was Proconſul of Aſia in the year 374. The argument for that opinion is ſo well expreſſed in a note of Valeſius upon (*h*) Ammianus, that I have placed a large part of it below. He had paſſed through divers offices, till he arrived at that high ſtation of Proconſul of Aſia: as is obſerved by the ſame (*i*) Valeſius, in another note upon Ammianus.

This Breviarie, in manuſcripts and editions, is inſcribed to *Valentinian*. But it is now the general opinion of learned men, that it ſhould be ſaid *Valens*, and writ after his war with the Goths, near the end of the year 369. at the ſooneſt.

I ſee not in this Breviarie any marks of a diſpoſition to cruelty. And it ſeems to me, that all the bitter reflections upon Feſtus, as a cruel man, which are in Ammianus, and Zoſimus, and other Heathen writers, are owing to the part, which he acted as a magiſtrate in the condemnation of *Maximus*, and others, who had expoſed themſelves to the juſt diſpleaſure of the Emperour.

(6. I

tranſgreſſus eſt: ibique adminiſtrata Syria, Magiſterioque Memoriae peracto, bona lenitudinis et reverentia reliquit exempla. Unde regere Aſiam Proconſulari poteſtate exorſus, velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam. *Ammian. l.* 29. *cap. ii. p.* 613.

(*f*) Sexti Rufi V. C. Dictatoris, Magiſtri militum, Rerum geſtarum Pop. Rom. ad Valentinianum Auguſtum. *Tom. i. p.* 637. *&c. Sylburg.*

(*g*) *Vide Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l.* 2. *cap. viii. et ix. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. i. p.* 610. 611. *Tillem. Valens art. viii. et Cellarius. p.* 556. *ex edit. Havercamp.*

(*h*) Hic eſt, ut opinor, Rufus Feſtus, V. Cl. qui Breviarum ſcripſit ad Valentem Aug. non autem ad Valentinianum, ut habent vulgatae editiones, et ſcripti codices. Annon enim haec libri ejus claſula Valentem reſpicit? *Ut ad hanc in gentem de Gothis, etiam Babylonicae tibi palma pacis accedat.* Accedit, quod in duobus mſſ. antiquiſſimis. *Feſti Dictatoris Breviarium* exaratum eſt, ut in notis ad Victoris Epitomen teſtatus eſt Andreas Schottus. Eſt autem dictator, qui ad memoriam dictat, qui et Ἀπογραφεὺς Graece dicitur, ut notatum eſt a Cl. Salmaſio ad Vopiſcum in Caro. Cum igitur Marcellinus Feſtum Magiſtrum fuiſſe memoriae prodat, et reliqua egregie conveniunt, nihil vetat, quo minus hunc Feſtum eundem cum Hiſtorico eſſe credamus. *Valeſ. ad Ammian. l.* 29. *cap. ii. not.* (*l*) *p.* 812.

(*i*) Sic in lib. 29. Feſtus quidam ex Advocato Conſularis Syriae, ex Conſulari magiſter memoriae, deinde Proconſul Aſiae fuiſſe dicitur. *Idem ad Ammian. l.* 20. *cap. x. not.* (*r*) *p.* 276.

6.) I muſt obſerve farther, that neither Ammianus, nor any other hiſtorians of this tranſaction, have complained of the executions of the wives or children of any of thoſe, who were now put to death. A. D. 374.

Chryſoſtom *(k)* ſpeaks of the widow of one *Theodorus*, who for a while was favoured by his Prince, and then rebelled againſt him, and was beheaded. It is true, ſhe was poor: but ſhe was ſtill living. That ſhe was the widow of *Theodorus*, the principal in this conſpiracie, is the opinion of (*l*) Valeſius, and (*m*) Tillemont: and appears to me very probable. And the ſame *Theodorus* had a ſon, *(n)* named *Icarius*, who *(o)* was Count of the Eaſt in the time of the Emperour Theodoſius. Who therefore was not involved in his father's danger: and I ſuppoſe he was ſtill a Heathen.

The only perſon, whoſe ſon was accuſed, as mentioned by Ammianus, is *Alypius*. Nevertheleſs he was not involved in his father's guilt. They were both accuſed. *Alypius*, after confiſcation of his eſtate, was baniſhed. And his ſon, *Hierocles*, when led to execution, was happily ſaved, as Ammianus obſerves, without ſaying, how. The means of his eſcape is ſuppoſed to be related by Chryſoſtom, though he does not mention him by name. In an oration, or homilie, ſhewing the power of the united prayers of many, he alledgeth this example. "Ten (*p*) years agoe, ſays he, ſome were "apprehended, as endeavouring to ſet up a tyrannie, as you well "know. At that time a perſon in the magiſtracie was convicted as "an accomplice in the conſpiracie. And when they were dragging "him away to be put to death, the whole city ran to the Hippo-"dromus, and gathering together a great number of artificers, and "others, they reſcue a man, not at all deſerving of pardon. Thus, "ſays Chryſoſtom, when you are deſirous to appeaſe the diſpleaſure "of an earthly Prince, you can joyn together with your wives and "children, and what follows."

The

(*k*) *Chr. ad viduam juniorem. T. i. p.* 343.

(*l*) *Annot. ad Ammian. l.* 29. *cap. i. p.* 597. *not.* (*g*).

(*m*) *L'Emp. Valens. art.* 14. *et note* xiv.

(*n*) Ἴσασι δὲ ἡμῖν ἄρχοντα ἀγαθὸν ἀντὶ καὶ τῦ τὸν Θεοδώρε τῦ ὐ δικαίως ἀποθανόντος *Liban. de Vita ſua. p.* 69. *A.*

(*o*) *See Tillemont. Valens. art. xiv. et Theodoſ. i. art xvi.*

(*p*) *De Incompreh. Dei Nat. hom.* 3. *T. i. p.* 470. *Bened.*

A. D. 374. The perſon here intended, is ſuppoſed to be *Hierocles*, ſon of *Alypius*. And it is obſervable, that Chryſoſtom, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have been partial to Valens, ſays, *he was not worthie of pardon.*

Theſe obſervations I ought to ſubmit to the judgement of candid and inquiſitive readers. But to me it has appeared, that in the accounts of this tranſaction there are many aggravations of the ſeverity of the proceedings upon this occaſion. *Theodorus*, as Ammianus acknowledgeth, was convicted of a deſign to ſubvert the government of Valens. I preſume that none of thoſe who were concerned in the conſultation of the oracle, were innocent. Yea, as ſeems to me, they were guilty of treaſon. For (*p*) ſuch it muſt be to make inquiries by divination concerning the life and death of Princes. And, were not they who were acquainted with this conſultation, obliged to diſcover it to the Magiſtrates? If they did not, might they not be reaſonably conſidered as accomplices? Zoſimus ſays, that *(q) Hilarie of Phrygia ſuffered for having given an explication of an obſcure oracle:* that is, he had been conſulted about this oracle, to know, whether, indeed, it intimated, that *Theodorus* was to ſucceed Valens in the Empire. And, as he did not make a diſcoverie of this, I ſuppoſe, the Judges were of opinion, he had forfeited his life. The capital ſentence pronounced upon him therefore was legal. This likewiſe was the caſe of *Maximus*. They *(r)* who had been concerned in the conſultation, being deſirous of ſome farther elucidations upon the anſwer received, went to *Maximus*, perſuaded of his ability to give them ſatisfaction. And, as *Maximus* did not diſcloſe the conſultation to the magiſtrates, he might, I ſuppoſe, be reckoned an accomplice, and be judged legally obnoxious to puniſhment.

Zoſimus

(*p*) Majeſtatis crimen contrahit, quiſquis ſuper Principis geneſi vel fato ſcrutatur, ut de Lepida ait C. Tacitus Annal. 3. cap. 22. cui inter alia crimina hoc quoque objectum fuit, quod per Chaldaeos in domum Caeſaris quaeſiviſſet. Rationem reddit Tertullianus Apologet cap. 35. *Cur opus eſt perſcrutari ſuper Caeſaris ſalute, niſi a quo aliquid adverſum illam cogitatur, vel optatur, aut poſt illam ſperatur, et ſuſtinetur.* Unde Paulus J. C. Sent. lib. v. Tit. 21. *Qui de ſalute Principis, vel ſumma Reipublicae, mathematicos, hariolos, haruſpices, vaticinatores conſulit, cum eo qui reſponderit, capite punitur. Lindenburg. annot. ad Ammian. lib.* 29 *cap.* 2. *not.* (*s*) *p.* 613.

(*q*) . . . ὡς δὴ χρησμόν τινα λεξαι, εἰς τὸ σαφέστερον ἐρμηνεύσας. *Zoſ. l.* 4. *p.* 744. *in.*

(*r*) χρησμῶ τινὸς ἐκπεσόντος σαφέστερον τὸν χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάξιμον ἀνήνεγκαν, τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα ἐχ ὁμολογήσαντες· ὡς δ' ἂν αὐτῶ χρήσαντος, τί σαφέστερον βυλόμενοι μαθεῖν. *Eunap. Maxim. p.* 87.

Zoſimus complains grievouſly, that the great philoſopher *Maximus*, and ſeveral others eminent for learning, were put to death. And, truly, it is a ſad caſe. But what ſhall we ſay? If learned men are guilty of treaſon, they expoſe themſelves to public reſentment, and may juſtly ſuffer. Nothing can ſave them, but mercie. Which I wiſh they had experienced, or at leſt ſome of them, particularly *Maximus*. As he had been ſpared ſo long, and had now ſurvived his great maſter, ten years, or more, and was now of a great age: I cannot but wiſh, that his fault had been connived at, though the ſentence pronounced upon him was juſt. A. D. 374.

Some innocent men may have ſuffered upon this occaſion. But many muſt have been guilty. Nor can it be thought very ſtrange, that Heathen writers ſhould ſhew ſome favour to their friends. Libanius *(s)* ſays, that *Theodorus* was unjuſtly put to death. And yet Ammianus has acknowledged his guilt. And Zoſimus allows, that he ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of his raſhneſſe. As does alſo *(t)* the younger Victor.

And when Libanius ſays, that *(u)* Valens hoped to have had him alſo accuſed, as one of the conſpirators, I take it to be a mere flouriſh. He was willing to make a merit of ſome danger with the reſt of his friends, though really he was ſafe enough. So likewiſe was Ammianus, I believe, though zealous for the rites of Gentiliſm: and in like manner many others, who approved themſelves by their conduct to be quiet and peaceable ſubjects, and had neither been concerned in this traitorous conſultation, nor had been adviſed with about it, and ſtill concealed it.

3. I have ſtill one obſervation more, to be mentioned here, and ſuited to the point we are conſidering, *the State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours*, which is this: That ſuch conſultations by way of Divination, for diſcovering before-hand changes in the Empire, or the name of the perſon, who ſhould ſucceed the reigning Prince, muſt have tended to alienate the minds of Chriſtian Princes from

(s) *See before, note* (n) *p.* 365.

(t) Qua cognitione principii deceptus Theodorus, cum ſibi imperium praeſumeret, ſceleſtae cupidinis ſupplicia perſolvit. *Victor. Epit. cap.* 48.

(u) Δόξα τε ἦν παρὰ τῷ Βαλέντι, φθόνῳ τὴν δόξαν πεποιημένος, πάντως εἰς ἔλεγχον με πεσεῖν δι' ἑνὸς γε τούτων ὑπὸ τὴν βασανὸν ἀγομένων. κ. λ. *De Vita ſua, p.* 56.

A. D. 374. from Heathen people, and induce them to leſſen their privileges as ſuch, and lay reſtraints upon their worſhip.

Sozomen, begining his account of this tranſaction, which has occaſioned all theſe obſervations, ſays: " At (z) that time almoſt " all the Greek Philoſophers were deſtroyed. For ſome who were " eminent for philoſophie, being uneaſie at the great progreſſe of " Chriſtianity, were deſirous to know, who ſhould ſucceed Valens " in the Empire. For this end they tried all ſorts of divination, " and conſtructed a wooden tripod, which they conſecrated with " ſolemn rites of invocation."

Sozomen's conjecture, concerning the occaſion of this conſultation, muſt be allowed to be very probable. Indeed, I do not believe, that the Heathen people, after the converſion of Conſtantin, were ſo good ſubjects as the primitive Chriſtians, who had lived, and ſuffered ſo much under Heathen Emperours before that period. Ammianus, beſide what he ſays of this particular tranſaction, acknowledgeth, that the life of Valens had been in danger ſeveral times. The conduct of Heathen people at this time may be reckoned the more unreaſonable, becauſe Valens has been ſuppoſed to be very favourable to them. " As (a) Theodoret ſays, Valens al- " lowed all others to worſhip in their own way. He waged war " with none, but thoſe who held the apoſtolical (meaning the ho- " moüſian) doctrine. During the whole time of that reign, the " fire burned upon the altars. The Gentils offered incenſe and " ſacrifices to their idols, and held their feaſts publicly in the " market-places. They who were initiated in the rites of Bacchus " ran about covered in goatſkins, tearing dogs to pieces with the " wild furie, uſual in the ſolemnities of Bacchus."

Undoubtedly, at that ſeaſon, the Gentils enjoyed a good deal of liberty, as was ſhewed by us (b) not long ago: though they were laid under ſome reſtraints.

Our

(z) ... Τηὶς γὰρ ὁι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προφέρειν ἐνομίζοντο, πρὸς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῷ χριστιανισμῷ δυσφορῦντες, ἐβελεύσαντο προμαθεῖν τὸν ἐρεξῶς Ουαλέντι Ρωμαίων ἡγησόμενον, μαντείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς περὶ τῦτο ἐχρήσαντο. κ. λ. *Soz. l.* 6. *c.* 35. *p.* 693.

(a) Ὁ δὲ Ουάλης πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπέτρεψε θρησκεύειν ἣ βέλοιντο, κ) τὰ θρησκευόμενα θεραπεύειν. κ. λ. *Theod. l.* 8. *c.* 21. *p.* 226.

(b) *See p.* 344. 345.

Our writers of Univerſal Hiſtorie, ſpeaking of Valens, ſay, "All A. D. 374.
"(*c*) the eccleſiaſtical writers agree, that he allowed to the many ſects "which then prevailed, nay even to the Jews and Pagans, the free "exerciſe of their religion: but perſecuted the Catholicks with the "utmoſt cruelty."

III. I have done with this conſultation. But before I proceed to any other article, I think it not improper to inſert here the hiſtorie of the philoſopher *Maximus*. I have ſaid little of him in my chapter of *Julian*. But he may not be omitted. A man, who was ſo favoured by Julian, and ſo highly eſteemed afterwards by Heathen people, muſt have a place in this work. *The Hiſtorie and Character of Maximus.*

We have lately ſeen, with what tokens of high reſpect he is mentioned by Ammianus, whom we have placed at the year 380. though his work was not finiſhed till ſome while afterwards. Eunapius, when he gives the account of their going to Maximus for an explication of the oracular anſwer, which they had received, ſpeaks (*d*) of him, as an oracle, and more than an oracle, and better acquainted with the mind of the Gods, than the oracle itſelf. And proceeding to relate his death, he ſays, "they (*e*) ſent for him "to come to Antioch, where the Emperour was: but he ſo clearly ſhewed the falſhood of the things laid to his charge, and how "every thing foretold by him had come to paſs, that they were aſhamed to put him to death there: and thinking it no leſs a "crime, than to kill the deity, who dwelt in him. They therefore ſent him to Feſtus, the cruel Governour of Aſia, who readily obeyed their orders, putting to death guilty and innocent, "and among them the great Maximus." Such is the way, in which theſe writers ſpeak of *Maximus*.

Maximus now ſuffered death in the year 374. He had met with a great difficulty not long after the death of Julian. The reign of Jovian was ſhort. He therefore had no leiſure to proſecute the friends,

(*c*) *Vol* xvi. *p.* 350.

(*d*) *Eunap. Max. p.* 87. 88.

(*e*) .... διεχυθέντος δὲ αὐτῦ φόνου, ὡς πάντα ἐπὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἠλέγχθη, ϗ ὅτι κατέγνω τῶν ἐγχειρησάντων, ϗ ὅτι προεῖπεν ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Μαξίμε σώματι, θεόν τινα κολάζοντες ... πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ προκατακόψας αἰτίους ϗ ἀναιτίους, ϗ τὸν μέγαν Μάξιμον αὐτοῖς ἐπέστρεξε. *Eunap. Max. p.* 88. 89.

A. D. 374. friends, or miniſters of Julian. But upon the acceſſion of Valentinian, and then of his brother Valens, the two philoſophers, *Priſcus* and *Maximus*, were ſent for to come to Conſtantinople. Againſt *(f) Priſcus* no accuſations were received. After examination he was allowed to be a good and innocent man, and as ſuch was honourably diſmiſſed, to go and live in Greece.

" But againſt *Maximus*, as *(g)* Zoſimus ſays, Valentinian was " much provoked, he having repreſented him to Julian, not only as " zealous for Chriſtianity, but likewiſe injurious to the rites of Gen- " tiliſm." Eunapius ſays, " that *(h)* *Maximus* was then impri- " ſoned, and grievouſly racked, with a view of extorting from him " a large ſum of money, which he was ſuppoſed to have hoarded " up. But at length he was diſmiſſed with a fine only, which he " ſhould pay hereafter. The torture inflicted on him was ſo griev- " ous, that, as Eunapius ſays, *Maximus* ſent his wife to procure " ſome poyſon, that he might put an end to his life. But when " it was brought, he declined taking it. However his wife took a " part of it, and died, and was buried by her friends." After that, as I ſuppoſe, Maximus lived quietly, till the time of the conſultation above-mentioned.

That *Maximus* was in great favour with Julian, all know. The account, which, Eunapius gives of his going to Court, upon the acceſſion of that Emperour, is to this purpoſe. " Soon *(i)* after " his arrival at Conſtantinople, and after the death of Conſtantius, " Julian ſent a meſſenger with letters to *Maximus*, and *Chryſanthi-* " *us*, inviting them to come to him. They thought proper to aſk " counſel of the Gods. But the tokens, which they received, were " diſcouraging. Whereupon *Chryſanthius* plainly told *Maximus*: " *there can be thoughts of going to ſeek preferment. We muſt ſtay,* " *where we are. Perhaps, it may be needfull for us to hide ourſelves.* " On the contrarie, *Maximus* urged, We *(k)* are not to content " ourſelves with a ſingle refuſal. We ought rather to force the " gods,

(f) Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος οὐδὲν ὑποδὰς κακὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμαρτυρηθεὶς ἀγαθὸς ἄνηρ, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον, ἐκαπλεῦσε πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *Eunap. Max. p.* 82.

(g) *Zoſ. l.* 4. *p.* 735. *in. See above, in the chapter of Zoſimus, p.* 357.

(h) *Vita Max. p.* 83. 84.

(i) *Eunap. Max. p.* 77. . . 79.

(k) . . . μὴ πάντως ἐκεῖνα τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαντήσασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκβιάζεσθαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν, ἄχρις ἂν ἐπιλίπωσι πρὸς τὸν βιαιοπονεῖν. *Ibid. p.* 78.

" gods, till they give us a favourable anſwer, ſuited to our wiſhes. A. D.
" *Chryſanthius* replied, that he dared not to diſobey the firſt admo- 374.
" nitions, which had been received, and went away. *Maximus*
" (*l*) renewed his inquiries, till he obtained ſuch an anſwer as he
" wanted."

" And then he ſet out for Conſtantinople. And all the people
" of Aſia, magiſtrates, and men of every rank, accompanied him
" with their good wiſhes and acclamations. The women were as
" aſſiduous in their reſpects to his wife, entreating to be remem-
" bred by her: with all which ſhe ſeemed much pleaſed, and
" highly exalted. Thus *Maximus* went to Court with the good
" wiſhes of all Aſia."

" *Maximus*, (*m*) as Eunapius owns, had not been long at Court,
" before he appeared much elevated in mind by his exaltation. His
" dreſſe was more coſtly and ſplendid, than became a philoſopher!
" He became difficult of acceſſe, and did many things of himſelf,
" without the knowledge of the Emperour."

Upon this account my readers may now make ſuch remarks as they ſee good: only remembring, that it is not the account of a Chriſtian, but of Eunapius, a zealous Greek, and great admirer of *Maximus*. To me it appears highly probable, that a man, who went to Court with ſuch a temper as *Maximus* did, muſt have been guilty of many things, whilſt he was there, which were offenſive and diſagreeable. And, if *Maximus* had been taken off by Jovian, or Valentinian, ſoon after the death of Julian, I believe, it would not have been reckoned a very extraordinarie proceeding, but agreeable to the political maxims, which have often prevailed in the Courts of Princes. But *Maximus* was then ſpared. And there appears to have been a judgement of equity and mildneſſe. For ſoon after the acceſſion of Valentinian, *Priſcus* and *Maximus* were ſent for, as we have ſeen. And after examination it was allowed, that *Priſcus*, though he alſo had been a favourite of Julian, had done nothing amiſs, and was honourably diſmiſſed. Which

(*l*) Ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐπίμενεν ἅπαντα πρᾶττων, ἕως ἔτυχεν ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ κατεπαύετο· ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος ἀκίνητος ἐπέμενε ἀνεμέστος. *p.* 73.

(*m*) Ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος βαρὺς ἦν ἤδη περὶ τὰ βασίλεια, τολμήν τε ἀβροτέραν ἢ κατὰ φιλόσοφον ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ πρὸς ἐντεύξεις ὢν χαλεπώτερος καὶ δυσχερέστερος· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠγνόει τὰ πραττόμενα. *Ibid. p.* 79.

A. D. 374. ſhewed a diſpoſition in the reigning Prince to judge equitably. And, if *Maximus* had been as innocent, he might, and would have been diſmiſſed, and ſet at liberty in like manner.

And though his conduct, when at Court in the time of Julian, had not been unexceptionable, nor now afterwards, in the time of the above-mentioned conſultation, but juſtly liable to cenſure and puniſhment, I cannot but wiſh, he had been ſpared. I think, he might have been deſpiſed, and ſlighted. Which would have been more honourable to a Chriſtian Prince, than an act of ſtrict juſtice.

I beg leave to conclude with this obſervation: That though *Maximus* was greatly reſpected, and much admired by the Emperour Julian, and many learned Heathens, as a great Philoſopher, and was alſo reputed to have commerce with the Gods, I do not think, he was a wiſe man.

SECT. III. The Petition of the Roman Senate to Valentinian the Younger, in 384. that the Altar of Victorie, which had been removed by Gratian, might be reſtored.

I. *The Hiſtorie of this Altar in ancient Times, and of the ſeveral removals of it by Chriſtian Emperours.* II. *A Tranſlation of the Petition preſented by Symmachus, in the Name of the Senate.* III. *The Anſwers, made by Ambroſe of Milan, and Prudentius.* IV. *Two Queſtions relating to this Matter conſidered.* V. *The Hiſtorie and Character of Symmachus.*

A. D. 384. *The Hiſtorie of this Altar.*

I. THERE was at Rome, in the Senate-houſe, or at the entrance into it, an (*a*) Altar of Victorie. It was portable, and wherever the Senate aſſembled, there it was (*b*) placed. We meet

(*a*) Cave ſays, it was placed upon a triumphal chariot, and ſtood in the entrance or portico of the Capitol. *Intred. p. xxii.*

(*b*) Ex Suetonio colligimus. . . Victoriae ſimulachrum in Senatu poſitam fuiſſe. Quod transferebatur in quamcumque adem

meet with ſome accounts of this altar in ancient times. By Sueto- A. D. 384.
nius we are informed, that (*c*) the Senate, the more to adorn the funeral of Auguſtus, ordered, that the image of Victorie, which ſtood in the Senate-houſe, ſhould be carried in proceſſion before the body. It is mentioned alſo by Lampridius *(d)* in his Life of Alexander Severus, and by Herodian (*e*) in his hiſtorie of Antoninus Heliogabalus.

The Emperour Conſtantius *(f)* when he was at Rome in 356. or 357. ordered this Altar of Victorie to be removed. But that order was not long in force. The Altar was reſtored by Julian in 361. or 362. Here it continued a good while. For we know not of any order about it in the reign of Valentinian the firſt, who died in 375. He did not think of it, or from a principle of moderation he tolerated it, and was unwilling to diſoblige his Gentil ſubjects.

In the year 382. Gratian ordered the Altar of Victorie to be removed, and ſeized the lands allotted to maintain the prieſts and the ſacrifices. This *(g)* law of Gratian is referred to by Honorius, and confirmed by him. Gratian likewiſe abrogated the privileges of the Veſtal Virgins, which were very conſiderable. Hereupon the Senate ſent a deputation to the Emperour. But were not admitted into his preſence: conplaints of which we ſhall ſee preſently. But in the year 384. not long afrer the death of Gratian, the Senate ſent another deputation, with Symmachus, Prefect of the City, at their head, to Valentinian the ſecond, or the younger, who was not

dem pro ratione loci, in quo habitus Senatus. *Chamillard ad Prudent. l. i. p.* 533.

(*c*) Senatus et in funere ornando, et in memoria honoranda, eo ſtudio certatim progreſſus eſt, ut inter alia complura cenſuerint quidem funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria, quae eſt in curia. *Sueton. lib.* 2. *c.* 101.

(*d*) Mater ejus pridie quam pareret, ſomniavit, ſe purpureum dracunculum parere. Pater eadem nocte in ſomniis vidit, alis ſe Victoriae, quae in Senatu, ad coelum vehi. *Lamprid. Alex. Sever. c.* 14. *p.* 899.

(*e*) *Herod. lib. v p.* 567.

(*f*) Conſtantius auguſtae memoriae, nondum ſacris initiatus myſteriis, contaminari ſe putavit, ſi aram illam videret. Juſſit auferri, non juſſit reponi. *Ambroſ. Ep.* 18 *num.* 32. *p.* 841. *Seu de non reſtituenda ara Victoriae libellus* 2. *ap. Symmachum. p.* 329.

(*g*) Omnia etiam loca, quae ſacris error veterum deputavit, ſecundum Divi Gratiani conſtituta, noſtrae rei jubemus ſociari. &c. [Dat. ann. 415.] *Cod. Theod. lib.* 16. *tit.* x. *l.* 20. *T.* 6. *p.* 290.

A. D. 384. not then more than fourteen years of age. The addreſſe or petition, preſented at that time, will be recited by us by and by at length. It is addreſſed (*b*) to *Valentinian, Theodoſius, and Arcadius*, according to the Roman cuſtom: but it was intended for Valentinian, and is addreſſed to him in particular, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

As ſoon as Ambroſe, Biſhop of Milan, heard of this deputation, he wrote a letter to the Emperour, containing ſuch advice, as appeared proper at that time, and ſuited to fortify his reſolutions. Afterwards he procured a copie of the Petition, and anſwered it more fully. This we know from the introduction (*i*) to the ſecond book, or argument of Ambroſe, of which we ſhall take particular notice hereafter. It is alſo mentioned by Paulinus (*k*) in his Life of that Biſhop.

In the year 388. (*l*) as is ſuppoſed, there was another attempt made by the Gentils for reſtoring the Altar of Victorie, or at leſt the revenues, which Gratian had taken away. A part of the Senate, as (*m*) Ambroſe ſays, by their deputies made this demand of Theodoſius, then at Milan. Symmachus, now alſo lent them a helping hand, and (*n*) in a Panegyrick on Theodoſius dextrouſly inſinuated

(*b*) *D. D. D. Valentiniano, Theod. Arcad. ſemper Aug. &c. ap. Symm. l. x. ep.* 54.

(*i*) Cum vir clariſſimus, Praefectus Urbis Symmachus, ad clementiam tuam retuliſſet, ut ara, quae de urbis Romae curia ſublata fuerat, redderetur loco.. eodem quo comperi puncto, libellum obtuli . . . quo licet comprehenderim, quae ſuggeſtioni neceſſaria viderentur, popoſci tamen exemplum mihi Relationis dari. *Ambr. Ep.* 18. *p.* 833.

(*k*) Sed egreſſo Theodoſio de Italia, et Conſtantinopoli conſtituto, Valentiniano intra Gallias poſito, directa legatio eſt ſub nomine Senatus a Symmacho tunc Praefecto Urbis, de repetenda Ara Victoriae, et ſumptibus caeremoniarum Sed ubi comperit Sacerdos, miſſo libello ad Imperatorem poſtulavit, ut ad ſe Relationis exemplaria dirigerentur, quibus ipſe pro partibus ſuis reſponſurus eſſet. Quâ Relatione accepta, praeclariſſimum libellum conſcripſit, ut contra nihil unquam audiret Symmachus vir eloquentiſſimus reſpondere. *Vit. Ambr. num.* 26. *p. vii.*

(*l*) *Vide Baron. ann.* 388. *n.* 93. *Tillem. L'Emp. Theodoſ. art.* 46. *Ancient Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xvi. p.* 424.

(*m*) Poſtea etiam clementiſſimo imperatori Theodoſio coram intimavi, atque in os dicere non dubitavi, cui intimata Senatus legatione hujuſmodi, licet non totus Senatus popoſcerit, inſinuationi meae tantam adſentionem detulit. . . &c. *Ambr. ad Eugen. ep.* 57. *p.* 1011. *in.*

(*n*) Cui [Theodoſio] Symmachus ille, mirabili eloquio et ſcientiâ praeditus, tamen Paganus, praecconio laudum in conſiſtorio recitato, ſubtili arte quâ valuit, Aram Victoriae in Senatu reſtitui, Chriſtiano, ut noverat, Principi, intimavit. Quem ſtatim a ſuis aſpectibus pulſum, in conteſimo lapide, thedae non ſtratae impoſitum ea die manere praecepit. *Proſper. de Promiſſ. l.* 3. *cap.* 38.

ated a requeſt to that purpoſe. But the Emperour, as is ſaid, was ſo provoked, that he preſently ordered him to come down, and to be that inſtant put into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into baniſhment, forbidding him under ſevere penalties to come any more within a hundred miles of Rome. But it was not long, before he was pardoned. A. D. 384.

Afterwards, when Theodoſius was gone back to Conſtantinople, the Senate ſent another requeſt in favour of this Altar to Valentinian, then in Gaul, but without effect. We are aſſured of this from (*o*) Ambroſe. This muſt have been in the year 392. and the begining of it, and not long before the death of Valentinian.

And in the ſame year, 392. after the death of Valentinian, (*p*) Eugenius reſtored the Altar of Victorie. This alſo is particularly mentioned by Paulinus in the words next following the quotation before made from (*q*) him. Moreover we have a letter of Ambroſe to Eugenius, where he gives him the title of Emperour, and Auguſtus, and reproves him for iſſuing ſuch an order, contrarie to his profeſſion as a Chriſtian: though (*r*) as it ſeems, that order was not granted, till after divers reiterated requeſts. And indeed Rufinus, who alſo was contemporarie, informs us, that (*s*) the expectations of Gentil people were greatly raiſed at that time: and victims were then multiplied at Rome, and all kinds of divination were practiſed. And Flavianus, then Prefect of Rome, and reckoned very ſkilfull in

(*o*) Iterum Valentiniano auguſtae memoriae principi legatio a Senatu miſſa intra Gallias, nihil extorqueri potuit: et certe aberam, nec aliquid tunc ad ipſum ſcripſeram. *Ambr. ibid p.* 104.

(*p*) *Vide Baron. ann.* 392. *ii. iii. Pagi ann.* 392. *ii.*

(*q*) Sed poſtquam auguſtae memoriae Valentinianus in Viennenſi civitate .... vitam finivit; Eugenius ſuſcepit imperium, qui ubi imperare coepit, non multo poſt, petentibus Flaviano tunc praefecto, et Arbogaſte comite, Aram Victoriae, et ſumtus caeremoniarum, quod Valentinianus auguſtae memoriae, adhuc in junioribus annis conſtitutus, petentibus denegaverat, oblitus fidei ſuae conceſſit. *De Vita Ambroſ. ubi ſupra.*

(*r*) Te imperante, petierunt legati, ut templis redderes, non feciſti. Iterum alteri poſtulaverunt, reniſus es: et poſtea ipſis, qui petierunt, donandum putaſti. *Ad Eugen. Ep.* 57. *n* 6. *p.* 1011.

(*s*) At Pagani, qui errores ſuos novis ſemper erroribus animant, innovare ſacrificia, et Romam funeſtis victimis cruentare, inſpicere exta pecudum, et ex fibrarum praeſcientia ſecuram Eugenio victoriam nunciare: ſuperſtitioſius haec agente, et cum omni animoſitate Flaviano tunc praefecto, cujus aſſertionibus (magna enim erat ejus in ſapientia praerogativa,) Eugenium victorem fore pro certo praeſumſerant. &c. *Ruſin. H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23.

A. D. 384. in thoſe rites, encouraged Eugenius with ſtrong aſſurances of ſucceſſe and victorie.

The Altar of Victorie, undoubtedly, was not reſtored by Valentinian. Ambroſe's interceſſions muſt have prevailed againſt it, if the Emperour had been diſpoſed to it: which I do not think he was. Nor can it be thought, that Theodoſius allowed it to remain there, after it had been ſet up by Eugenius. Nevertheleſs Pyrrho, from ſome lines of Claudian (*t*) upon the ſixth Conſulſhip of Honorius, in the year 404 deſcribing the rejoycings after the victorie obtained over Alarich at Pollentia, is much inclined to think, that (*u*) the Altar of Victorie was not removed, as Ambroſe deſired, or elſe was reſtored afterwards. But I do not think, thoſe lines can be reckoned a good proof of this. For by *Victorie* may be there meant, the goddeſſe Victorie, who was worſhiped in many temples, not the image of Victorie ſtanding in the Senate Houſe.

The Petition preſented by Symmachus in the Name of the Senate.

II. Having now, as I preſume, ſaid what may be ſufficient in the way of preface, I proceed to allege the Petition itſelf, which was preſented to Valentinian, in the year 384. in the name of the Senate, by Symmachus. Which I ſhall tranſlate entire from the begining to the end: placing alſo the original at the bottom of the pages. All may be ſenſible, that ſuch performances are attended with ſome difficulty. But Cave (*x*) has already publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation, from which I have had ſome aſſiſtance.

" *To*

(*t*) . . . Agnoſcunt proceres, habituque Gabino
Principis, et ducibus circumſtipata togatis
Jure paludatae jam curia militat aulae.
Adfuit ipſa ſuis ales Victoria templis
Romanae tutela togae: quae divite pompâ
Patritii reverenda fovet ſacraria coetus,
Caſtrorumque eadem comes indefeſſa tuorum,
Nunc tandem fruitur votis, atque omne futurum
Te Romae ſeſeque tibi promittit in aevum.
Claudian. Carm. 28. *ver.* 594. . . 601.

(*u*) Hinc patet, Victoriae ſimulachrum, aut non ſublatum, ut ſuadebat Ambroſius, aut ſtatim repoſitum. *Pyrrho ad ver.* 597.

(*x*) *See the Life of St. Ambroſe. p.* 377. *&c. among the Lives of the moſt eminent Fathers of the Church, who flouriſhed in the fourth Century.*

" *To (y) our Lords the Emperours, Valentinian, Theodoſius, and* A. D.
" *Arcadius, Symmachus Prefect of the City.*" 384.

" As (z) ſoon as the moſt illuſtrious, and Your ever loyal Se-
" nate had taken cognizance, that the vices of the times were ſub-
" dued by the laws, and that the infamie of late ages had been
" expiated by the piety of our preſent Princes, they, following ſo
" good an example, have laid hold of this occaſion to expreſs their
" long ſuppreſſed grief, and again to employ me as the meſſenger
" of their complaints. For though they were by bad men denied
" the privilege of an audience, they are perſuaded, that the pre-
" ſent Emperours will do them juſtice.

" I therefore in a double capacity, as Your Prefect, entruſted
" with the public concerns, and as deputy of the citizens of Rome,
" recommend their requeſt. In this we are all agreed, foraſmuch
" as men are at length grown ſo wiſe, as not to eſpouſe the factions
" of courtiers, when they are divided only about their own private
" intereſts. For to be loved, to be honoured, to be reſpected, is
" more deſirable, than any grandeur. And who can bear to think,
" that private quarrels ſhould obſtruct the intereſts of the Com-
" monwealth? The Senate juſtly diſdains thoſe men, who prefer
" the gratification of their own ambition to the honour of their
" Prince.

" Indeed

(y) D. D. D. Valentiniano, Theod. et Arcad. ſemper Augg. Symmachus Praef. Urbis. *Ap. Symm. l. x. ep. 54. p. 287. &c. et ap. Ambroſ. Tom. 2. p. 828. &c. edit. Bened.*

(z) Ubi primum Senatus ampliſſimus, ſemperque veſter, ſubacta legibus vitia cognovit, et a Principibus piis vidit purgari famam proximorum temporum: boni ſeculi auctoritatem ſecutus, evomuit diu preſſum dolorem, atque iterum me querelarum ſuarum juſſit eſſe legatum. Cui ideo Divi Principis denegata eſt ab improbis audientia, quia non erat juſtitia defutura, domini imperatores, Valentiniane, Theodoſi, et Arcadi inclyti, victores ac triumphatores, ſemper auguſti.

2. Gemino igitur functus officio, et ut Praefectus veſter geſta publica proſequor, et ut legatus civium mandata commendo. Nulla eſt hic diſſenſio voluntatum: quia jam credere homines deſierunt aulicorum ſe ſtudio praeſtare, ſi diſcrepent. Amari, coli, diligi, majus imperio eſt. Quis ferat, obfuiſſe Reipublicae privata certamina? Merito illos Senatus inſequitur, qui potentiam ſuam famae principis praetulerunt.

3. Noſter

A. D. 384. " Indeed our great concern is to behave as the guardians of Your " ſafety and credit. For when we keep and defend the inſtitutions " of our anceſtors, the laws and appointments, and as it were the " fate of our countrey; what do we but advance the glorie of the " times? Which is never greater than when You think nothing " lawfull to be done, which is contrarie to the cuſtoms of our " fore-fathers. We therefore requeſt, that ſtate of religion may " be reſtored, which for long time has been profitable to the Re- " publick. Certainly, if we reckon up the Princes of each per- " ſuaſion, one of Your near anceſtors favored the rites of our fa- " thers, [*meaning Julian*] another, ſtill nearer in time, [*Valentini- " an the firſt*] did not remove them. If therefore the piety of the " more ancient does not make out a ſufficient example, let the " connivance of the lateſt be attended to. [*Meaning, probably, Va- " lentinian the firſt, and Valens.*]

" Who is there ſo much a friend to the Barbarians, as not to " deſire, that the altar of Victorie may be reſtored. We are care- " full for poſterity, and would dread all prognoſticks of calamities. " If the Deity is not duly reverenced, yet let the appearance of re- " ligion be preſerved. Your Majeſties are already very much, and " will be more indebted to Victorie. Let them ſlight this power, " who have had no benefit by it. Do not You deſpiſe a patronage, " which may produce triumphs. This power is deſirable to all. " Let not any man deny, that to be fit to be worſhiped, whoſe fa- " vour he profeſſeth to wiſh for. And if the Deity is not duly re- " ſpected, let the ornaments of the Senate-houſe be left un- " touched.

" We

3. Noſter autem labor pro clementia veſtra ducit excubias. Cui enim magis commodat, quod inſtituta majorum, quod patriae jura et fata defendimus, quam temporum gloriae? quae tum eſt major, cum vobis contra morem parentum intelligitis nil licere. Repetimus igitur religionum ſtatum, qui Reipublicae diu profuit. Certe numerentur Principes utriuſque ſectae, utriuſque ſententiae. Proximus eorum coeremonias patrum coluit, recentior non removit. Si exemplum non facit religio veterum, faciat diſſimulatio proximorum.

4. Quis ita familiaris eſt Barbaris, ut aram Victoriae non requirat? Cauti in poſterum ſumus, et triſtium rerum oſtenta vitamus. Reddatur tantum numini honor, qui numini denegatus eſt. Multa Victoriae debet aeternitas veſtra, et adhuc plura debebit. Averſentur hanc poteſtatem, quibus nihil profuit. Vos amicum triumphis patrocinium nolite deſerere. Cunctis potentia iſta votiva eſt. Nemo colendum neget, quam profitetur optandam.

5. Quod

" We beg of You, that we may be permitted now we are old, A. D.
" to leave to poſterity thoſe things, in which we were educated, 384.
" when young. The affection for cuſtom is very great. The pro-
" ceeding of the bleſſed Conſtantius was deſervedly of ſhort dura-
" tion. And all ſuch proceedings are to be avoided, which You
" know to have been ſoon diſliked. We aim to perpetuate Your
" renown and credit, and deſire that nothing may be done, which
" poſterity ſhall judge needfull to be reformed.

" And, (*if this altar be removed,*) where ſhall we ſwear to ob-
" ſerve Your laws and ordinances? What will then remain, to awe
" the profligate, and terrify them from perjurie? It is true, God is
" every where. Nor is there any place, where the perfidious can
" be ſafe. Nevertheleſs the outward ſolemnity of religion is of
" great uſe to reſtrain men from evil. That altar is the band of
" unity to all, and the pledge of fidelity to every individual. Nor
" is there any thing, which ſo effectually ſecures authority to our
" determinations, as that all the proceedings are managed by Se-
" nators ſworn at this altar. Shall this ſeat be open to be profaned
" by perjuries? And ſhall that be approved by our excellent Prin-
" ces, whoſe perſons and government are ſecured by the public
" oath of their people?

" But it will be ſaid: It is nothing more than was done by the
" bleſſed Conſtantius. Let us rather imitate the other actions of
" that Prince, who never would have attempted ſuch a thing, if
" any one before him had ſo miſtaken in the meaſures of govern-

5. Quod ſi numinis [al. hujus ominis] non eſſet juſta curatio: ſaltem ornamentis Curiae debuit abſtineri. Praeſtate, oro vos, ut ea quae pueri ſuſcepimus, ſenes poſteris relinquamus. Conſuetudinis amor magnus eſt. Merito Divi Conſtantii factum diu non ſtetit. Omnia vobis exempla vitanda ſunt, quae mox remota didiciſtis. Aeternitatem curamus famae et nominis veſtri, ne quid futura aetas inveniat corrigendum.

6. Ubi in leges veſtras et verba jurabimus? Qua religione mens falſa terrebitur, ne in teſtimoniis mentiatur? Omnia quidem Deo plana ſunt, nec ullus perfidis tutus eſt locus. Sed plurimum valet ad metum delinquendi, etiam praeſentia religionis urgeri. Illa ara concordiam tenet omnium, illa ara fidem convenit ſingulorum. Neque aliud magis auctoritatem facit ſententiis noſtris, quam quod omnia quaſi juratus noſter ordo decernit. Patebit ergo ſedes profana perjuriis, et hoc incliti Principes probabile judicabunt, qui ſacramento publico tuti ſunt?

7. Sed divus Conſtantius idem feciſſe dicitur. Cetera potius illius Principis aemulemur: qui nihil tale eſſet aggreſſus, ſi

A. D. 384. "ment. For miſcarriages of former Princes are leſſons of inſtruction to their ſucceſſors: and any one eaſily amends, when he "has been warned by the evil example of thoſe who went before "him. That Prince, Your Majeſties predeceſſor, was not aware "of the diſcontent, which would be occaſioned by that innovation. But will that defenſe be of any advantage to us, if we "ſhould imitate what we know to have been diſliked?

"Let Your auguſt Majeſties take pattern from other actions of "the ſame Prince, which are more worthie to be imitated. He "did not diminiſh the privileges of the ſacred Virgins: He "conferred the prieſthood upon the nobility: And he allowed out "of the treaſurie the expenſes of the Roman ſacrifices, and other "religious obſervances. And when he was at Rome, being attended by the Senate, through the ſtreets †† of the immortal "City, he caſt his eyes with a pleaſed countenance upon the temples, read in their frontiſpiece the names of the Gods to whom "they were dedicated, made inquiries after the original of the temples, and admired the munificence of the founders. And though "he was of another religion, he never thought of aboliſhing the "religion of the Empire. For every man has his own rites, and "his own manner of worſhip. The ſupreme Deity, who governs "the world, has aſſigned different guardians to every city. As to "every man is given a ſoul at his birth, ſo has every nation a particular genius allotted to it.

"To

ſi quis ante ſe alius deviaſſet. Corrigit enim ſequentem lapſus prioris, et de reprehenſione antecedentis exempli naſcitur emendatio. Fas fuit, ut parens ille clementiae veſtrae in re adhuc nova non caveret invidiam. Num poteſt etiam nobis eadem defenſio convenire, ſi imitemur quod meminimus improbatum?

8. Accipiat aeternitas veſtra alia ejuſdem Principis facta, quae in uſum dignius trahat. Nil ille decerpſit ſacrarum Virginum privilegiis, replevit [al. decrevit] nobilibus ſacerdotia, Romanis caeremoniis non negavit impenſas: et per omnes vias aeternae Urbis laetum ſecutus Senatum, vidit placido ore delubra, legit inſcripta faſtigiis Deüm nomina, percontatus eſt templorum origines, miratus eſt conditores. Cumque alias religiones ipſe ſequeretur, has ſervavit Imperio. Suus enim cuique mos, ſuus cuique ritus eſt. Varios cuſtodes urbibus cunctis mens divina diſtribuit. Ut animas naſcentibus, ita populis fatales genii dividuntur. Ut ani-

†† *They who are curious, may compare this with Ammianus's account, of the viſit made by Conſtantius at Rome in the year* 356. *or* 357. *Ammian. l.* 16. *cap.* x.

" To theſe conſiderations ought to be added the utility of reli- A. D.
" gion. For ſince all reaſonings are obſcure and uncertain, whence 384.
" can we better derive the knowledge of the Deity, than from
" the remembrance and documents of former proſperity? If then
" antiquity be ſufficient to give authority to religion, we ought to
" preſerve that faith, which has ſubſiſted for ſo many ages, and to
" follow our parents, who have happily followed theirs.

" Let us imagine Rome herſelf to be now preſent, and pleading
" her cauſe with You in this manner: O You beſt of Princes, the
" fathers of Your countrey, revere my great age, to which theſe
" rites of religion have brought me, and let me ſtill follow the an-
" cient obſervances. Nor do I repent of ſo doing. Let me live in
" my own way. I am free, and have a right to do ſo. This
" way of worſhip has brought all the world into obedience to my
" laws. Theſe rites drove Hannibal from my walls, and the Gauls
" from the Capitol. And have I lived ſo long to be corrected in
" old age? Let me know, what this new inſtitution is. Sure I am,
" to reclaim old age, is an unſeaſonable, and diſhonourable un-
" dertaking."

" We therefore aſk of You ſecurity for the Gods of our coun-
" trey, which have been long worſhiped by us. It is but rea-
" ſonable to think, that whatever deity men adore, it is but one
" only. We look up to the ſame ſtars, the heaven is common to
" all, and the ſame world encloſeth us. What matters it, in what
" method

animae naſcentibus, ita populis fatales genii dividuntur. Accedit utilitas, quae maxime homini Deos adſerit. Nam cum ratio omnis in operto ſit, unde rectius quam de memoria atque documentis rerum ſecundarum cognitio venit numinum? Jam ſi longa aetas auctoritatem religioni facit, ſervanda eſt tot ſeculis fides, et ſequendi ſunt nobis parentes, qui ſecuti ſunt feliciter ſuos.

9. Romam nunc putemus aſſiſtere, atque his vobiſcum agere ſermonibus: optimi Principes, patres patriae, reveremini annos meos, in quos me pius ritus adduxit. Utar cerimoniis avitis: neque enim me poenitet. Vivam more meo, quia libera ſum. Hic cultus in leges meas orbem redegit. Haec ſacra Annibalem a moenibus, a Capitolio Senonas repulerunt. Ad hoc ergo ſervata ſum, ut longaeva reprehendar? Videro, quale ſit quod inſtituendum putatur. Sera tamen et contumelioſa eſt emendatio ſenectutis.

10. Ergo Diis patriis, Diis indigetibus pacem rogamus. Aequum eſt, quicquid omnes colunt, unum putavi. Eadem ſpectamus aſtra, commune coelum eſt, idem nos mundus involvit. Quid intereſt, quâ quiſque prudentiâ verum inquirat: uno

A. D. 384. " method men inquire after truth? It is not one path only, that " leads to ſo great a ſecret. But it will be ſaid, that theſe are the " diſcourſes of men who are much at leiſure. No, it is not ſo. " We do not aim to enter into diſpute. We only tender requeſts.

" Conſider, what benefit has accrued to Your treaſurie, by tak- " ing away the privileges of the Veſtal Virgins. Under the moſt " liberal Emperours that is denied, which the moſt parſimonious " allowed. The honour is the chief reward of their chaſtity. As " their fillets are the ornament of their head, ſo one of the enſigns " of their prieſthood is to be exempt from all offices. Which ex- " emption is little more than a name, ſince their poverty excuſeth " them from great expenſes.

" But poſſibly it will be ſaid, that they advance their reputation, " who leſſen their revenue. For virginity conſecrated to the pub- " lic good, gains in merit, as it loſeth in it's reward.

" But let not ſuch ſaving methods be practiſed to encreaſe your " revenue, which ſhall rob it of it's glorie. The treaſurie of good " Princes is not to be augmented by the ruins of the Prieſts, but " by the ſpoils of enemies. Nor would the greateſt gain make a- " mends for the envie, with which it would be attended. But be- " cauſe covetouſneſſe is a fault, to which You are ſtrangers, this " makes their caſe the more deplorable, who have loſt their for- " mer ſubſiſtences. But whatever is alienated under thoſe Princes, " who have conquered the love of riches, and never practiſed ra- " pine and extortion, only turns to the detriment of him who is the " loſer, without gratifying the appetite of him who ſeiſeth it."

" And

uno itinere non poteſt perveniri ad tam grande ſecretum. Sed haec ocioſorum diſputatio eſt. Nunc preces, non certamina offerimus.

11. Quanto commodo ſacri aerarii veſtri Veſtalium Virginum praerogativa detracta eſt? Sub largiſſimis Imperatoribus denegatur quod parciſſimi praeſtiterunt. Honor ſolus eſt in illo velut ſtipendio caſtitatis. Ut vittae earum capiti decus faciunt, ita inſigne ducitur ſacerdotii, vacare muneribus. Nudum quodammodo nomen immunitatis requirunt, quoniam paupertate a diſpendio tutae ſunt. Itaque amplius laudi earum tribuunt qui aliquid rei detrahunt. Siquidem ſaluti publicae dicata virginitas creſcit merito, cum caret praemio.

12. Abſint ab aerarii veſtri puritate iſta compendia. Fiſcus bonorum Principum non ſacerdotum damnis, ſed hoſtium ſpoliis augeatur. Ullumne lucrum compenſat invidiam? At quia avaritia in veſtros mores non cadit, hoc miſeriores ſunt, quibus ſubſidia vetera decerpta ſunt. Etenim ſub Imperatoribus, qui alieno abſtinent, qui reſiſtunt cupiditati, ad ſolam detrahitur amittentis injuriam, quod deſiderium non movet auferentis.

13.

" And now the treaſurie detains alſo thoſe lands, which were A. D.
" given to the Veſtals and their officers by the will of our dying 384.
" progenitors. But let me beſeech You and the miniſters of Your
" juſtice, that they may enjoy the private legacies bequeathed to
" the holy uſes of the city. Let men then ſecurely make their laſt
" wills, and let them be aſſured, that they have not to do with
" covetous Princes, but with ſuch as will ratify what they bequeath.
" Let it be a pleaſure to you to make the world thus happy. This
" one thing creates diſquiet to all dying perſons. And does not the
" religion of the Romans come under the protection of the Ro-
" man laws? By what name ſhall we call an alienation of rights,
" which no laws, or circumſtances of things ever juſtified? Freed-
" men receive legacies. Nor are ſlaves deprived of the privilege of
" receiving what is left by wills. They are only the noble Veſtals,
" and the attendents on the ſacred rites, upon which the public
" welfare depends, who are deprived of the privilege of receiving
" eſtates, legally bequeathed to them. What avails it to vow vir-
" ginity for the ſafety of the Republick, and to call in the aid of
" heaven to perpetuate Your Empire, to aſſiſt Your armies and le-
" gions with friendly powers, to offer up ardent and effectual pray-
" ers for the welfare of all, and at the ſame time to be denied the
" privileges common to all? Would it not at this rate be better to
" ſerve men, than the Gods? Thus we injure the Common-wealth,
" which has no intereſt to be ungratefull.

" Let

13. Agros etiam virginibus et miniſtris deficientium voluntate legatos fiſcus retentat. Oro vos, juſtitiae ſacerdotes, ut urbis veſtrae ſacris reddatur privata ſucceſſio. Dictent teſtamenta ſecuri, et ſciant, ſub Principibus non avaris ſtabile eſſe quod ſcripſerint. Deleſtet vos iſta felicitas generis humani. Coepit cauſſae hujus exemplum ſollicitare morientes. Ergo Romanae religiones ad Romana jura non pertinent? Quod nomen accipiet ablatio facultatum, quas nulla lex, nullus caſus fecit caducas? Capiunt legata liberti, ſervis teſtamentorum juſta commoda non negantur. Tantum nobiles virgines, et fatalium ſacrorum miniſtri excluduntur praediis haereditate quaeſitis. Quid juvat, ſaluti publicae caſtum corpus dicare, et Imperii aeternitatem coeleſtibus fulcire praeſidiis: armis veſtris, aquilis veſtris amicas applicare virtutes, pro omnibus efficacia vota ſuſcipere, et jus cum omnibus non habere? Itane melior eſt ſervitus quae hominibus impenditur? Rempublicam laedimus, cui numquam expedit, ut ingrata ſit.

14.

A. D. 384. " Let no man think, that I am pleading the cauſe of religion " only. To ſuch actions as theſe are owing all the calamities, which " have befallen mankind. Our anceſtors honoured the Veſtal Vir- " gins, and the Miniſters of the Gods, with laws providing for " them a competent maintenance, and ſuitable privileges. And " thoſe donations continued inviolable to the time of ſome degene- " rate bankers, who have converted the revenues of ſacred cha- " ſtity into a ſtipend for the vileſt porters. Immediatly there fol- " lowed a general famine, and all the countreys were diſappointed " in the hopes of a plentifull harveſt. The fault was not in the " ground. Nor do we charge it upon the ſtars. Nor did ruſt con- " ſume the grain, nor did weeds choak it. It was the ſacrilege, " that made the year barren. And how could men expect bread, " when religion was robbed of it's due?

" Verily if there be any other inſtance of ſuch a calamity, let " us impute this great famine to the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons. " There was a dry wind, which produced barrenneſſe, and men " now eat the buds of trees, and the poorer ſort of countrey-peo- " ple are again reduced to feed upon acorns. Did our fore-fathers " ever lye under ſuch a calamity, when the miniſters of religion " were maintained by an honourable allowance out of the public " treaſurie? When were men compelled to ſhake the oak for food, " or to ſuſtain themſelves with the roots of herbs? When did it " happen, that the wants of one countrey were unſupplied by the " plenty of another, whilſt the allowed proviſion of corn was di- " ſtributed

14. Nemo me putet, ſolum cauſſam religionis tueri. Ex hujuſmodi facinoribus orta ſunt cuncta humani generis incommoda. Honoraverat lex parentum Veſtales virgines ac miniſtros Deorum victo modico, juſtiſque privilegiis. Stetit hujus muneris integritas uſque ad degeneres trapezitas, qui ad mercedem vilium bajulorum ſacrae caſtitatis alimenta verterunt. Secuta eſt fames publica, et ſpem provinciarum omnium meſſis aegra decepit. Non ſunt haec vitia terrarum. Nihil imputamus aſtris. Nec rubigo ſegetibus obfuit, nec avena fruges necavit. Sacrilegio annus exaruit. Neceſſe enim fuit perire omnibus, quod religionibus negabatur.

15. Certe, ſi eſt hujus mali exemplum, imputemus tantam famem vicibus annorum. Gravis hanc ſterilitatem aura conſtrinxit. Silveſtribus arbuſtis vita producitur, et rurſus ad Dodonaeas arbores plebis ruſticae inopia convolavit. Quid tale proavi pertulerunt, quum religionem miniſtros honor publicus paſceret? Quando in uſus hominum concuſſa quercus? Quando vulſae ſunt herbarum radices? Quando alternos regionum defectus deſe-

ruit

" ſtributed in common to the people, and to the ſacred virgins? A. D.
" For the proviſions made for the prieſts were a primarie cauſe of 384.
" the fertility of the earth: and what was given to them was ra-
" ther a benefit, than an expenſe. Can it be doubted, whether
" what was beſtowed upon them was for the benefit of all, when
" the taking it away has been avenged by ſcarcity to all?

" But it will be ſaid, there is no reaſon, that the expenſes of an-
" other religion ſhould be born by the publick. Let not ſuch a
" thought find place in the minds of our excellent Princes, that
" what has been given to ſome to hold in common, may be juſt-
" ly ſeiſed by the treaſurie. For ſince the Republick conſiſts of
" ſingle perſons, whatever proceeds from it is the property of indi-
" viduals. You, as we acknowledge, govern all things. Neverthe-
" You give every man his due, and juſtice ſways with You more than
" licentiouſneſſe. Do but conſult Your own generous minds: and
" You will not think, that thoſe things belong to the publick,
" which You have already appropriated to the uſe of others.

" Whatever revenues have been once devoted to the honour of
" the City, ceaſe thenceforward to belong to the donors. And what
" was originally a largeſſe, by cuſtom and uſe becomes a debt. That
" man therefore endeavors to diſturb your ſacred minds with vain
" fears, who inſinuates, that You become acceſſarie with the do-
" nors, unleſs you incur the envie of cancelling ſuch grants."

" May

ruit fecunditas mutua, quum populo et virginibus ſacris communis eſſet annona? Commendabat enim terrarum proventus victus antiſtitum, et remedium magis quam largitas erat. An dubium eſt ſemper pro copia omnium datum quod nunc inopia omnium vindicavit?

16. Dicet aliquis, ſumptum publicum denegatum alienae religionis impendiis. Abſit a bonis Principibus iſta ſententia, ut quod de communi quibuſdam tributum eſt, in jure fiſci eſſe videatur. Nam cum reſpublica de ſingulis conſtet, quod ab ea proficiſcitur, fit rurſus proprium ſingulorum. Omnia regitis, ſed ſuum cuique ſervatis, pluſque apud vos juſtitia quam licentia valet. Conſulite certe munificentiam veſtram, an haec publica velit exiſtimari, quae in alios tranſtuliſtis. Semel honori Urbis delata compendia deſinunt eſſe tribuentium. Et quod a principio beneficium fuit, uſu atque aetate fit debitum. Inanem igitur metum divino animo veſtro tentat incutere, ſi quis aſſerit conſcientiam vos habere praebentium, niſi detrahentium ſubieritis invidiam.

17. Faveant clementiae veſtrae ſectarum omnium arcana praeſidia, et haec maxime, quae majores veſtros aliquando juverunt, vos defendant a nobis colantur. Eum religionum ſtatum petimus, qui Divo parenti culminis veſtri ſervavit imperium,

A. D. 384. "May all the unknown guardians of all ſects, and more eſpe-
"cially thoſe powers, which in times paſt were ſo propitious to
"Your anceſtors, defend You, and may they be worſhiped by us.
"We aſk for no other ſtate of religion, than that, which ſecured
"the empire to Your bleſſed father, [*Valentinian the firſt*] and gave
"him the happineſſe of a legitimate iſſue to ſucceed him. That
"elder bleſſed Prince looks down from heaven, and beholds the
"tears of the Prieſts, and conſiders the breach of their privileges,
"which he kept inviolable, as a reflexion upon himſelf."

"Shew alſo this reſpect to your bleſſed brother, [*Gratian*] and
"rectify that which was done rather by the counſels of others, than
"his own. Cover an action, which he was not aware was ſo diſ-
"pleaſing to the Senate. For it now appears, that the deputation
"ſent by us, was debarred acceſſe to him, that the ſenſe of the
"publick might not come to his knowledge. It will be to the ho-
"nour of paſt times, that You make no ſcruple to aboliſh that,
"which has been ſhewn to be no act of that Prince."

That is the petition of the Senate, preſented to the Younger Valentinian by Symmachus. I have tranſlated it entire. It is my province to collect, and tranſcribe Heathen authors, and let my readers ſee what they ſay favorable to us, or againſt us. Here Symmachus pleads the cauſe of Gentiliſm. We may be aſſured, that here are the beſt arguments, that could be alleged. Symmachus was a man of great abilities. He exerts himſelf to the utmoſt. And he ſpeaks with great freedom. Nothing, to the advantage of his cauſe is ſuppreſſed. He ſpeaks in the name of the Senate, and of Rome itſelf. And is under no reſtraints either of fear or favour.

Anſwers of Ambroſe, and Prudentius.

III. I do not think it needfull to be ſo particular in my accounts of what was ſaid by Ambroſe, or others, in the way of confutation, or to induce the Emperour not to comply with the demands of the Senate. But I ſhall take ſome notice of it.

I begin

um, qui fortunato Principi legitimos ſuffecit heredes. Spectat ſenior ille divus ex arce ſiderea lachrymas ſacerdotum, et ſe culpatum putat more violato, quem ipſe ſervavit.

18. Praeſtate etiam Divo fratri veſtro alieni conſilii correctionem. Tegite factum, quod Senatui diſplicuiſſe neſcivit. Siquidem conſtat ideo excluſam legationem, ne ad eum judicium publicum perveniret. Pro aeſtimatione eſt temporum ſuperiorum, ut non dubitetis abolere, quod probatum eſt, Principis non fuiſſe.

I begin with an account of the ſecond letter of Ambroſe ſent to Valentinian. A. D. 374.

" Three (*x*) things, ſays Ambroſe, the moſt excellent Prefect of " the city has inſiſted on in his Addreſſe, and which he thinks of " great weight: That Rome deſires the privilege of her old way of " worſhip: That the uſual allowances ought to be made to her " Prieſts, and Veſtal Virgins: And that when thoſe allowances were " taken away, a general famine preſently enſued."

Ambroſe's anſwer is prolix and verboſe. I muſt contract it. And yet I will allege ſomething relating to theſe three articles.

With regard to the firſt, he ſays, " It (*a*) is never too late to be " wiſe. It is no reproach to any age to repent, and reform, to " amend faults, or correct errours. He likewiſe obſerves, that *(b)* " Rome did not in late times worſhip the ſame gods, which ſhe " worſhiped at the begining: for they had multiplied their gods, " and adopted the deities of the nations, which had been conquer- " ed by them: and had received rites, to which they had been " long ſtrangers."

" With (*c*) regard to the Veſtal Virgins, of which they boaſted " ſo much, they were no more than ſeven. Great honours and " privileges had been conferred upon them. But virginity, which

(*x*) Tria igitur in Relatione ſua vir clariſſimus Praefectus Urbis Symmachus propoſuit, quae valida putavit. Quod Roma veteres, ut ait ſuos cultus requirat: et quod Sacerdotibus ſuis, Virginibuſque veſtalibus emolumenta tribuenda ſint: et quod emolumentis Sacerdotum negatis fames ſecuta publica ſit. *Ambroſ. libellus ſecundus contra Relationem Symmachi. Apud Symm. p.* 322. *et Ambroſii Epiſtola* 18. *p.* 833. *edit. Bened.*

(*a*) Non erubeſco cum toto orbe longaeva converti. Verum certe eſt, quia nulla aetas ad perdiſcendum ſera eſt. Erubeſcat Senectus, quae emendace ſe non poteſt. Non annorum canities eſt laudanda, ſed morum: nullus pudor eſt ad meliora tranſire. *Ap. Symm. p.* 323. *ap. Ambroſ. p* 834.

(*b*) Si ritus veteres delectabant, cur in alienos eadem Roma ſucceſſit? . . Quid, (quod de ipſo reſpondeam quod querantur,) captarum ſimulachra urbium, victoſque deos et peregrinos ritus ſacrorum, alienae ſuperſtitionis aemuli receperunt. *Ap. Symm. p.* 328. *ap. Ambroſ. p.* 840.

(*c*) *Habtant*, inquit, Veſtales virgines immunitatem *ſuam*. . . . Quot tamen illis virgines praemia promiſſa fecerunt? Vix ſeptem veſtales capiuntur puellae. En totus numerus, quem infulae vittati capitis, purpuretarum veſtium murices, pompa lecticae miniſtrorum circumfuſa comitatu, privilegia maxima, lucra ingentia, praeſcripta denique pudicitiae tempora coegerunt. Non eſt virginitas, quae pretio emitur, non virtutis ſtudio poſſidetur. &c. *Ap. Symm. p.* 324. 325. *ap. Ambr. p.* 836.

A. D. 384. " muſt be paid for, and rewarded, is of little value. Virgins were " numerous among the Chriſtians, more than could be rewarded " with great privileges. Nor did they deſire any ſuch thing."

Nor had the Heathen people, he thinks, any good reaſon to complain of withdrawing the ancient allowances from the Prieſts. For (*d*) by imperial laws (*e*) not long ſince publiſhed, Chriſtian miniſters were forbid to receive legacies from rich widows, and others: referring to a law of Valentinian and Valens made in the year 370. Of (*f*) which Jerome alſo takes notice. This therefore had been done before the law of Gratian, relating to Heathen Prieſts. Which law likewiſe, as I imagine, ſeiſed (*g*) only the lands, which had been ſettled upon the prieſts, and did not deprive them of the privilege of receiving preſents and legacies of movable goods.

What is ſaid by Symmachus of the famine in the year 383. Ambroſe treats as a trifling argument. There (*b*) is no reaſon, he thinks, to conſider that as a judgement of heaven, which may be imputed only to the viciſſitude of ſeaſons, which has been common in all times. And now plenty was returned, though the Altar of Victorie was not reſtored, nor had the laws, which had ſeiſed the lands of the Prieſts been abrogated. He ſays moreover, that the famine in the year 383. was not general. There was enough, and abun-

(*d*) Sacerdotibus ſuis et miniſtris queruntur alimenta publica non praeberi. Quantus hinc verborum tumultus increpitat? Contra, nobis etiam privatae ſucceſſionis emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur, et nemo conqueritur. Non enim putamus injuriam, quia diſpendium non dolemus. &c. *Ap. Symm. p.* 325 *ap. Ambr. p.* 836.

(*e*) *Vid. Cod. Theod lib.* 16. *tit.* 2. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 48.

(*f*) Pudet dicere, ſacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigae, et ſcorta, hereditates capiunt. Solis clericis et monachis hoc lege prohibetur: et prohibetur non a perſecutoribus, ſed a principibus Chriſtianis. Nec de lege conqueror, ſed doleo cur meruimus hanc legem. *Hieron. ad Nepot. ep.* 34. *al.* 2. *T.* 4. *p.* 260. *f.*

(*g*) Nemo tamen donaria delubris, et legata haruſpicibus denegavit: ſola ſublata ſunt praedia, quia non religioſe utebantur iis, quae religionis jure defenderent. *Ambroſ. lib. ſecund. Ap. Symm. p.* 326. *ap. Ambroſ. p.* 837.

(*b*) Quis ergo tam novus humanis uſibus, ut vices ſtupeat annorum? Et tamen ſuperiore anno pleraſque novimus provincias redundaſſe frugibus. De Galliis quid loquar ſubito ditioribus? Frumentum Pannoniae, quod non ſeverant, vendiderunt. Et Foecunda Rhetia fertilitatis ſuae movit invidiam. . . . Ergo nec ille ſacrilegio annus exaruit, et iſte fidei fructibus annus effloruit. *Ap. Symm. p.* 327. *ap. Ambroſ. p.* 838.

abundance in Gaul, and Pannonia, and other countreys, ſubject to the Roman Empire. A. D. 384.

So argues Ambroſe.

Prudentius likewiſe wrote two books entitled *Againſt Symmachus*, or *Againſt the Oration of Symmachus*. They were not writ before the year 403. What was the particular reaſon of his confuting Symmachus again, eighteen, or almoſt twenty years after Ambroſe, does not, I think, clearly appear. But they who are ſo diſpoſed, may conſult the firſt note of Chamillard upon the firſt book of Prudentius.

The firſt book of Prudentius is a confutation of Gentiliſm. The ſecond is an anſwer to Symmachus's oration, paragraph by paragraph. I ſhall take notice of a few things in this ſecond book.

Symmachus argues for the Roman religion from antiquity: *If (i) length of time*, ſays he, *be of weight in things of religion, we ought to preſerve that faith, which has ſubſiſted for ſo many ages, and to follow our parents, who have happily followed theirs.* To which Prudentius anſwers, chiefly, two things. *Firſt:* " If (*k*) the manner of living in the firſt ages ought to be preferred, we muſt renounce all the conveniences of life, which have been invented, or emproved, in ſucceding times. We muſt tread under foot all the emprovements of arts and ſciences, and return to the barbariſm of the age of Saturn. *Secondly*, " Since (*l*) the begining of the Re-" publick, the religion of the Romans had been much altered: and ſince

(*i*) Jam ſi longa aetas auctoritatem religionibus faciet, ſervanda eſt tot ſeculis fides, et ſequendi ſunt nobis parentes, qui feliciter ſecuti ſunt ſuos. *Ap Prudent. p.* 611.

(*k*) Si quicquid rudibus mundi naſcentis in annis
Mos habuit, ſancte colore et ſervare neceſſe eſt;
Omne revolvemus ſua per veſtigia ſeclum,
Uſque ad principium: placeat damnare gradatim
Quicquid poſterius ſucceſſor repperit uſus. &c.
Contr. Symm l. 2. ver. 277. *&c.*

(*l*) Roma antiqua ſibi non conſtat, verſa per aevum,
Et mutata ſacris, ornatu, legibus, armis:
Multa colit, quae non coluit ſub Rege Quirino,
Inſtituit quaedam melius, nonnulla refugit.
Ibid. ver. 303 *&c.*

A. D. 384. " (*m*) ſince the time of Romulus the number of the gods had been " greatly encreaſed, and new rites and ceremonies of the conquered " nations had been adopted."

Symmachus complained, that *(n)* the public allowances to the Veſtal Virgins had been withdrawn. This gave occaſion to Prudentius to ſay ſeveral things, which, perhaps, ought not to be paſſed over by me without notice. He obſerves, " that (*o*) they were " choſen when young, before they came to ſlight the lawfull bond " of marriage, or could be animated with a love of religion and " virtue. They conſecrate their chaſtity at the altars againſt their " wills. They are deprived of a pleaſure, which they do not deſ- " piſe. If they are chaſte in body, they are not ſo in mind. They " have no reſt in their beds, where the inviſible wound makes them " ſigh for the nuptial torches." However, after a while, they might

(*m*) Sèd quia Romanis loquimur de cultibus, ipſum
Sanguinis Hectorei populum probo, tempore longo
Non multos coluiſſe deos, rariſque ſacellis
Contentum, paucos poſuiſſe in collibus aras.
Innumeros poſt deinde Deos, virtute ſubactis
Urbibus, et claris peperit ſibi Roma triumphis,
Inter fumantes templorum armata ruinas
Dextera victoris ſimulachra hoſtilia cepit,
Et captiva domum, venerans ceu numina vexit.
Ver. 342. . . . 350.

(*n*) Quanto commodo ſacri aerarii veſtri, Veſtalium virginum praerogativa detracta eſt? ſub largiſſimis Imperatoribus denegatur, quod parciſſimi praeſtiterunt. *Symm. ap. Prud. p.* 658.

(*o*) Quae nunc veſtalis ſit virginitatis honeſtas,
Diſcutiam: . . .
Ac primum parvae teneris capiuntur in annis,
Ante voluntatis propriae quam libera ſecta,
Laude pudicitiae fervens, et amore Deorum,
Juſta maritandi condemnat vincula ſexus.
Captivus pudor ingratis addicitur aris.
Nec contempta perit miſeris, ſed adempta voluptas
Corporis intacti: non mens intacta tenetur:
Nec requies datur ulla toris, quibus innuba caecum
Vulnus, et amiſſas ſuſpirat femina taedas.
Contr. Sym. lib. 2. *ver.* 1063. . . . 1074.

might marry. Which alſo he ridicules, (*p*) though perhaps he ſhould not. A. D. 384.

The (*q*) Veſtal virgins were at firſt in number four, but were afterwards encreaſed to ſix or ſeven. None might be choſen under ſix, nor above ten years of age. They were to live thirty years in virginity. In the firſt ten years they were taught the myſteries of the prieſthood: In the next ten years they practiſed the rites and ceremonies of their order: in the third they taught them to others. The period of thirty years would expire, before they were forty years of age: when they might marry, but few did.

The prieſthood of the Veſtal virgins was always in great eſtimation. And I ſuppoſe, they were generally choſen out of the beſt families. Julius Ceſar (*r*) gave his laſt Will into the cuſtodie of the eldeſt Veſtal.

It may be thought ſtrange, that theſe Virgins ſhould be preſent at the cruel combats of gladiators. Yet it was one of their privileges, to have an honourable and conſpicuous place in the theatre allotted to them. We are aſſured of it by (*s*) Suetonius. Nor has (*t*) Prudentius failed to mention this cuſtom, and make free remarks upon

(*p*) Nubit anus veterana, ſacro perfuncta labore,
Deſertiſque focis, quibus eſt famulata juventus.
Transfert emeritas ad fulera jugalia rugas,
Diſcit et in gelido nova nupta tepeſcere lecto.

Ib. ver. 1081. . . 1084.

(*q*) *Vid. Dionyſ. Hal. Antiq. Roman. T.* 2. *p.* 122. *ed Hudſon.*

(*r*) Poſtulante ergo L. Piſone ſocero, teſtamentum ejus aperitur. . . Quod Idibus ſeptembribus proximis in Lavicano ſuo fecerat, demandaveratque Virgini Veſtali maximae. *Sueton l. i. cap.* 83.

(*s*) Feminis, ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiſcue ſpectari ſolenne olim erat, niſi ex ſuperiore loco ſpectare conceſſit. Solis virginibus Veſtalibus locum ſeparatim, et contra Praetoris tribunal, dedit. *Sueton. Aug. cap.* 44.

(*t*) Interea, dum torta vagos ligat infula crines,
Fataleſque adolet prunas innupta ſacerdos,
Fertur per medias, ut publica pompa, platêas.
. . . . . .
Inde ad confeſſum caveae pudor almus, et expers
Sanguinis it pietas, hominum viſura cruentos
Congreſſus, morteſque, et vulnera vendita paſtu
Spectatura ſacris oculis . . . . .

Ib. lib. 2. *ver.* 1085. . . 1110.

A. D. 384. upon it. I may add, by the way, that Arnobius (*u*) alſo in his books againſt the Gentils has made ſome reflections upon this cuſtom.

Prudentius (*x*) alſo anſwers very largely to the complaints of Symmachus relating to the famine, in the year 383. as Ambroſe had done before. But I do not think it needfull to tranſcribe him. I only refer to him.

About this time one of the Veſtals ſuffered herſelf to be corrupted. And Symmachus himſelf called upon the proper officer, to take care, that both ſhe, and the man with whom ſhe had been familiar, ſhould be properly puniſhed. We have two letters of Symmachus writ upon that (*y*) occaſion.

As Ambroſe takes no notice of this, in his anſwer to the Petition of Symmachus, Baronius (*a*) thought, that it muſt have happened afterwards. But neither has Prudentius touched upon this matter, though his argument was compoſed much later. Why they take no notice of it, I cannot ſay. For learned moderns (*b*) obſerve upon it, as a remarkable event, and very mortifying to the intereſts of Gentiliſm.

IV. Here

(*u*) Sedent in ſpectaculis publicis ſacerdotum omnium, Magiſtratuumque collegia, Pontifices Maximi, et Maximi Curiones. . . . Sedent Augures, interpretes divinae mentis et voluntatis: nec non et caſtae virgines, perpetui nutrices et conſervatrices ignis. *Arnob. l. 4. p. 151.*

(*x*) Ultima legati defleta dolore querela eſt . . .

. . . . . .

Hinc ait et ſteriles frugeſcere rarius agros,
Et triſtem ſaevire famem, totumque per orbem
Mortales pallere inopes, ac panis egenos.
Prud. l. 2. ver. 909. . . . 915.

(*y*) More inſtitutoque majorum, inceſtum Primigeniae, dudum apud Albam Veſtalis antiſtitis, collegii noſtri diſquiſitio deprehendit: quod et ipſius quae contaminavit pudicitiam ſacram, et Maximi, cum quo nefandum facinus admiſit, confeſſionibus claruiſſe Geſta teſtantur. Reſtat, ut in eos, qui ceremonias publicas abominando ſcelere polluerunt, legum ſeveritas exeratur. *Symm. lib. 9 ep. 118. vid. et ep. 119.*

(*a*) *Baron. ann. 384. num. xiii.*

(*b*) Non ſine numine quidem contigit illo ipſi anno, quo Veſtalium caſtitatem praeconio ſuo commendabat Symmachus, ac ereptis ſtipendiis mala urbis aſſignabat, quod Primigenia apud Albam Veſtalium antiſtes a Maximo corrupta fuerit. &c. *Baſnag. ann. 384. num. v. Vid. et Baron. ubi ſupra, num. xi.*

IV. Here may now ariſe two Queſtions: firſt, where were the Chriſtian Senators, when the Senate deputed Symmachus to Valentinian, deſiring, that the Altar of Victorie might be reſtored? ſecondly, it may be inquired, whether theſe proceedings of the Chriſtian Emperours were juſt and reaſonable. A. D. 384. *Two Queſtions conſidered.*

The firſt queſtion is: where were the Chriſtian Senators, when the Senate deputed Symmachus with a requeſt to Valentinian, that the Altar of Victorie, which had been taken away, might be reſtored? Were there no Chriſtian Senators to interpoſe? or did they acquieſce in the determination of the reſt?

In anſwering this queſtion, I ſuppoſe, we may have ſome aſſiſtance from the firſt letter or remonſtrance, which Ambroſe ſent to Valentinian, before he had obtained a copie of the Petition of Symmachus. There he ſeems to ſay, that (*c*) the majority of the Senate were Chriſtians. And he ſays, "it (*d*) ought not to be ſuppoſed, that this preſent petition came from the Senate. No. A few Gentils take upon them the name of the body. And he ſays, that two years before, when a like petition was attempted, Damaſus, Biſhop of Rome, aſſured him, that at that time he received a letter from Chriſtian Senators, and ſigned by very many of them, who complained, and ſaid, that they never deſired any ſuch thing, nor could join in ſuch a petition: nor was it fit, that the Emperour ſhould grant ſuch petitions to Gentils. They alſo made complaints privatly, and publicly, and ſaid, that they would not come to the Senate, if ſuch a petition was granted."

So writes Ambroſe. However, it ſeems to me, if I righty underſtand him, that the Chriſtian Senators had not interpoſed, when this Petition to Valentinian was drawn up in the Senate. He ſeems to

(*c*) ... cum Curia majore jam Chriſtianorum numero ſit refertus. *Ambroſ. lib. primus. ep. Symm. p.* 319. *fin. ap. Ambroſ. p.* 825. *fin*

(*d*) Sed abſit, ut hoc Senatus petiſſe dicatur. Pauci Gentiles communi utuntur nomine. Nam et ante biennium ferme, cum hoc petere tentarent, miſit ad me ſanctus Damaſus Romanae eccleſiae ſacerdos, judicio Dei electus, libellum, quem Chriſtiani Senatores dederunt, et quidem innumeri, expoſtulantes, nihil ſe tale mandaſſe: non congruere Gentilium iſtiuſmodi petitionibus vos praebere conſenſum. Queſti etiam publice privatimque, ſe non conventuros ad Curiam, ſi tale aliquid decerneretur. &c. *ap. Symm. p.* 320. *ap. Ambroſ. p.* 826. *m.*

A. D. 384. to allow, that no Christian Senators were then present. " It (e) " will be asked, says he, why they were not present in the Senate, " when the Petition was drawn up. He answers, their mind was " sufficiently known, though they were not present. It was sufficient, that their mind was known to the Emperour."

Ambrose therefore supposeth, that Christian Senators were then very numerous, though he does not say, that any of them were present in the Senate, when this Petition was agreed upon. And Tillemont relying upon Ambrose says, that (f) even in the time of Gratian the Christian Senators were very numerous. But Frederick Spanheim thought, " that (g) the majority of the Senate were Gentils in the time of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius." For certain there were from early times some Christians in the Senate. Tertullian in his Apologie, writ before the end of the second centurie, speaks, as (h) if there were some considerable numbers of Christians in the Senate. And in another work writ some few years afterwards, he says, " that (i) the Emperour Severus openly withstood the furie of the people against some men and women of the first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect. And was so far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an honourable testimonie." by *men and women of the first quality*, probably meaning Senators, and their wives. After which time the number of Christian Senators may have encreased before the conversion of Constantin, and afterwards. It may be difficult for us to determine exactly the proportion between the number of Christian and Gentil Senators. However I do not think, that the Christians were the

(e) Si fortasse dicatur: Cur dudum, non interierant Senatui, cum ista peterentur? Satis loquuntur quid velint, qui non interfuerunt: satis loquuti sunt, qui apud Imperatorem loquuti sunt. *ap. Symm. p.* 320. *ap. Ambr. p.* 826.

(f) Et dès le temps de Gratien il y avoit un nombre comme infini de Senateurs Chrêtiens. *L'Emp. Theodos. art.* 48.

(g) Paganae superstitionis tenaces manserunt adhuc Gentes plurimae, et permixti Christianis Populi, Cives, Magistratus, Judices, Senatores, Consules, Proconsules, Vicarii, ac Praesides provinciarum. Quinimo sub Valentiniano, Theodosio, Arcadio, Senatum Romanum adhuc fuisse maximâ ex parte Gentilem, patet ex epistolis Symmachi. *Spanhem Hist. Christiana. T. i. p* 839.

(h) Hesterni sumus, et, et vestra omnia implevimus, . . . decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa. *Apol. cap.* 37.

(i) Sed et clarissimas feminas, et clarissimos viros, severus sciens hujus sectae fuisse, non modo non laesit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in os palam restitit. *Ad. Scap. cap.* 4. *p.* 87.

the majority of the Roman Senate in the time of Valentinian, when this Petition was preſented by Symmachus. A. D. 384.

Secondly, it may be inquired, whether thoſe proceedings were juſt and reaſonable? "Did the Chriſtian Emperours act juſtly and rightly in removing the Altar of Victorie, which had long ſtood in the Senate-houſe? And did they act juſtly and rightly in ſeiſing the eſtates and revenues, which had been long ſince ſettled by public authority, for the maintenance of Veſtal Virgins, and other Prieſts, and for performing ſacrifices for the welfare of the publick?"

To me it ſeems, that Chriſtian Emperours acted rightly in removing the Altar of Victorie, and in refuſing to reſtore it, after it had been taken away. I think, this might be rightly done, even ſuppoſing, that the number of Chriſtian Senators was much inferior to the Gentils. For that there were ſome ſuch, none can deny. Let us only recollect what Symmachus ſaid, *that at the Altar of Victorie the Senators ſwore fidelity to the Emperour, and in all their votes in the Senate to determine according to the beſt of their knowledge.* But was that fit to be done by Chriſtians? At this Altar the Senators took an Oath, when firſt choſen, and introduced, or annually. And uſually, if not always, at their entrance into the Senate, they offered incenſe at this Altar, or gave ſome other token of reſpect. And frequently ſacrifices were offered at this Altar. But was it fit, that ſuch things ſhould be done by Chriſtians, or joyned in by them? or that they ſhould be compelled to them? By no means. Nevertheleſs all ſuch things would be expected of them by the Gentil Senators, ſo long as the Altar of Victorie ſtood there. And, as I apprehend, compulſion was unavoidable. But that would be perſecution. Somewhat (*k*) of this kind is intimated by

(*k*) Totus hic Chriſtianorum periclitatur Senatus. Si hodie Gentilis aliquis Imperator (quod ablit) aram ſtatueret ſimulachri, et eo convenire cogeret Chriſtianos, ut ſacrificantibus intereſſent, &c. et in eâ Curiâ ſententiam dicerent, ubi juraturi ad aram ſimulachri ſententiam rogarentur: (propterea enim interpretantur aram locatam, ut ejus ſacramento unuſquiſque conventus conſuleret in medium:) cum Curia majore jam Chriſtianorum numero ſit referta, perſecutionem eſſe crederet Chriſtianus, qui cogeretur tali optione ad Senatum venire: quod ſit plerumque. Nam etiam injuriis convenire coguntur. *Ambroſ. libellus primus ap. Symm. p.* 319. *ap. Ambroſ. p.* 815. *Vide iterum, ap. Symm. p.* 321. *fin. ap. Ambroſ. p.* 828. *in.*

A. D. 384. Ambrose in his first letter to Valentinian. There was therefore a necessity, that the Altar of Victory should be removed by Christian Emperours: and it was reasonably done.

It remains, that we consider the seising of the lands, which had been allowed for the maintenance of the Vestals, and for performing the sacrifices offered by them, and by other Priests for the public welfare.

Here, I suppose, none can think, that Christian Emperours were obliged to maintain the Vestals, and other Priests, and their sacrifices, out of the public revenue. They might have allowed these things to be done by the Gentils. That is all that can be expected from principles of moderation, extended to the utmost. And this might have been done. And, certainly, there still were Gentil people enough at Rome, among their Senators, and other opulent families, to maintain six or seven Vestals, and other Priests, and to provide for the proper sacrifices. But this privilege would not satisfy: it would not be accepted of by Symmachus, and other rigid, and superstitious Gentils. They would have said: *that all public sacrifices, offered for the benefit of the State, must be allowed by public authority, and out of the public treasurie, with the consent of the supreme powers. All their virtue and efficacie depended upon that: and without it they were of no value.* Consequently when those lands were seised, and other revenues were withheld, there would be an end of all those sacrifices, and they would fall to the ground, and no longer be performed. The most free and extensive toleration would not uphold them. Their subsistence depended upon the encouragement of public authority. Which, I think, could not be reasonably granted, nor expected, from Christian magistrates.

I shall just observe here, that Ambrose, in his letter to Eugenius, then Emperour, writ in 392. or 393. tells him, that *(l)* those revenues had not been taken away by his advice, but he advised, that they should not be restored.

V. Before

(l) Dedi libellos Imperatoribus duos, quibus significarem, sumptus Christianum virum non posse reddere: et non fuisse me auctorem, cum tollerentur: auctorem fieri, quo minus decernerentur: deinde, quia dare eos ipsis simulacris videretur, non reddere. *Ad Eugen. epist. 17. al. lxii. p. 1010.*

V. Before we conclude this article ſomewhat ſhould be ſaid of *Symmachus* himſelf, who in the year 384. was deputed to the Emperour by the Senate, and preſented their petition to him. A. D. 384.

The Hiſtorie and Character of Symmachus.

His hiſtorie may be ſeen in (*m*) Tillemont, who has been copied by (*n*) our writers of Univerſal Hiſtories, and (*o*) in other authors.

His name at length was *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus*, ſon of *Lucius Aurelius Avianius Symmachus*, who was Prefect of Rome in the year 364. He had one ſon only, named *Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus*. He was (*p*) grand Pontiff of Paganiſm, Quæſtor, Prætor, and Corrector of Lucania, and the Brutians in 365. or 368. Proconſul of Africa (*q*) in 370. or 373. Prefect of Rome in 384. and Ordinarie Conſul in 391. By his intereſt his ſon was made Quæſtor in the year 392. and Prætor in 397. or, as ſome think, in 401. And it appears, that Young Symmachus was Proconſul of Africa in 415. and Prefect of Rome in 419. Some have thought him to have been Conſul in 424. But that is now ſuppoſed to be a miſtake.

Symmachus was in great reputation for eloquence, as an Orator, but none of his orations are preſerved. We have however a collection of his Epiſtles, which had been kept by his ſecretaries, and a friend named *Eſpidius*, which were publiſhed by his ſon after his death, in ten books, the laſt containing his letters to the Emperours, thus imitating the edition of Pliny's letters, both in the number of the books, and order of the Epiſtles. And they are much commended by (*r*) Macrobius.

Whilſt *Symmachus* was Prefect of the City, in 384. and *Præſtextatus* Prefect of the Prætorium, there (*s*) were ſome reflexions made upon both of them, as if they had treated ſome Chriſtians very

(*m*) *L'Emp. Theodoſ. i. art.* 91.

(*n*) *Vol. xvi. p.* 448. *&c.*

(*o*) *Vid. Voſſ. De Hiſt. Latin. lib.* 3. *Gothofred. Proſopogr. Cav. H. L. T. i. p.* 347. *Fabric. Bib. Latin. Lib.* 3. *cap. xiv. Tom. i. p.* 632.

(*p*) *Vide Symm. l. i. ep.* 41. *et alibi.*

(*q*) Me dudum Proconſularem virum, cedeptem jam diu potentium moribus, ante capere magiſtratum quam expectare voluiſtis. *L. x. ep.* 16.

(*r*) . . . pingue et floridum: in quo Plinius ſecundus quondam, et nunc nullo veterum minor noſter Symmachus luxuriatur. *Macrob. l.* 5. *ab init.*

(*s*) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Theodoſ. i. art.* 24.

A. D. 384. very injuriouſly. Symmachus in particular was charged with (s) having taken ſome Chriſtians out of churches, to put them to torture, and with having impriſoned ſome Biſhops, fetched by him from diſtant countreys, others from neighboring places. At hearing of this the Emperour (t) was ſo provoked, as to ſend an edict, addreſſed to the people, in which Symmachus was reproved very ſharply. Symmachus then wrote to the Emperour, vindicating himſelf from thoſe calumnies. And ſent him a particular account of what had been done in the execution of his office, and with the depoſition of the officers of juſtice, bearing witneſſe to his innocence. He alſo received a letter from Damaſus Biſhop of Rome, in which he declared, that the Prefect had not been guilty of any injurie to the Chriſtians. He farther ſays, he was aſſured by his officers, that among all the perſons, ſhut up in priſons, charged with various crimes, there was not one Chriſtian.

Symmachus appears to have been much chagrined by theſe calumnies, as any honeſt man might well be. And in his letter to the Emperour, he could not forbear to expreſs a deſire to reſign an office, which (u) he had not ſought, but had been put into it by the Emperour's own choice and deſignation.

I hope it will not be diſagreeable to any of my readers, if I conclude this ſection with an (x) Inſcription upon a monument erected to the honour of Symmachus by his ſon, where the ſeveral offices diſcharged by him are particularly mentioned.

(s) Quid enim non audeant, quidve intentatum relinquant, qui in arce terrarum Chriſtianae legis injuriis vindicata phana finxerunt? Flevit credo ſcenae iſtius fabricator, cum eccleſiae penetralibus rapere ad tormenta ſimularet, cum de longinquis ac de finitimis urbibus duci Antiſtites in vincula deſcriberet. *Lib.* 10. *ep.* 34.

(t) Neque enim ſerenum clementiae veſtrae animum ſine his argutiis compuliſſet facto edicto populum convenire: at aſperioribus quam pietati veſtrae mos eſt liberis Praefectum, quem ſine ambitu legiſtis, argueret. . . . Reſpondeat literis Epiſcopi Damaſi, quibus affectatores ejuſdem religionis negavit ullam contumeliam tuliſſe. &c *Ibid*

(u) Qui Praefecturam ſine ambitu meruimus, ſine offenſione ponamus. *Ibid. Vid. et not.* (t).

(x) *Vide Macrob. Sat. l.* 5. *cap.* 1. *in notis. et Tillemont. Theodoſ. art.* 91. *p.* 808.

Q. AURELIO. SYMMACHO. V. C.
QUAEST. PRAET. PONTIFICI
MAIORI. CORRECTORI
LUCANIAE. ET. BRITTIORUM
COMITI. ORDINIS. TERTII
PROCONS. AFRICAE. PRAET.
URB. COS. ORDINARIO
ORATORI. DISERTISSIMO
Q. FAB. MEM. SYMMACHUS
V. C. PATRI. OPTIMO.

SECT. IV. *The Correſpondence between Maximus of Madaura and Auguſtin.*

I SHALL now obſerve the correſpondence between Auguſtin and *Maximus*, a Grammarian of Madaura in Africa: Which is placed about the year 390. by (*a*) thoſe who have carefully digeſted the hiſtorie of Auguſtin, that is, before he was Preſbyter; and whilſt the rites of Gentiliſm were openly practiſed in that country. And Tillemont obſerves, that this letter of Auguſtin is placed by Poſſidius at the head of his epiſtles againſt the Pagans. Moreover it is ſuppoſed, that Auguſtin was now at *Tagaſte*, the place of his nativity, not far from *Madaura*. A. D. 390.

I (b) am always pleaſed with your converſation, ſays Maximus to Auguſtin, *with which you have ſometimes favoured me. And I ſhould be glad to have it oftener renewed. I now take notice of ſome difficulties, which not long ſince, though without breach of friendſhip, and in a pleaſing manner, you propoſed, relating to my ſentiments. And I the rather do it, leaſt ſilence ſhould be taken for an acknowledgement of con-*

(*a*) *Benedictini de Vita Auguſtin. l. 3. cap. iii num. 5. Tillemont S. Auguſtin. art. 57. et note 13.*

(*b*) Avens crebro tuis affatibus laetificari, et inſtinctu tui ſermonis, quo me paullo ante jucundiſſime ſalva caritate pulſaſti, paria redhibere non deſtiti, ne ſilentium meum poenitudinem appellares. Sed

A. D. 390. *conviction. And I entreat you not to ſlight what I ſay, becauſe I am in years, as if it proceeded from dotage. The Greeks among their other fables tell us, but without proof, that the mountain Olympus is the habitation of the gods. But we ſee and know, that in the forum of our city we have the preſence of the good gods our protectors. And that there is one ſupreme God, without begining, and without any natural iſſue, the great and glorious father of all, none denies, or doubts, it being a moſt certain truth. His powers diffuſed throughout the mundan ſyſtem we invoke under many names, becauſe we do not know what is his proper name. For the word God is a name common to all objects of worſhip. And in this way preſenting ſeverally many ſupplications to his powers, as to his members, we think we worſhip God entire.*

But indeed I cannot diſſemble, that I am quite out of patience with the errour, which is now getting ground among us. For who can bear to think, that Mygdo ſhould be preferred to Jove the Thunderer, and Sanae to Juno, Minerva, Venus and Veſta, and, horrible to think, that the arch-martyr Nymphanio ſhould be preferred to the immortal gods: to omit now the names of innumerable others, hatefull to gods and men, guilty of the greateſt extravagances, and adding one crime to another, who under the appearance of a glorious death, have ſuffered, execrable as they were, an end well worthie of their evil deeds. And, truly, now fools frequent their ſepulchres, forſaking the temples, and

Sed quaeſo, ut ſi haec quaſi ſeniles artus eſſe duxeris, benignarum aurium indulgentia proſequaris. Olympum montem deorum eſſe habitaculum ſub incerta fide Graecia fabulatur. At vero noſtrae urbis forum ſalutarium nominum frequentia poſſeſſum non cernimus, et probamus. Equidem unum eſſe Deum ſummum ſine initio, ſine prole naturae, ſeu patrem magnum atque magnificum, quis tam demens, tam mente captus neget eſſe certiſſimum? Hujus nos virtutes per mundanum agmen diffuſas multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti propium ignoramus. Nam Deus omnibus religionibus commune nomen eſt. Ita fit, ut dum quaſi quaedam membra carptim variis ſupplicationibus proſequimur, totum colere profecto videamur.

Sed impatientem me eſſe tanti erroris, diſſimulare non poſſum. Quis enim ferat, Jovi fulmina vibranti praeferri Mydonem: Junoni, Minervae, Veneri, Veſtaeque Sanaem, et cunctis, prob nefas, diis immortalibus archimartyrem Nymphanionem, inter quos Lucitas etiam haud minore cultu ſuſcipitur, atque alii interminato numero (diis hominibuſque odioſa nomina) qui conſcientia nefandorum facinorum ſpecie glorioſae mortis, ſcelera ſua ſceleribus cumulantes, dignum moribus factiſque ſuis exitum maculati reperierunt. Horum buſta, ſi memoratu dignum eſt, relictis templis, neglectis majorum ſuorum manibus, frequentant, ita ut praeſagium vatis illius indigne ferentis emineat,

Inque

and forgetting all reſpect to their venerable anceſtors. So that I ſeem to ſee fulfilled the unwellcome preſage of the Poet, Rome in the temples of the Gods ſwearing by ſhadows. And at this time I ſee again as it were renewed, the Actiac war, and Egyptian monſters contending with the Gods of the Romans, but I hope without ſucceſſe. A. D. 390.

But I beſeech you, great Sir, that laying aſide your eloquence, by which you are become ſo famous, and the ſubtle arguments of Chryſippus, your uſual weapons, and logick, which ſerves only to make all things appear alike probable, you will indeed ſhew us, who is the God, whom you Chriſtians claim as peculiar to yourſelves, and whom you think you ſee preſent with you in obſcure places. For we worſhip the Gods in the light, openly, and before all men, and offer up our ſupplications in the hearing of all, and by acceptable ſacrifices render them propitious to us. And our deſire is, that theſe things ſhould be ſeen, and approved by all.

But it is high time for ſuch an old man as I am, to conclude the argument, and ſay with the Mantuan orator, Every man has his ſanſie. And now, good Sir, who have forſaken our way of worſhip, I make no doubt, this letter is to be deſtroyed by fire, or ſome other way. If it ſhould be ſo, it is only the loſſe of ſo much paper. The argument ſhall be

Inque Deum templis juravit Roma per umbras.

Sed mihi hac tempeſtate propemodum videtur bellum Actiacum exortum, quo Aegyptia monſtra in Romanorum deos audeant tela vibrare, minime duratura.

3. Sed illud quaeſo, vir ſapientiſſime, ut remoto facundiae robore atque exploſo, qua cunctis clarus es, omiſſis etiam quibus pugnare ſolebas Chryſippeis argumentis, poſtpoſita paululum dialectica, quae nemorum ſuorum luctamine nihil certi cuiquam relinquere nititur, ipſa re approbes, quis ſit iſte deus, quem vobis Chriſtiani, quaſi primum vindicatis, et in locis abditis praeſentem vos videre componitis. Nos etenim deos noſtros luce palam ante oculos, atque aures omnium mortalium piis precibus adoramus, et per ſuaves hoſtias propitios nobis efficimus, et a cunctis haec cerni et probari contendimus.

4. Sed ulterius huic certamini me ſenex invalidus ſubtraho, et in ſententiam mantuani rhetoris libenter pergo: Trahat ſua quemque voluntas. Bucc. Eclog. 2. Poſthac non dubito, vir eximie, qui a mea ſecta deviaſti, hanc epiſtolam aliquorum furto detractam flammis, vel quolibet pacto perituram. Quod ſi acciderit, erit damnum chartulae, non noſtri ſermonis, cujus exemplar penes omnes religioſos retinebo. Dii te ſervent, per quos et eorum atque conſortem aliorum communem patrem, univerſi mortales, quos terra ſuſtinet, mille modis concordi diſcordia veneramur et colimus. *Ap. Auguſtin. Ep.* 16. *al.* 23. *T.* 2.

A. D. 390. *be kept for the uſe of all pious men. May the Gods preſerve you, through whom, we and all people whom the earth bears, in a thouſand different ways, with an agreeing diſcord, worſhip and praiſe the common father of them and all men.*

That is the genuine letter of a zealous Gentil Grammarian. He was apprehenſive, it would be deſtroyed. But it has been preſerved, and kept ſafe among Auguſtin's papers. It has alſo been handed down to us. And we read it without much offenſe, and without any danger of being perverted by it. We are pleaſed with his acknowledgement of one ſupreme Deity creator of all, and with the marks of civility to a learned and ingenious Chriſtian, then eminent for his abilities, though as yet he was only between thirty and forty years of age. But we cannot but think, there appears ſome diſtruſt of the goodneſſe of his cauſe, when he deſires his correſpondent in his anſwer to lay aſide the advantage to be made by eloquence, acute reaſoning, and logick. Moreover, he bears teſtimonie to the great progreſſe of Chriſtianity in the world, which too had been very much owing, as here intimated, to the ſteady and patient perſeverance of Chriſtians in the profeſſion of thoſe principles, which they ſuppoſed, they had received upon good grounds. But we muſt think it hard, and unequitable, that the Chriſtians, who ſome time ſince had died as martyrs for their religion, at *Madaura*, or other places in Africa, ſhould be charged with *extravagancet*, and repreſented as *criminals unworthie to live upon earth*. At the ſame time we muſt ſuppoſe this to be the true ſpirit of Gentiliſm. And thoſe eminently good men, whoſe lives had been unjuſtly taken from them, muſt forever have ſuffered in their memories, if Gentiliſm had continued to prevail. So that the change, which had been made in the world in favour of Chriſtianity, not only gave liberty to it's preſent profeſſors, but alſo reſtored, and ſecured the credit of thoſe who had ſuffered in former times. For, certainly, there never were better ſubjects, nor more innocent and virtuous men, than the Chriſtians, who lived in the firſt ages, before the converſion of Conſtantin.

" Auguſtin, in his anſwer to this letter, (*c*) treats it, as ludicrous, " and unfuitable to ſo ſerious a ſubject, and therefore not deſerv-

" ing

(*c*) Seriumne aliquid inter nos agimus, an jocari libet? &c. *Ep.* 17. *al.* 44 *init.*

A. D. 390.

"ing a particular reply. He wonders, that *(d) Maximus*, an Afri-
"can, living in Africa, and writing to a native of the ſame coun-
"trey, ſhould ridicule the African names of ſome Chriſtian Mar-
"tyrs, as harſh and abſurd: when the Romans had like names a-
"mong them for their Prieſts, and for their Gods, and Goddeſſes.
"He (e) forbears to upbraid him with thoſe rites, which were con-
"cealed from all but a few: or the rudeneſſe and extravagance of
"the Bacchanalian feſtivals, when the greateſt Magiſtrates of their
"city ran about the ſtreets like furies and madmen. He defers to
"enter farther into the debate, till *Maximus* is more ſerious. How-
"ever, he puts him in mind, that *(f)* there is in his city a church
"of Catholic Chriſtians, by whom no dead men are adored, nor
"any being worſhiped as a deity, who had been made by God,
"but only the one God himſelf, who made and formed all
"things."

I have one remark to add, which perhaps is not quite needleſs. *Maximus* by this letter bears teſtimonie not only to the progreſſe of Chriſtianity in his own time, and that there were then many Chriſtians at *Madaura*, and in other parts of Africa. But he is alſo a

 witneſſe,

(d) Nam quod nomina quaedam Punica mortuorum collegiſti, quibus in noſtram religionem feſtivas (ut tibi viſum eſt) contumelias jaciendas putares, neſcio utrum refellere debeam, an ſilentio praeterire. . . . Miror, quod nominum abſurditate commoto, in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in ſacerdotibus Eucaddires, et in numinibus Abaddires. Non puto ego iſta cum ſcriberes in animo non fuiſſe . . . quanta in veſtra ſuperſtitione ridenda ſunt. Neque enim uſque adeo teipſum obliviſci potuiſſes, ut homo Afer ſcribens Afris, cum ſimus utrique in Africa conſtituti, Punica nomina exagitanda exiſtimares . . . Verum tamen ſi ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: deum Stercutium, deam Cloacinam, Venerem calvam. . . . *Ibid. num.* 2. 3.

(e) Quod autem dicis, eo noſtris veſtra ſacra praeponi, quod vos publice colitis deos, nos autem ſecretioribus conventiculis utimur: primo, abs te quaero, quomodo oblitus ſis Liberum illum, quem paucorum ſacratorum oculis committendum putatis. Deinde tu ipſe judicas nihil aliud te agere voluiſſe, cum publicam ſacrorum veſtrorum celebrationem commemorares, niſi ut nobis decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas veſtrae urbis bacchantes ac furentes, ante oculos quaſi ſpectacula proponeremus: in qua celebritate, ſi numine inhabitamini, certe videtis quale illud ſit, quod adimit mentem *num.* 4.

(f) Ad ſummam tamen, ne te hoc lateat, et in ſacrilega convitia imprudentem trahat, ſcias a Chriſtianis catholicis, quorum in veſtro oppido etiam eccleſia conſtituta eſt, nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod ſit factum et conditum a Deo, ſed unum ipſum Deum, qui fecit et condidit omnia. Diſſerentur iſta latius, ipſo vero et uno Deo adjuvante, cum te graviter agere velle cognovero. *Ibid. num.* 5.

witneſſe, that Chriſtianity had been received there long before. He ſpeaks of many Martyrs in Africa, who muſt have ſuffered before the converſion of Conſtantin. And my readers may remember, that in the writings of *Apuleius*, alſo of *Madaura*, who flouriſhed about the year 263. in the times of the two Antonins, we ſaw good proofs of his knowledge of the Chriſtians, and their principles, and his diſlike of (g) them.

SECT. V. The Demolition of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other Temples in Egypt in 391. and ſome other Temples elſewhere.

I. *The Hiſtorie of the Demolition of the Temple of Serapis.* II. *Learned Men concerned in the Defenſe, or in the Demolition of the Temple of Serapis: Olympius, Helladius, Ammonius, Heathens: Theophilus, Biſhop of Alexandria.* III. *Other Temples deſtroyed in Syria and Phenicia.*

A. D. 391. *The Temple of Serapis demoliſhed.*

I. THAT the temple of SERAPIS at Alexandria was demoliſhed by order of Theodoſius the Firſt, is allowed. But learned men are not entirely agreed about the time, when it was done: ſome (a) placing it in the year 389. others in 391. Tillemont (b) is for 389. But he acknowledgeth, that the opinion is not without difficulties. Pagi (c) after (d) Gothofred, argues ſtrongly for the year 391. with whom Baſnage (e) agrees. Frederick Spanheim (f) likewiſe is for the year 391.

Accounts of this tranſaction may be ſeen in (g) our eccleſiaſtical hiſtori-

(g) *See Vol ii. p. 252. . . . 256.*

(a) *Baron. ann. 389. num. 76. &c. Ancient Univ. Hiſtorie. Vol xvi. p. 427. &c.*

(b) *L'Emp. Theodoſ. art. li. lii. &c.*

(c) *Pagi. ann. 389. num. xii. xiii.*

(d) *Cod. Theod. de Paganis. Tom. vi. p. 273.*

(e) *Baſnag. ann. 391. num. ix.*

(f) *Spanhem. Hiſt. Chriſt. Sec. iv. p. 950.*

(g) *Ruſin. H. E. l. 2. cap. 22. . . 30. Socrat. l. 5. cap. 16. 17. Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv. Theod. l. 5. cap. 21. 22.*

hiſtorians. And ſome notice is taken of it by (*b*) Eunapius, who ex- A. D.
preſſeth himſelf with great diſlike and reſentment. 391.

A large deſcription of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria may be ſeen in (*i*) Ruſinus, which I need not tranſcribe. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote, whilſt it was yet ſtanding, ſays, it (*k*) was inferior to none, except the Capitol at Rome. And in (*l*) Macrobius, another Heathen writer, may be ſeen a deſcription of the Image of Serapis. Ruſinus ſays, "it (*m*) was monſtrouſly large, it's arms "reaching from one wall of the temple to the other. And ſays, "it was compoſed of all ſorts of metals, and woods. The opinions "of the Pagans concerning the origin of this Image, he ſays, "were various. Some ſaid, it repreſented Jupiter, and were of "opinion, that the buſhell upon it's head denoted, that he govern-"ed all things in weight and meaſure: or, it ſignified the plenty "of the fruits of the earth, by which mortals are nouriſhed. O-"thers ſaid, it denoted the river Nile, by the waters of which "Egypt is enriched. Some there were, who ſaid, that the image "was ſo formed in honour of our *Joſeph*, by whoſe wiſe diſtribu-"tion of corn the land of Egypt had been provided for, in time of "a famine. Others gave different accounts."

The occaſion of the demolition of the temple of Serapis, is related in this manner. "There (*n*) was a large old building, which "had

(*b*) *Eunap. in vita Aedeſ. p.* 60. 62. 63.

(*i*) *Ruf. ib. cap.* 23.

(*k*) His accedunt altis ſublata faſtigiis templa, inter quae eminet Serapëum, quod licet minuatur exilitate verborum, atriis tamen columnariis ampliſſimis, et ſpirantibus ſignorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita eſt exornatum, ut poſt Capitolium, quo ſe venerabilis Roma in aeternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambitioſius cernat. *Ammian. l.* 22. *cap. xvi. p.* 373.

(*l*) *Macrob. Saturn. l. i. cap.* 20. *p.* 298. 299.

(*m*) In hâc Simulachrum Serapis ita erat vaſtum, ut dextra unum parietem alterum laeva perſtringeret. Quod monſtrum ex omnibus generibus metallorum lignorumque compoſitum ferebatur. De cujus origine diverſa fertur opinio Paganorum. Alii Jovem putant, cujus capiti modius ſuperpoſitus: vel quia cum menſura modoque cuncta indicet moderari, vel vitam mortalibus frugum largitate praeberi. Alii virtutem Nili fluminis, cujus Aegyptus opibus et foecunditate paſcatur. Quidam in honorem noſtri Joſeph formatum perhibent ſimulachrum, ob diviſionem frumenti, quâ famis tempore ſubvenit Aegyptius. Alii, &c. *Ruſin. ib. cap.* 23

(*n*) Baſilica quaedam publici operis, vetuſta atque admodum neglecta fuit, quam Conſtantius imperator donaſſe epiſcopis perfidiam ſuam praedicantibus ferebatur.

A. D. 391. "had been a temple of (o) Bachus. It was now much neglected, "and almoſt in ruins. It is ſaid to have been given by Conſtan- "tius to ſome Arian Biſhops. This building Theophilus, Biſhop "of Alexandria, begged of the Emperour, with a deſign to erect a "church there for the accommodation of Chriſtians, whoſe num- "ber had been greatly encreaſed. In (p) clearing the rubbage, "and opening the vaults under ground, were found ſome obſcene "figures, which the Biſhop, the more to diſparage the Gentil ſu- "perſtition, ordered to be brought forth, and expoſed to public "view; at which the Gentil people, and eſpecially the Philoſo- "phers, were greatly offended. And from angrie and reproachfull "words they proceeded to take up arms. The Chriſtians were "then obliged to return blow for blow. They were the more nu- "merous. Nevertheleſs few Gentils were killed, of the Chriſtians "a great number, and many were wounded. After which the "Gentils retreated to the temple of Serapis, as to a fortreſſe, taking "along with them as captives, ſome Chriſtians, whom they com- "pelled by various tortures to ſacrifice. The contention conti- "nued very ſharp for ſome while. At (q) length the Gentils choſe "for their leader *Olympius*, who had taught philoſophie at Alexan- "dria, and now told them, that they ought (r) not to neglect the "religion of their countrey, but be willing to die for it, if need- "full. At that time *Euagrius* was Prefect of Egypt, and *Roma- "nus* General of the ſoldiery. They exhorted the Gentils to be "peaceable, and put them in mind of the laws, and (s) at length "ſent

batur. Quae longâ incuriâ nihil validum praeter parietes habebat. Viſum epiſcopo, qui per idem tempus gubernabat eccleſiam, hanc ab Imperatore depoſcere, ut creſcentibus fidelium populis, orationum quoque creſcerent loca. *Ruſin. cap.* 22.

(o) *Sozom. p.* 723. *C.*

(p) Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαραπίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, γελοῖα μὲν ἦν μικρὰ, τῷ θέλειν φαίνεσθαι κεκαλύφθαι· ἀλλὰ μέντοι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφάνησαν ἐναργέστατα σημεῖα. Ἀλεξάνδρειοι γὰρ καλλίστῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, τὴν λύπην ἐκ ψυχῶν. *Socrat. l.* 5. *cap.* 16. *p.* 274. *D. Conf. Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* xv. *p.* 723. *D.*

(q) Verum haec per dies ſingulos primo cum motu, deinde cum fiducia et deſperatione gerere, atque intra templum clauſi, rapto et praeda vivere. Ad poſtremum graſſantes in ſanguine civium ducem ſceleris audaciae ſuae deligunt Olympium quendam, nomine, et habitu philoſophum, quo antelignano aream defenderent, et tyrannidem tenerent. *Ruſin.*

(r) *Sozom. p.* 724. *B.*

(s) . . . res geſta ad Imperatorem refertur. Ille qui ingenita mentis clementia errantes mallet emendare quam perdere, reſcribit, illorum quidem vindictam, quos

"sent to the Emperour an account of what had happened. Who A. D.
"extolling the virtue, and envying the happineſſe of thoſe who had 391.
"died in defenſe of their Religion, he conſidered them as Martyrs,
"and would not allow, that vengeance ſhould be taken of thoſe
"who had put them to death. However, he ſent orders, that the
"temples at Alexandria ſhould be demoliſhed, putting the execu-
"tion of thoſe orders into the hands of *Theophilus*, who was to be
"aſſiſted therein by the Prefect *Evagrius*, and the Count *Romanus*.
"When the Emperour's Reſcript was received, the Gentils were
"filled with conſternation. They then abandoned the temple,
"and diſperſed, ſome retiring privatly to their own houſes, others
"withdrawing from the city, and either concealing themſelves in
"neighboring places, or flying into diſtant countreys. *Olympius*,
"*(t)* deſerting his friends, withdrew ſecretly, taking the oppor-
"tunity of a ſhip, which was ſailing to Italie. Among *(u)* thoſe
"who retired from Alexandria, Socrates particularly mentions two
"grammarians, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, under whom, ſays he, I
"ſtudied, when very young at Conſtantinople. *Helladius* was prieſt
"of Jupiter, *Ammonius* of the Ape. He adds: And *Helladius* was
"wont to boaſt in the companie of ſuch with whom he could be
"free, that in the late contention he had ſlain nine men with his
"own hands."

"The tumultuous part of the Gentils being withdrawn, *(x)*
"Theophilus, with the aſſiſtance of the people, and the ſoldiery,
"ſoon

quos ante aras ſanguis effuſus martyres effecit, non eſſe poſcendam, in quibus dolorem interitus ſuperaverit gloria meritorum. *Ruſin.*

(t) καὶ λαθὼν πάντας, ἐξέσπε τὸ στρατεῦσαι, καὶ πλέιν τυχὼν, εἰς ἰταλίαν ἀνήχθη. *Soz. p.* 725. *A.*

(u) Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αλεξανδρείας ἔφυγον, κατὰ τὰς πόλεις μεριζόμενοι· ὧν ἦσαν οἱ δύο γραμματικοὶ, Ελλάδιος καὶ Αμμώνιος, παρ' οἷς ἐγὼ κομιδῆ νέος ὢν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίνε πόλει ἐφοίτησα. Ελλάδιος μὲν ἦν ἱερεὺς τε Διὸς ἐναι ἐλέγετο, Αμμώνιος δὲ Πιθήκε. κ. λ. *Socrat. l.* 5. *c.* 16. *p.* 275.

(x) Verum, ut dicere ceperam, reſcripto recitato, parati quidem erant noſtrorum populi ad ſubvertendum erroris auctorem. Perſuaſio tamen quaedam ab ipſis Gentilibus fuerat diſperſa, quod ſi humana manus ſimulachrum illud contigiſſet, terra dehiſcens illico ſolveretur in chaos, coelumque rueret in praeceps. Quae res paullulum ſtuporem quendam populis dabat. Cum ecce unus ex militibus, fide magis quam armis munitus, correptum libennem inſurgens omni niſu maxillae veteratoris illidit. Clamor attollitur utrorumque populorum. Neque tamen aut coelum aut terra deſcendit. Inde iterum atque iterum repetens putris ligni fumoſum genu coedit, quo dejecto, igni adhibito tam facile quam lignum aridum conflagravit.

A. D. 391. "soon accomplished his design. It was a prevailing opinion among "the Gentils, that if any man should offer to touch the image of "Serapis, somewhat very extraordinarie would happen. Never- "theless one of the soldiers, whose faith, as Rufinus says, was not "at all inferior to his courage, with all his might struck it on the "cheek with a halbert, and cut off part of it. Immediatly there "arose a great cry of all sorts of people, both Christians and Gen- "tils. But neither did the heavens fall, nor the earth open itself "to swallow up the bold transgressor. And repeating his blows, "it was all broken to pieces. The several parts of it were then "carried in triumph by the Christians through the streets of the "city, and at length were thrown into a huge fire, kindled for "that purpose in the amphitheatre, and there consumed to ashes. "At the same time the temple was demolished, and nothing left "but the foundation, as (*y*) Eunapius says, which was too heavie "to be removed. According (*z*) to Rufinus, instead of the temple "of Serapis were erected on one side of it a church, and on the "other side a martyrdom.

"The (*a*) whole city of Alexandria was full of busts and small "images of Serapis, which were set up in niches, or other places, "in every house. But they were now all destroyed, without leav- "ing any."

Sophronius (*b*) Jerome's friend, wrote a distinct account of the demolition of the temple of Serapis. But that work has not reached us. However, it may have been read by Rufinus, or some other of our ecclesiastical historians. Indeed Rufinus may be reckoned a con-

flagravit. Post hoc revulsum crevicibus et depresso modio trahitur caput, tunc pedes aliaque membra caesa securibus, et rapta funibus detrahuntur, ac per singula loca membratim in conspectu cultricis Alexandriae senex vetus nosus exuritur. Ad ultimum truncus qui superfuerat in amphitheatro conecrematur. Vanaeque superstitionis et erroris antiqui Serapis hic finis fuit. *Rufin. cap.* 23. *Conf. Theodoret. l. v. cap.* 22.

(*y*) *Vit. Aedes. p.* 64.

(*z*) Nam et Serapis sepulchro profanis aedibus complanatis, ex uno latere martyrium, ax altero consurgit ecclesia. *Rufin. cap.* 27.

(*a*) Sed et illud apud Alexandriam gestum est, quod etiam thoraces Serapis, qui per singulos domos, in parietibus, in ingressibus, in postibus etiam, et fenestris erant, ita abscissi sunt omnes et abrasi, ut ne vestigium quidem usquam remaneret. *Rufin. cap.* 29.

(*b*) Sophronius, vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem, adhuc puer, et nuper de subversione Serapis insignem librum composuit. *Hieron. De V. I. cap.* 134.

contemporarie. For which reaſon I have made the more uſe of him: though I have not thought it needfull, or ſafe, to take every thing without examination. A. D. 391.

The cubit, by which the riſing of the Nile in Egypt was meaſured, had been uſually lodged in the temple of Serapis. His ſtatue and temple having been demoliſhed, it was given out by the Gentil people, that the Nile would no longer overflow. Nevertheleſs it roſe the following year to an uncommon height. Conſtantin (*c*) had before removed that cubit into a church of the Alexandrians. But by Julian's order it had been replaced in the temple of Serapis. Now it was again reſtored to the Chriſtians.

Theophilus, and other Biſhops, went on to deſtroy all the temples of the gods at *Canopus*, near one of the mouths of the Nile, a few leagues below Alexandria, and in all other cities throughout Egypt. "Says Socrates," (*d*) the temples were thus deſtroyed, but the Ima- "ges of the gods were melted down, and converted into utenſils "for the church of Alexandria, the Emperour having given them "for the benefit of the poor." To this, very probably, Eunapius refers, when he ſays, "that (*e*) the Roman officers at Alexandria "demoliſhed the temple of Serapis, and laid violent hands upon "the images and ſacred offerings, no man daring to withſtand "them. They not only obtained a compleat victorie, but got "alſo a rich booty: having among them an order, ſtrictly obſer- "ved, to keep concealed whatever they gained by robbery." Nor need it be doubted, that there is ſome truth in what he ſays. He adds, "And (*f*) now Monks are placed at Canobus, who intro- "duced the dried bones of men called Martyrs, but really the "worſt of criminals, to be there honoured as gods, and as mini- "ſters, and ambaſſadours, to convey the prayers of Chriſtians to "heaven."

Socrates

(*c*) *Vid. Socrat. H. E. l.* 1. *cap.* 18. *in.*

(*d*) Τὰ μὲν ἐν ἱεροῖς κατεσκέπτο· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν μετεχωνεύετο εἰς λεκάνιδα καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας χρείας τῆς Αλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας, τὰ βασιλέως χαρισαμένου τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς ἀπανθήματα τῶν πτωχῶν. *Socrat. l.* 5. *c.* 16. *p.* 275. *C.*

(*e*) ... ἡ τάξις ἦν αὐτοῖς πολεμικὴ, τὸ ἀφελόμενον λαθεῖν.. *Vit. Aedeſ. p.* 64.

(*f*) Τοῖς δὲ μοναχοὺς τούτους ἡ εἰς Κάνωβον καθίδρυσαν, ... ὀστᾶ γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐκλωκότων συναλίζοντες, ὡς τὸ πολιτικὸν ἐκόλαζε δικαστήριον. ... κ. λ. *Ib. p.* 65.

A. D. 391. Socrates ſays, "that (g) *Theophilus* broke in pieces, or melted "down all the images of the Gods in Egypt, except one only, "which he preſerved, and had it ſet up in a public place, leaſt, "as he ſaid, the Gentils ſhould hereafter deny that they had wor-"ſhiped ſuch Gods. And I know, ſays Socrates, that *Ammonius*, "the Grammarian, was much offended at this. He ſaid, the re-"ligion of the Greeks had been horribly abuſed: and that one "image only had been preſerved, with no other view, than to "expoſe them to ridicule."

What image that was, does not, I think, clearly appear. But it is generally ſuppoſed to have been an image of the Ape. Which Lucian (*b*) reckons among the gods worſhiped by the Egyptians, or, as his expreſſion is, which were raiſed from Egypt to heaven. And here *Ammonius* is ſaid by Socrates to have been a prieſt of the Ape.

Learned Heathens now at Alexandria. II. We ſhould now take ſome farther notice of the learned Heathens, which have been mentioned in this hiſtorie of the deſtruction of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria. One of theſe is *Olympus*, or *Olympius*, the other two are *Ammonius* and *Helladius*, to whom may be added *Theophilus*.

Olympius. Socrates, (*i*) as we have ſeen, ſays, "that when Theophilus, "Biſhop of Alexandria, expoſed ſome obſcene figures found in "the Heathen temples, the Gentils, and eſpecially the Philoſophers, "were greatly provoked, and could not bear it without reſent-"ment." By Rufinus (*k*) we are aſſured, that when the Gentils took up arms againſt the Chriſtians, and betook themſelves to the temple of Serapis, as a citadel, they choſe *Olympius* for their leader, who

(*g*) Πάντας δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς συντρίψας ὁ Θεόφιλος, ἓν ἄγαλμα τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ ἀχώνευτον τηρῆσθαι κελεύσας, δημοσίᾳ προέθηκεν, ἵνα, φησὶ, χρόνου προϊόντος μὴ ἀρνήσονται οἱ ἕλληνες τοιούτους πρὸς ἐκείνοις θεοὺς. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάνυ ἀνιαθέντα φασὶ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον τὸν γραμματικὸν, ὃς ἔλεγε δεινὰ πεπονθέναι τῶν ἑλλήνων θρησκείαν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἓν εἰδώλιον ἐχώσιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γέλωτι τῆς ἑλλήνων θρησκείας φυλάττεται. *Socrat.* p. 275.

(*b*) *Lucian. Deor. Conviv.* p. 713. *Tom.* 2. *Graev.*

(*i*) *Socrat. l* 5. *cap.* 16. *p.* 274. *D. And ſee here p*

(*k*) Ad poſtremum graſſantes in ſanguine civium ducem ſceleris et audaciae ſuae deligunt Olympum quendam, nomine et habitu philoſophum, quo antefigniano arcem defenderent, et tyrannidem tenerent. *Ruf. l.* 20. 22.

who had the habit aud character of a philoſopher. Sozomen ſays, A. D. 394.
"that (*l*) *Olympius*, who was there with them, and wore the habit of a Philoſopher, told them, that they ought not to neglect the religion of their countrey, and that they ought to be willing to dye for it, if there was occaſion, and when he ſaw them concerned for the deſtruction of the images, he exhorted them not to be diſcouraged: for they were made of corruptible materials, and were images only, and therefore were liable to be deſtroyed. But they were inhabited by certain powers, which fled away to heaven. Thus, ſays Sozomen, he harangued to the multitude of Greeks, which were with him at the temple of Serapis. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after the arrival of the Emperour's reſcript, as the ſame Sozomen ſays, this zealous, and courageous Philoſopher, withdrew from the Serapeum privatly, and taking ſhipping, ſailed away to Italie." Olympius therefore was with the other Gentils at the temple of Serapis, when they fought with the Chriſtians. And he acted with them and animated them, as a General, and as a Heathen Philoſopher. After which he left Alexandria, and went by ſhip to Italie.

I ſee no reaſon to doubt the truth of any of theſe things, about which there is great agreement in our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. But there is ſomewhat more to be added concerning *Olympius* from an ancient Heathen writer. It is an article in Suidas, ſuppoſed, to be taken by him from *Damaſcius*. Of which therefore I ſhall here give a literal verſion at length.

"Olympius, (*m*) brother of Generoſa. He came from Cilicia to Alexandria, to worſhip Serapis. He was in all reſpects an admirable perſon, tall, and well made, of a beautifull and liberal countenance, affable and agreeable to all in converſation, and of ſuch wiſdom as to be uſefull to all, who were diſpoſed to hearken to his counſels. Nor could any man be of ſo hard and inflexib.e

(*l*) Ἐστὰς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίος τις ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐν τοῖσδε χρῆναι μὴ ἀμελεῖν τῶν πατρίων, ἀλλ' εἰ δέοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θνήσκειν καθαιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ξοάνων, ἀθυμοῦντας ὁρᾶν, συνεβούλευσε μὴ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς θρησκείας, ὕλην φθαρτὴν ἐν ἀγάλματα λέγων εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἐν διὰ τοῦτο ἀφανισμὸν ὑπομένειν· δυνάμεις δέ τινας ἐνοικήσαι αὐτοῖς, ἐν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποπτῆναι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν, τοιάδε εἰσηγούμενος ἐν πλήθει ἑλλήνων ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐν τῷ σεραπείῳ διέτριβεν. *Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* 15. *p.* 724. 725.

(*m*) *Vide Suid.*

A. D. 391. " flexible a temper, as not to be ſwayed by the words that proceeded out of his mouth. Indeed the charms of his ſpeech were ſuch, " that they might be juſtly reckoned rather divine than human. " For all which reaſons he was appointed by the Alexandrians " Maſter of the ſacred rites, and at a time, when the affairs of the " State were going down like a torrent. He therefore, as he had " opportunity, inculcated to all the ancient legal inſtitutions, and " the great happineſſe, which all who obſerved them exactly might " expect from the Divine Being. Such was Olympius, who was " full of God, inſomuch that he foretold to his friends, that Se- " rapis was about to forſake his temple. Which alſo came to " paſs."

That article, as before ſaid, is ſuppoſed to be taken by Suidas from (*n*) Damaſcius. Indeed the name of Olympius does not appear in Photius's extracts from Damaſcius. Nevertheleſs a large part of this paragraph is there word for word. And Suidas might take this article from Damaſcius himſelf. Which to me does not appear improbable. Valeſius thought, that (*o*) this article in Suidas was taken from Eunapius. But the other account is more likely.

This earneſt and affectionate commendation of Olympius deſerves our notice. The Gentil people did all they could to uphold their religion. Their Philoſophers, and other learned men, encouraged them by their example, and exhortations. And the people reverenced their leaders. This character of Olympius appears to me much ſtudied, and highly finiſhed. I have tranſlated it, as well as I can. But I refer alſo to the original Greek in Suidas. For I do not think, I have done it juſtice in my tranſlation.

Ammonius and Helladius. Beſide *Olympius*, we have ſeen in Socrates mention made of two other learned men, very zealous for their religion, both whilſt they were at Alexandria, and when they afterwards lived at Conſtantinople.

(*n*) Totus hic articulus ex Damaſcio ſumptus eſt. Apud Photium enim in Excerptis ex Damaſcio pag. 1036. 1037. omnia iſta verba . . . vix ſyllaba vel vocula aliqua mutata leguntur. Unde facile conjicias, et reliqua, quae Suidas hic habet, ex eodem Damaſcio excerpta eſſe. *Kuſter. in loc.*

(*o*) Et Suidas in voce Ὀλυμπος. Ubi luculentum affert fragmentum de hoc Olympo ex Hiſtoria Romana Eunapii Sardiani, ut ex Stilo conjicere licet. *Valeſ. ann. in Sozom. l.* 5.

ſtantinople. At this laſt place Socrates, when young, ſtudied under them. Whence it may be argued, that they alſo were young men, when the temple of Serapis was deſtroyed at Alexandria in the year 391. He calls them Grammarians. But they were alſo prieſts. *Helladius* was prieſt of Jupiter, *Ammonius* of Simias, or the Ape. We cannot forbear to obſerve, that many Heathens, who were eminent for their learning, and upon other accounts, were alſo prieſts to their gods. Here we have two inſtances. The Younger *Pliny* alſo, as we ſaw *(p)* formerly, was Augur. It was a prieſthood, upon which he ſet a great value. *Arrian*, who publiſhed the Diſcourſes of Epictetus, and was the author of many works, and a man of the firſt rank among the Romans, was *(q)* prieſt of Ceres and her daughter. All the Roman Emperours, as I ſuppoſe, upon ſeating themſelves on the throne, took upon them the character of High Prieſt, or *Pontifex Maximus*. Mark Antonin *(r)* was introduced by Adrian into the college of the prieſts, called *Salii*, at the age of eight years. And Mark made himſelf compleat maſter of all the rules of that order, ſo as to be able to diſcharge himſelf all the functions of that prieſthood. And now, as may be ſuppoſed, he gained, in childhood, a deep tincture of ſuperſtition, which grew up with him, and was retained by him ever afterwards. And this early prieſthood may be added to the *(s)* other cauſes and reaſons of his diſaffection to Chriſtians, and their principles. *Olympius*, as it ſeems, was not a prieſt. He was a Philoſopher. But he had a great zeal for the Greek religion, as moſt of the Philoſophers then had, and he was ſo ſkillfull in the rites of it, as to be qualified to be a teacher of them to others. A. D. 391.

There is ſtill one perſon more to be taken notice of, before we leave this ſtorie. It is *Theophilus*, Biſhop of Alexandria, who was a principal agent in the deſtruction of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other temples, all over Egypt. He was a zealous, and active man. But was blamable upon many accounts: as was obſerved *(t)* formerly. Cave *(u)* who computes his epiſcopacie from 385. *Theophilus*

(p) *See the ſecond volume of this work. p.* 69. 70.
(q) *See vol. ii. p.* 97. 98.
(r) *As before, p.* 165.
(s) *As above, p.* 181. *&c. of vol.* 2.
(t) *Credib. P.* 2. *ch. cxiv. Vol. x. p.* 23. *&c.*
(u) *Hiſt. Lit. Tom. i. p.* 279.

A. D. 391. 385. to 412. ſays, "he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Gentil ſuperſtition, and not only deſtroyed the temples of idols to the foundation, but alſo expoſed the frauds of the Prieſts, by which they had deceived the people." As Tillemont ſays, "he (*x*) ſhewed a great deal "of zeal againſt idolatrie, and in building churches, and erecting "monaſteries." But he allowes, that upon divers occaſions he betrayed pride, and ambition, and practiſed injuſtice. He (*y*) even admits, the truth of the character of this Biſhop, which is in Iſidore of Peluſium. Eunapius, as quoted above, accuſed ſome of making a rich booty, when the images of the gods were deſtroyed. Tillemont ſuppoſeth, that (*z*) *Theophilus* himſelf was intended in that charge. I add no more, but I refer to Tillemont's ſixth and ſeventh articles in the hiſtorie of *Theophilus*.

Other Temples demoliſhed in 388.

III. Other Heathen temples were deſtroyed about this time. I ſhall recite here a ſtorie or two from our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. And I ſhall recite them in their own words. If they betray credulity, and ſuperſtition, yet I ſhall recite them fairly, as they are. For it muſt be acknowledged, that they have mixed errour and falſhood together with the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. It cannot be denied, and we and they muſt take the ſhame of it. The Emperour Theodoſius, as Theodoret (*a*) ſays, reſolved to extirpate Gentiliſm. And gave orders for pulling down their temples. "*Mar-*"*cellus* (*b*) an excellent man in all reſpects, was the firſt Bi-"ſhop, who undertook to deſtroy the temples of the place in which "he preſided, truſting more to the help of God, than to any aſ-"ſiſtance from men. *John*, Biſhop of Apamea, formerly menti-"oned, was dead. This *Marcellus* had been ordained in his room, "a man truly divine, and *fervent in ſpirit*, according to the direc-*Rom. xii.* 11. "tion of the Apoſtle. There came to Apamea the Prefect of the "Eaſt, [Cynegius] having with him two tribunes, with the ſoldi-"ers under their command. The people were quiet through fear "of

(*x*) *Theophile art. vi. Tom. vi. p.* 452.

(*y*) Il ſeroit difficile, comme on a dit, de recuſer ſur cela S. Iſidore de Peluſe. l. i. ep. 152. *Ibid.*

(*z*) Eunape l'accuſe d'avoir profité ſecrettement des richeſtes dont il dépouilloit leurs temples. *Ibid. art. vii. p.* 457.

(*a*) *Theodoret. l. v. cap.* 21. *p.* 226. . . 228.

(*b*) Πρῶτος μέντοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχιερέων Μάρκελλος. κ. λ. *p.* 226. *D.*

" of the ſoldiers. He endeavored to deſtroy the temple of Jupi- A. D.
" ter, which was very large and magnificent. But ſeeing that the 388.
" ſtructure was very firm and ſolid, and that the ſtones were of ex-
" traordinarie ſize, and cemented with lead and iron, he judged it
" impoſſible to remove them by any human power. Marcellus
" ſeeing the timidity of the Prefect, ſent him away to other cities.
" Himſelf made his ſupplication to the Deity, for directions how
" to accompliſh his deſign. In the morning there came to him of
" his own accord a man, who was neither a carpenter, nor a ma-
" ſon, nor ſkillfull in any employment, but only had been wont
" to carry wood and ſtones upon his ſhoulders. He aſſured Mar-
" cellus, that he could eaſily pull down the temple, if he would
" but allow him pay for two workmen, which was readily promi-
" ſed him. He then proceeded in this manner. The temple was
" built upon an eminence, ſurrounded by a portico on all the four
" ſides, with large pillars, reaching up to the top of the temple.
" The pillars were ſixteen feet in circumference, of a very firm
" ſtone, not eaſie to be pierced by the iron inſtruments of the ma-
" ſon. The workmen dug round each pillar, going from one to
" another, and laid wood of olives under them. In that manner
" he had undermined three of the pillars, and then ſet fire to the
" wood. But (*c*) a black demon appeared, and hindred the ope-
" ration of the fire. This was done ſeveral times. Seeing then
" that they were not able to advance, they came to Marcellus,
" when he was aſleep at reſt in the afternoon, and told him of it.
" Whereupon he went to the divine temple, and put water under
" the divine altar. And proſtrating himſelf with his face to the
" ground, he entreated the merciſull Lord, to reſtrain the influ-
" ence of the demon, and at once to manifeſt his weakneſſe, and
" his own power, leaſt the unbelieving ſhould take occaſion to har-
" den themſelves yet more and more. Having finiſhed his prayer,
" he ſigned the water with the ſign of the croſſe, and gave it to
" his deacon *Equitius*, who was full of faith and zeal. And bid
" him go preſently, and ſprinkle the place with the water, and
" then put fire to it, truſting in the power of God. Which being
" done, the demon, not enduring the force of the water, fled a-
" way.

(*c*) ... δαίμων τις φαντάσματος μέλας, ἢ καλύων τὴν φλογὰ τὴν ἐνεργείαν. *x. λ. p.* 227. *D.*

A. D. 388. "way. The fire then kindling the water like oyle, burnt with "fierceneſſe. The wooden props were preſently conſomed, and "the three pillars, by which they had been ſupported, fell to the "ground, and the other twelve pillars with them. The ſide of "the temple, which adjoyned to them fell likewiſe. The ſound "was heard throughout the whole city. When they heard how "the demon had been put to flight, all the Chriſtians in the place "lift up their voices in hymns to the God of the univerſe. That "divine man deſtroyed all the other temples thereabout. And "there are many other wonderfull things, that might be ſaid of "him. For he wrote letters to the invincible Martyrs, and re-"ceived letters from them. At length he alſo obtained the crown "of martyrdom. But I forbear to proceed any farther, that I may "not be tedious to the readers."

What has been omitted by Theodoret, we may find in *(d)* Sozomen, to whom therefore we now proceed. He ſays, "that *(e)* "in many places the Greeks defended their temples, and fought "for them. This was the caſe of the people of *Petra* and *Are-*"*opolis* in Arabia: of *Raphia* and *Gaza* in Paleſtine: of *Heliopolis* "in Phenicia, and particularly of the Syrians in *Apamea*, near the "river Axius; who, as I have been informed, did ſeveral times "call in to their aſſiſtance the Galileans, and people of other vil-"lages near mount Libanus. At length their audaciouſneſſe pro-"ceeded ſo far as to kill *Marcellus* Biſhop of the place. For *(f)* "perceiving, that they were not otherwiſe to be brought off from "their old way of worſhip, he was very intent upon deſtroying "their temples in the cities and villages. And when he heard that "there was a large temple in *Aulonii*, which was in the territorie "of the Apameans, taking with him ſome ſoldiers and gladiators, "he went thither. But when he came near, he ſtaid at a place "out of the reach of darts. For he was lame in his feet, and was "unable to fight: nor could he purſue, or flee. When the ſoldi-"ers

(d) Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv. p. 725. 726.

(e) Εισὶ τε δὲ κατὰ πόλεις τινὰς πρεσβύται, ὑπερμαχοῦντο τῶν ναῶν ἐλληνισαὶ. p. 725. B. C.

(f) Λογισάμενος γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ῥᾴδιον μετατεθῆναι τῆς πατρίου θρησκείας, τὰς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας ναοὺς κατεσκάπτε-το. Πυθόμενος δὲ μέγιστον εἶναι ναὸν ἐν τῇ Αὐλῶνι, κλίμα δὲ τοῦτο τῆς Απαμέων χώρας, στρατιώτας τινὰς καὶ μονομάχους παραλαβὼν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦει. p. 725. C. D.

" ers and gladiators were employed in pulling down the temple, ſome A. D.
" of the Greeks underſtanding that he was alone, in a place quite 388.
" out of the battle, they went thither. And coming upon him all
" on a ſudden, they laid hold of him, and threw him into the fire,
" where he died. For a while this was a ſecret. But afterwards,
" when the authors were known, the ſons of Marcellus were de-
" ſirous to have the death of their father avenged. But a ſynod of
" that countrey forbid it, ſaying, it was not fit, that vengeance
" ſhould be taken for ſuch a death, for which they had cauſe to
" be thankfull, both he that had died, and alſo his kindred and
" friends, as having been thought worthie to dye for God."

Theſe two ſtories are joyned together by *(f)* Nicephorus, and told by him in connexion, placing them in the ſame order that I have done, firſt rehearſing the hiſtorie in Theodoret, and then that from Sozomen.

And now upon theſe accounts we may make ſome remarks.

1. In the firſt place, it muſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange to all, that ſo learned a man as Theodoret ſhould ſpeak of a demon of *a black colour*, and aſcribe to him the interruption, which Marcellus met with in accompliſhing his deſign. It is alſo very ſtrange, that he ſhould aſcribe the downfall of the temple of Jupiter at *Apaméa* to a miraculous interpoſition. The demolition of that temple was effected by natural means, as well as the demolition of the other temple at *Aulonis*, mentioned by Sozomen. The workman, who offered his ſervice to Marcellus, was not an architect, but he had labored under good architects. When he came to Marcellus, he aſſured him, that he could eaſily overthrow the temple, if he would allow him pay for two helpers under him. And doubtleſs he ſo undermined the pillars, and wall of the temple, that all fell to the ground, when he had ſet fire to the wooden props, which he had ſet up to ſupport them, for a while, that they might not fall, till he and his under-workmen were withdrawn.

2. The firſt of theſe temples, that at *Apaméa*, if not alſo the other, at *Aulonis*, was demoliſhed by *Marcellus*, before there were any imperial edicts for pulling down Heathen temples.

This,

(f) Niceph. l. 12. *c.* 17. *p.* 276. . . .278.

A. D. 388. This, I think, may be well argued from Theodoret's introduction to the ſtorie told by him. For it was done ſoon after that the *Prefect of the Eaſt* came to Apaméa, meaning *Cynegius*, as Valeſius alſo ſuppoſed. But Cynegius died in 388. when there were yet no orders from Theodoſius for pulling down of temples. By Zoſimus we are aſſured, that *(g)* the Commiſſion of Cynegius, who was now going to Egypt was only to forbid ſacrifices, and ſhut up the temples. Which is agreeable to the ſentiment of James Gothofred in his *(b)* notes upon the oration of Libanius for the Temples.

3. The zeal of Marcellus is indeed very extraordinarie, and I humbly conceive unjuſtifiable. He acted without imperial authority. And if he had ſuch authority, I cannot ſay, that ſuch laws are equitable. I think, that the Biſhops ſhould neither have demoliſhed Heathen temples themſelves, nor adviſed the Emperour to ſhut them up, and pull them down. Is it not an extraordinarie thing, to ſee a Biſhop of the Chriſtian rite, leave the place of his reſidence, and go into the countrey, with a troop of ſoldiers and *** gladiators at his heels, to demoliſh a beautifull and magnificent edifice, which might in time be converted into a temple for the worſhip of the living God? Whether he acts upon his own private judgement only, or with imperial authority, it makes no great difference. The duty of Chriſtian Miniſters is to *preach the word, to be inſtant in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to exhort with all long-ſuffering and doctrine.* And they ſhould have adviſed the Chriſtian Emperours to tolerate and protect all peaceable ſubjects of every denomination: puniſhing all, and only thoſe who diſturbed the peace by a riotous

2 Tim. iv. 2.

(g) Zoſ *l.* 4. *p.* 762. *The words of Zoſimus are tranſcribed above, at p.* 261. *note* (*a*).

(b) Quo tempore etiam paſſim in oriente, et quidem in Syria, templa per Monachos, Epiſcopos, et Clericos, diruebantur, vel ut diruerentur, iidem agebant. Quales ſane hoc tempore exſtitere Joannes Chryſoſtomus, tum preſbyter Antiochenus, ab. A. D. 386. ad 398. ut vitae ejus ſcriptores edocent: item Marcellus Apaméae epiſcopus, de quo Theodoretus l. 5 cap. 21. cum nulla adhuc conſtitutio a Theodoſio M. de templis occludendis diruendiſve promulgata fuiſſet, quod Libanius hac oratione exerte teſtatur. *Gothofred. in Liban. Orat. p.* 39. 40. *See alſo Tillem. L'Emp. Theodoſ. art.* 58. *p.* 672. *in the notes.*

*** For μονομάχους, *gladiators*, I have had a mind to put μοναχους, *monks*. But it is the ſame reading both in Sozomen and Nicephorus. Otherwiſe I ſhould have choſen the later, out of reſpect to Marcellus; though either is bad enough.

a riotous behaviour. There can be no queſtion made, but in this way truth would have prevailed, and much more, and better, than by the injurious proceedings of the Biſhops and Clergie of this time. I preſume, that the Apoſtle Paul had a true zeal for his Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, and that he knew, as well as any others, the beſt way of propagating his religion in the world. Who ſays, *the ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive,* [fight, μάχεσθαι,] *but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient: in meekneſſe inſtructing them that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth.* A. D. 388. 2 Tim. ii. 24. 25.

Finally, therefore, the Synod of that countrey was much in the right to determine, that the death of *Marcellus* ought not to be avenged. He had brought it upon himſelf by his violent proceedings againſt his neighbours, who indeed were erroneous, but nevertheleſs were quiet and peaceable, ſo far as appears, and therefore ſhould not have been diſturbed, nor provoked.

Nor would the Emperour *Theodoſius*, as we may remember, allow (*i*) them to be avenged, who had ſuffered death from Heathen people, in their attempts to demoliſh the temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

SECT. VI. *A pretended Heathen Oracle, foretelling the period of the Chriſtian Religion.*

AUGUSTIN, in his Work of the City of God, tells us, "that (*a*) ſome Gentils uneaſie at the long duration of the "Chriſtian Religion, publiſhed ſome Greek verſes, as received "from

(*i*) *See before, p.* 407.

(*a*) Sed haec quia evangelica ſententia eſt, mirum non eſt ea repreſſos fuiſſe deorum multorum falſorumque cultores, quo minus fingerent daemonum reſponſis, quos tanquam deos colunt, definitum eſſe quanto tempore manſura eſſet religio Chriſtiana. Cum enim viderent, nec tot tantiſque perſecutionibus eam potuiſſe conſumi, ſed his potius mira incrementa ſumſiſſe, excogitaverunt neſcio quos verſus Graecos, tanquam conſulenti cuidam divino oraculo effuſos, ubi Chriſtum quidem ab hujus tanquam ſacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem maleficiis feciſſe ſubjungunt, ut coleretur Chriſti nomen per trecentos ſexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum ſine mora ſumeret finem. *De Civ. Dei l.* 18. *cap.* 53.

A. D. 398. "from an Oracle, which ſome perſon had conſulted, wherein it "was declared, that it ſhould ſubſiſt for three hundred and five "and ſixty years, and then fall to the ground. Where alſo Chriſt is "repreſented as innocent, and it is ſaid, that Peter by his magical "arts had brought it about, that Chriſt ſhould be worſhiped ſo "long."

Upon this Oracle Auguſtin makes divers obſervations. He alſo conſiders, when the begining of this period ſhould be dated: "He "(b) thinks, not from the nativity of Jeſus, but from his reſurrec- "tion, or the pouring out of the Holy Ghoſt upon the diſciples, "when the revelation of the goſpel was compleated, and men were "every where called upon to believe in Jeſus Chriſt crucified, and "riſen from the dead. According to this computation, and in his "way of reckoning, that period of three hundred and five and "ſixty years, would expire in the Conſulſhip of Honorius and Eu- "tychianus, the year of Chriſt 398. And, in the next, in the "Conſulſhip of Manlius Theodorus, according to the oracle of "demons, or the fiction of men, the Chriſtian Religion would "ceaſe to be any where. But in that very year, without inquiring "what was done in other parts of the earth, he ſays, the Counts "Gaudentius and Jovius, by order of the Emperour Honorius, de- "ſtroyed the temples, and broke the images of falſe Gods in Car- "thage, the principal city of Africa. Since which time, now for "the

(b) Sed quoniam prius quam paſſus eſſet, et reſurrexit a mortuis, nondum fides omnibus fuerat definita, . . . melius in hac quaeſtione ſolvenda inde initium ſumimus, praeſertim quia tunc datus eſt Spiritus Sanctus . . . Ibi ergo exorſus eſt hujus nominis cultus, ut in Chriſtum Jeſum, qui crucifixus fuerat, et reſurrexerat, crederetur. . . Ac per hoc colligitur etiam dies, ex quo annus ipſe ſumſit initium, ſcilicet quando miſſus eſt Spiritus Sanctus, id eſt, per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde Conſulibus trecenti ſexaginta quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per eaſdem idus conſulatu Honorii et Eutychiani. Porro ſequenti anno, Conſule Manlio Theodoro, quando jam ſecundum illud oraculum daemonum, aut figmentum hominum, nulla religio Chriſtiana, quid per alias terrarum partes forſitan factum ſit, non fuit neceſſe perquirere. Interim quid ſcimus incivitate notiſſima et eminentiſſima Carthagine Africae Gaudentius et Jovius comites Imperatoris Honorii, quarto-decimo Kalendas Aprilis falſorum deorum templa everterunt, et ſimulacra fregerunt. Ex quo uſque ad hoc tempus per triginta forme annos quis non videat, quantum creverit cultus nominis Chriſti, praeſertim poſtea quam multi eorum Chriſtiani facti ſunt, qui tanquam vera illa divinatione revocabantur a fide, eamque completo eodem annorum numero inanem ridendamque viderunt? *Id. ib. cap. liv.*

" the ſpace of almoſt thirty years, the Chriſtian religion has ſpread " and flouriſhed, and many have been converted to the faith, ſee- " ing the evident falſhood of that pretended oracle, on which they " had for a while relied."

We may hence ſee, that the Gentils did all they could to uphold their falling religion. But fictions, when detected, and expoſed, in the end weaken the cauſe, for the ſake of which they are contrived.

SECT. VII. *The Demolition of the Temple of Coeleſtis at Carthage in* 399.

THE demolition of the temple of the goddeſſe *Coeleſtis* at Carthage is alſo ſpoken of at the year 399. by ſeveral of our (*a*) eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. The hiſtorie of this event is taken from the book of Promiſes and Predictions, ſometimes aſcribed to Proſper of Aquitain, but not his, and probably writ by (*b*) an African. This *Coeleſtis* is by ſome ſuppoſed to be the ſame as *Aſtarte*, the Goddeſſe of the Sidonians. A. D. 399.

" At (*c*) Carthage in Africa, ſays that writer, there was a mag- " nificent temple of prodigious magnitude, encompaſſed alſo by " temples of all the gods. The place was ſurrounded with beau- " tifull walls, the ſtreets well paved with ſtones, and adorned with " pillars: the whole in compaſſe not much leſs than two miles. It " having been ſhut up ſome while before, and after that neglected, " it was grown over with thorns and thiſtles. And when the Chri- " ſtians propoſed to apply it to the uſes of their own religion, the " Gentil people exclaimed againſt it, crying out, that there were " dragons and aſps, which guarded the temple, ſo that it would " be

(*a*) *Pagi* 399. *xi. xii. Baſnag.* 399. *viii. Tillem. Honoré. art. xiii.*

(*b*) *See the Credib. P.* 2. *ch. cxxxv. vol. xi. p.* 138.

(*c*) Apud Africam Carthagini Coeleſtis ineſſe ferebant templum nimis amplum, omnium deorum ſuorum aedibus vallatum. Cujus platea lithoſtrata, pavimento ac pretioſis columnis et moenibus decorata, prope in duobus fere millibus paſſuum provendebatur. Cum diutius clauſum incuriâ, ſpinoſa virgulta circumſeptum obruerent, velletque populus Chriſtianus uſui verae religionis vindicare, dracones,

A. D. 399. " be dangerous to come near. But the Chriſtians, inſtead of being terrified thereby, were the more animated with a deſire to " clear the ground, and conſecrate the place to the truly heavenly " King, their Lord. It was now time of Eaſter. And in the preſence of a great multitude of people, when that great prelate, " and father of many Prieſts, placed his chair in the ſeat of the " goddeſſe Coeleſtis, and took poſſeſſion of it; I my-ſelf, ſays the " writer, was there with my friends and companions. And rambling about with curious eyes, as young people are apt to do, we " ſaw an inſcription in large braſs letters, in the front of the temple: THE PONTIFF AURELIUS DEDICATED THIS TEMPLE. " When we obſerved it, we could not but admire the diſpoſal of " Providence, which had afforded a prophetical intimation of this " event, and that this temple ſhould be now conſecrated by the " prelate *Aurelius:*" meaning him, who was then Biſhop of Carthage.

This temple had been ſhut up for ſome while, ever ſince the year 391, or thereabout, as is ſuppoſed, agreeable to ſome law of Theodoſius about that time for ſhutting up the Gentil temples.

The inſcription here referred to is ſuppoſed by learned men *(d)* to have been upon a pedaſtal, over which was placed the image of the Goddeſſe Coeleſtis.

To

cones, aſpideſque illic eſſe ob cuſtodiam templi, Gentilis populus clamitabat. Quo magis Chriſtiani fervore ſuccenſi, ea facilitate omnia amoverunt illaeſi, quâ templum vero Coeleſti Regi ac Domino conſecrarent. Nam cum ſancta Paſchae ſolennis ageretur feſtivitas, collecta illic et undique omni curioſitate etiam adveniens multitudo, Sacerdotum multorum pater, et dignae memoriae nominandus antiſtes Aurelius, coeleſtis jam patriae civis, Cathedram illic loco Coeleſtis et habuit, et ſedit. Ipſe tunc aderam cum ſociis et amicis, atque, ut ſe adoleſcentium aetas impatiens circumquaque vertebat, dum curioſi ſingula quaeque pro magnitudine inſpicimus, mirum quoddam et incredibile noſtro ſe ingeſſit aſpectui, titulus aeneis grandioribuſque literis in frontiſpicio templi conſcriptus: AURELIUS PONTIFEX DEDICAVIT. Hunc legentes populi mirabantur, Praeſago Spiritu acta, quae praeſcius Dei ordo certo iſto fine concluſerat. *De Promiſſ. et Praedict. Dei. Part.* 3. *Cap.* 38.

(d) *Vide Pagi.* 399. *xii.*

To the Invincible
Coeleſtis
Aurelius Oneſimus
Dedicates this Image.

INVICTAE
COLESTI
AUR. ONESI
MUS: D. D.

SECT. VIII. *An Image of Hercules deſtroyed by the Chriſtians at Suffecta in Africa.*

ABOUT the ſame time (*) a temple of Hercules was attacked by the Chriſtians at *Suffecta*, a Roman Colonie, and the image of Hercules was deſtroyed. But the Gentils reſiſted, and killed at leſt ſixty Chriſtians. Upon this occaſion Auguſtin wrote a ſhort but ſevere letter to the magiſtrates and principal men of the Colonie. He tells them, " that (*a*) they had loſt all regard for " the Roman laws, and caſt off the fear and reverence due to the " Emperours. He tells them, that for a ſum of money they could " purchaſe A. D. 399.

(*) *Vide Pagi* 399. *xiii. Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art. xiv.*

(*a*) Immanitatis veſtrae famoſiſſimum ſcelus, et inopinata crudelitas terram concutit, et percutit coelum, ut in plateis ac delubris veſtris eluceat ſanguis, et reſonet homicidium. Apud vos Romanae ſepultae ſunt leges, judiciorum rectorum calcatus eſt terror. Imperatorum certe nulla veneratio, nec timor. Apud vos LX numero fratrum innocens effuſus eſt ſanguis, et ſi quis plures occidit, functus eſt laudibus, et in veſtram curiam tenuit principatum. Age nunc, principalem veniamus ad cauſſam. Si Herculem veſtrum dixeritis, porro reddemus. Adſunt metalla, ſaxa nec deſunt. Accedunt marmorum genera, ſuppetit artificum copia. Ceterum Deus veſter cum diligentia ſculpitur, tornatur, et ornatur. Addimus et rubricam, quae pingit ruborem, quo poſſint veſtra ſacra ſonare. Nam ſi veſtrum Herculem dixeritis, collatis ſingulis numinis ab artifice veſtra emimus Deum. Reddite igitur animas, quas manus veſtra contorſit: et ſicuti a nobis veſter Herculeſ redhibetur, ſic etiam a vobis tantorum animae reddantur. *Aug. Ep.* 50. *al.* 238.

" purchaſe for them another Hercules. There is no want of me-
" tal, or ſtone, or fine marble. And artificers may be had. A-
" nother Hercules may be procured, as well turned, and beauti-
" full, as the other. But they were not able to reſtore the ſouls of
" thoſe whom they had deſtroyed."

So writes Auguſtin. He ridicules them handſomly. But I ſee no threatenings of ſevere vengeance. However, he charges them ſtrongly with violation of the Roman Laws, and diſreſpect to the authority of the Emperours. And I ſuppoſe, leaves the puniſhment to the Imperial Officers.

SECT. IX. *A Diſturbance at Calama in Numidia, in the year* 408.

A. D. 408. THE Gentil ſuperſtition, as (*a*) Pagi ſays, was deſtroyed gradually. Firſt of all, ſacrifices were forbid, then other rites, and laſtly feaſts, and other ſolemnities.

I ſhall therefore now take notice of a diſturbance that happened at *Calama*, a Roman colonie in Numidia, as related by Auguſtin, and placed by ſome in the year *(b)* 408. by others in 409. It followed ſoon after a law enacted by Honorius in the year 407. or 408. in which the ſolemnities of the Gentils are expreſsly prohibited.

The diſturbance is particularly related by Auguſtin in one of his letters. " On (*c*) the firſt day of June, in contempt of laws lately
" enacted, the Pagans celebrated one of their ſacrilegious ſolemni-
" ties, without prohibition from any, paſſing through the ſtreets,
" and danſing before the church in an inſolent manner, not prac-
" tiſed even in the times of Julian. And when ſome eccleſiaſtics
" attempted

(*a*) Ex his liquet, quibuſnam gradibus Gentilium ſuperſtitio peſſundata fuerit. Primo quidem ſacrificia tantum prohibita: mox et alii ritus gentilitii: tandem etiam et convivia ſolemnitateſque aliae vetitae. *Pagi. ann.* 399. *num. ix.*

(*b*) *Vide Pagi. A. D.* 399. *xiv. Tillem. St. Auguſtin. art.* 171.

(*c*) Contra recentiſſimas leges, Calendis Junii feſto Paganorum ſacrilega ſolemnitas agitata eſt, nemine prohibente, tam inſolente auſu, ut quod nec Juliani temporibus factum eſt, petulantiſſima turba ſaltantium in eodem prorſus vico ante fores tranſiret eccleſiae. Quam rem illicitiſſimam et indigniſſimam clericis prohibere

" attempted to interrupt them, they threw ſtones againſt the " church." A. D. 408.

" About eight days after, when the Biſhop put the chief men " of the city in mind of the law, of which they were not before " ignorant, and when they were going to take ſome care of the af- " fair, as the laws directed, thoſe inſolent people again threw ſtones " at the church. The next day the eccleſiaſtics, in order to re- " ſtrain thoſe people by the dread of the laws, went to the magiſ- " trates, deſiring to enter a proceſſe againſt them. But were re- " fuſed. On the ſame day, as if the Divine Being had interpoſed " to fill them with terrour, there fell a heavie hail in return for " their ſhower of ſtones. But as ſoon as it was over, they began " the third time to throw ſtones, and alſo ſet fire to ſome of the " dwellings of the eccleſiaſtics. And they actually killed one ſer- " vant of God, [*meaning, as I ſuppoſe, a Monk,*] whom they met " with, the reſt hiding themſelves where they could, or running " away to be out of danger. The Biſhop [*Poſſidius, Auguſtin's " friend,*] hid himſelf in a private place, where he heard the noiſe " of thoſe who were ſearching for him, with intent to kill him, " and ſaying among themſelves, that they had yet done nothing " till they could find him." Auguſtin goes on, complaining, that the magiſtrates all this while were very negligent, though Chriſtians, as it ſeems.

Nectarius,

bere tentantibus, eccleſia lapidata eſt. Deinde poſt dies ferme octo, cum leges notiſſimas epiſcopus ordini replicaſſet, et dum ea quae juſſa ſunt, velut implere diſponunt, iterum eccleſia lapidata eſt. Poſtridie noſtris ad imponendum perditis metum, quod videbatur apud Acta dicere volentibus publica jura negata ſunt. Eodemque ipſo die, ut vel divinitus terrerentur, grando lapidationibus reddita eſt: qua tranſacta continuo tertiam lapidationem, et poſtremo ignes eccleſiaſticis tectis et hominibus intulerunt: unum ſervum Dei, qui oberrans, occurrere potuit, occiderunt, ceteris partim ubi poterant latitantes, partim qua potuerant fugientes: cum interea contruſus atque coarctatus quodam loco ſe occultaret epiſcopus, ubi ſe ad mortem quaerentium voces audiebat, ſibi increpantium, quod eo non invento gratis tantum perpetraſſent ſcelus. Geſta ſunt haec ab hora fere decima uſque ad noctis partem non minimam. Nemo compeſcere, nemo ſubvenire tentavit illorum, quorum eſſe gravis poſſet auctoritas, ... &c. *Aug. Ep.* 91. *al.* 202. §. 8.

A. D. 408. *Nectarius*, a Pagan, native of Calama, and a man of diſtinction in the place, and now in years, hearing of this diſturbance, and apprehenſive of the conſequences, wrote a reſpectfull letter to Auguſtin, earneſtly entreating for mercie. " He acknowledgeth, (*d*) that " the offenſe was great. But he hopes, that the reſentment might " be mitigated. He is pleaſed, as he ſays, to think, that he is " writing to a man of ſo good underſtanding, as Auguſtin: tells " him, how becoming tenderneſſe muſt be in the epiſcopal charac- " ter. He reminds him, that it is the place of his nativity, for " which he juſtly has a great affection, and wiſheth to leave it, when " he dies, in a flouriſhing condition. Damages, he ſays, may be " repaired: other puniſhment might be forbore. Above all, let " not innocent men ſuffer with the guilty."

To that letter Auguſtin preſently wrote an anſwer. It is the letter, out of which the foregoing extracts have been made, as Auguſtin there relates diſtinctly the behaviour of the people of Calama.

With regard to the petition of Nectarius, in favour of them: his anſwer is in general to this purpoſe. " That (*e*) he and other " Biſhops are diſpoſed to ſhew all the gentleneſſe, which becomes " Chriſtians. At the ſame time it was fit to inflict ſuch puniſh- " ment, as might be ſufficient to deter others from following a bad " example."

That letter was afterwards anſwered by Nectarius: to which Auguſtin alſo made a reply. But I do not think it needfull for me to make

(*d*) Sed quoniam creſcit in dies ſingulos dilectio et gratia civitatis, quantumque aetas fini proxima eſt, tantum incolumen ac florentem relinquere patriam cupimus. Idcirco gaudeo primum, quod apud inſtructum diſciplinis omnibus virum mihi hic eſt ſermo inſtitutus. In Calamenſi colonia multa ſunt, quae merito diligamus, vel quod in ea geniti ſumus, vel quod eidem magna contuliſſe videmur officia. Haec ergo, domine praeſtantiſſime et merito ſuſcipiende, non levi populi ſui erratu prolapſa eſt. Quod quidem ſi juris publici rigore metiamur, debet plecti ſeveriori cenſura. Sed epiſcopum fas non eſt, niſi ſalutem hominibus impertire, et pro ſtatu meliore cauſſis adeſſe, et apud omnipotentem Deum veniam aliorum mereri delictis. Quamobrem quanta poſſum ſupplicatione depoſco, ut ſi defendenda res [non] eſt, innoxius defendatur, ab innocentibus moleſtia reparetur. . . De damnis facilis poteſt haberi taxatio, tantum ſupplicia deprecamur. *Ad Auguſt. Nectarii Ep.* 90. *al.* 201.

(*e*) Nobis itaque cordi eſt, neque Chriſtianam amittere manſuetudinem, neque pernicioſum ceteris imitationis exemplum in illa civitate relinquere. . . *Ep.* 91. *al.* 202. *num.* 6.

make any more extracts, or to take any farther notice of thoſe letters now.

SECT. X. *The Overthrow of Rhadagaiſus, a Gothic Prince, in* 405.

IN the year (*a*) 405. or 406. whilſt Alarich was ſtill in Italie, or hovering over it, there appeared another very formidable enemie againſt the Romans, a Gothic Prince likewiſe, named *Rhadagaiſus*, or *Rhodogaiſus*, not a Chriſtian, as Alarich was, but a Pagan, and a Scythian, as he is ſometimes called, for his fierceneſſe and barbarity. A. D. 405.

I begin my accounts of this affair with Zoſimus, who writes to this purpoſe. " Whilſt (*b*) Alarich was intent upon thoſe things, " Rhadagaiſus came into Italie with a vaſt number of men, not leſs " than four hundred thouſand, conſiſting of Gauls and Germans " from the other ſide the Rhine and the Danube. At the very firſt " tidings of which all were filled with great conſternation. When " all the other cities, and Rome itſelf, were ſo apprehenſive of the " extreme danger they were in, that they almoſt deſpaired of ſafe- " ty: Stilicho taking with him all the forces which were at Ticinum " in Liguria, to the number of about thirty thouſand, together with " ſuch auxiliaries of the Alans and Huns as were at hand, without " waiting for the approach of the enemie, ſuddenly croſſed the " Arn. By (*c*) which means he came upon the barbarians, before " they were aware, and cut them all off with an univerſal deſtruc- " tion, excepting a very few, whom he afterwards incorporated " with his own forces."

The ſame ſtorie is in Olympiodorus, another Gentil Hiſtorian. He does not mention the number of the men, but he ſays, that (*d*) the

(*a*) *Baron. A. D.* 406. *Baſnag. A.* 405. *iii. iv. Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art. xxii. xxiii. A.* 405.

(*b*) *Zoſ. l. v. p.* 803.

(*c*) Καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιστὰς, ὅπερ τὸ πολέμιον παντελεθρίᾳ διέφθειρεν· ὅσε μηδένα σχεδὸν ἐκ τούτων περισωθῆναι, πλὴν ὀλιγίστους, ὅσους αὐτὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσέθηκε συμμαχίᾳ. *Ibid.*

(*d*) Ὅτι τῶν μετὰ Ῥοδογαΐσου Γότθων οἱ ἀφαλιῶται, Ὀπτιμάτου ἐκάλουν, εἰς δώδεκα συντάσσοντες χιλιάδας. κ. λ. *Ap. Phot. Cod.* 80. *p.* 180.

A. D. 408. the Goths, who were with Rhodogaiſus, had twelve thouſand Chiefs or Generals.

Chriſtian hiſtorians have enlarged more in their accounts of Rhadagaiſus, and with good reaſon. " Oroſius (*e*) who calls him a " Goth, and a Scythian, ſpeaks of him, as the moſt cruel and " terrible enemie the Romans ever had. On a ſudden he overrun " almoſt all Italie. He had in his armie more than two hundred " thouſand men. The Pagans at Rome, and every where, were " very tumultuous. The city, they thought, could by no means " withſtand ſuch an enemie, who had the aſſiſtance of the gods, to " whom he ſacrificed every day. The City muſt ſoon fall into his " hands. They had none to help them, now the Gods and their " rites were baniſhed. In ſhort the Chriſtian Religion, they ſaid, " had quite ruined the State, and brought them into this miſerable " condition. Nevertheleſs this formidable enemie was overcome, " and

(*e*) Rhadagaiſus, omnium antiquorum praeſentiumque hoſtium longe immaniſſimus, repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam. Nam fuiſſe in populo ejus pluſquam ducenta millia Gothorum ferunt. Hic ſupra hanc incredibilem multitudinem indomitamque virtutem paganus et Scytha erat: qui, ut mos eſt barbaris hujuſmodi gentibus, omnem Romani generis ſanguinem diis ſuis propinare devoverat. Hoc igitur Romanis arcibus imminente, fit omnium Paganorum in Urbe concurſus: hoſtem adeſſe cum utique virium copia, tum maxime praeſidio deorum potentem: urbe autem ideo deſtitutam et mature perituram, quia deos et ſacra perdiderit. Magnis querelis ubique agitur, et continuo de repetendis ſacris celebrandiſque tractatur. Fervent tota urbe blaſphemiae, vulgo nomen Chriſti tanquam lues aliqua praeſentium temporum opprobriis gravatur. . . Duo tunc Gothorum populi cum duobus potentiſſimis regibus ſuis per Romanas provincias baccarentur: quorum unus Chriſtianus, propiorque Romano, et, (ut res docuit) timore Dei mitis in coede, alius Paganus, barbarus, et vere Scytha . . . Sed non ſinit Deus rem potentiae ſuae, virtutem hominum et maxime hoſtium videri Conterritum divinitus Rhadagaiſum in Foeſulanos montes cogit: ejuſque, (ſecundum eos qui parciſſime referunt) ducenta millia hominum, inopum conſilii et cibi, in arido et aſpero montis jugo, urgente undique timore concludit. . . . Parum hoc eſt, niſi captum et catenatum ac ſubjugatum ſciant, quem timuere Romani, illumque idololatram ſuum, cujus ſacrificia ſe magis pertimeſcere quam arma fingebant, ſine praelio victum ac vinctum ſub jugo cateniſque deſpiciant. Igitur rex Rhadagaiſus, ſolus ſpem fugae ſumens, clam ſuos deſeruit, atque in noſtros incidit, a quibus captus, ac pauliſper retentus, deinde interfectus eſt. Tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuiſſe fertur, ut viliſſimarum pecudum modo, ſingulis aureis paſſim greges hominum venderentur. Sed nihil ſupereſſe Deus de eodem populo ſinit. Nam illico cunctis qui emebantur morientibus, quod improbi emtores eorum non impenderunt turpiter pretiis, expenderunt miſericorditer ſepulturis. *Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 37.*

" and his numerous armie deſtroyed. The victorie was compleat, A. D.
" and eaſie, and almoſt miraculous. The City did afterwards fall 405.
" into the hands of another enemie: but he was a Chriſtian, and
" ſhewed mercie to Chriſtians: in which the Pagans alſo ſhared."

" Auguſtin *(f)* was at Carthage, when Rhadagaiſus overrun Ita-
" lie, and drew near to Rome with his numerous armie. The
" Pagans made no doubt, but Rhadagaiſus would overcome, who
" ſacrificed daily to the gods, whom the Romans had now diſcard-
" ed, and ſo far from worſhiping them, had forbid under penal-
" ties the offering any ſacrifices to them."

Undoubtedly the danger was imminent. And if thoſe Barbarians, and Pagans, had beſieged, and taken Rome, which they had already devoured in their thoughts, the ruin would have been great and terrible. " But as Auguſtin obſerves, more than a hundred
" thouſand of thoſe Goths and Barbarians were deſtroyed in one
" day, whilſt the Roman armie ſuffered little or nothing. Rhada-
" gaiſus fled, he and his ſons were put to death. And it manifeſtly
" appeared, that the ſacrifices, on which the Pagans ſet ſo high a
" value, were not neceſſarie for the ſafety of the City and Em-
" pire."

" Au-

(f) Quod tamen noſtra memoria recentiſſimo tempore Deus mirabiliter et miſericorditer fecerit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorant: Sed quantum in ipſis eſt, omnium, ſi fieri poteſt, hominum oblivione ſepelire conantur. Quod a nobis ſi tacelitur, ſimiliter erimus ingrati. Cum Rhadagaiſus rex Gothorum agmine ingenti et immani jam in Urbis vicinia conſtitutus, Romanis cervicibus immineret, uno die tanta celeritate ſic victus eſt, ut ne uno quidem non dicam exſtincto, ſed vulnerato Romanorum, multo amplius quam centum millium proſternerentur ejus exercitus, atque ipſe cum filiis mox captus poena debita necaretur. Nam ſi ille tam impius cum tantis et tam impiis copiis Romam fuiſſet ingreſſus, cui pepercisſet? Quibus honorem locis Martyrum detuliſſet? In qua perſona Deum timeret? Cujus non ſanguinem fuſum, cujus pudicitiam vellet intractam? Quas autem iſti pro diis ſuis voces haberent quanta inſultatione jactarent, quod ille ideo viciſſet, ideo tanta potuiſſet, quia quotidianis ſacrificiis placabat, atque invitabat deos, quod Romanos facere Chriſtiana Religio non ſinebat? Nam propinquante jam illo his locis, ubi nutu ſumma majeſtatis oppreſſus eſt, cum ejus fama ubique crebreſceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, ſpargere, jactare Paganos, quod ille diis protegentibus et opitulantibus, quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non poſſet ab eis qui talia diis Romanis ſacra non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam permitterent. . . . Ita verus Dominus, gubernatorque rerum, et Romanos cum miſericordia flagellavit, et tam incredibiliter victis ſupplicatoribus daemonum, nec ſaluti rerum praeſentium neceſſaria eſſe ſacrificia illa monſtravit. *Aug. De Civ. Dei l.* 5. *cap. xxiii.*

" Auguſtin ſays, there were many, (meaning I ſuppoſe Pagans,) " who were deſirous that this event, if poſſible, ſhould be for- " gotten, and buried in oblivion. But he was of opinion, that this " deliverance, which had lately happened, and was known to all, " and which God had ſo very wonderfully, and ſo very mercifully " vouchſafed, ſhould be thankfully remembred."

I ſhall now place below the account of this event, as given in the (*g*) Chronicle of Marcellinus.

And I beg leave to ſay, that we have ſeen the teſtimonies of two Heathen writers concerning it. They bear witneſſe to the character, and the number of this Gothiſh Prince, and his armie, and the ſuddenneſſe and compleatneſſe of the victorie obtained over him. Nor have the Chriſtians magnified beyond them. But the obſervations are their own. And it is referred to the reader to conſider, whether they are not juſt.

Auguſtin has mentioned this event in another (*b*) place, in a Sermon to the people, where he tells the ſtorie over again, and makes a good emprovement of it.

SECT. XI. *Rome beſieged, taken, and ſacked by Alarich the Goth, in the year* 410.

A. D. 410. I MUST not entirely omit the hiſtorie of *Alarich*. But I am deſirous to be as brief, as poſſible. For which reaſon I ſhall mention principal things only, omitting the reſt.

His ſtorie may be ſeen in (*a*) Olympiodorus, and (*b*) Zoſimus, and (*c*) Claudian, Heathen writers, as well as in divers Chriſtian (*d*) hiſtorians.

Alarich

(*g*) Rhadagaiſus Paganus et Scytha cum ducentis millibus ſuorum totam Italiam inundavit. Huldin et Sarus Hunnorum Gothorumque reges Rhadagaiſum continuo devicerunt, ipſius capite amputato, captivos ejus ſingulis aureis diſtrahentes. *Marcellin. Chr. p.* 37. *edit. Scalig.*

(*b*) *Serm.* 105. *cap. x. Tom. v. Bened.*

(*a*) *Ap. Phot. cod.* 80. *p.* 178. *&c.*

(*b*) *Zoſ. l.* 5. *p.* 783. *&c.*

(*c*) *Claud. Carm.* 26. *de Bello Getico. et Carm.* 24. *De Sexto Conſulatu Honorii.*

(*d*) *Socrat. l.* 7. *cap. x. p.* 346. *Soz. l.* 9. *cap. vi. vii. viii. Philoſtorg. l.* 12. *p.* 532. *&c. Vid. et Oroſ. et Auguſtin.*

Alarich was a Goth, and therefore called a Barbarian. But he was a man of a great and generous mind, and a Chriſtian, of the Arian denomination. He had ſerved as a General under Theodoſius, among the Barbarians, who joined themſelves to him in the expedition againſt Eugenius and Arbogaſtes in the year 394. But not being well uſed afterwards, as he thought, he became an enemie to the Romans, and after waſting Greece, and Theſſalie, and Macedonia, and committing many acts of hoſtility, he came into that part of Italie, which was called Liguria: where (*e*) was fought, in the year 402. or 403. the difficult battle of Pollentia, now Pollenza, and where Stilicho was conquerour. After which it has been thought, that with (*f*) good management Alarich might have been quite ſubdued, (*g*) or reconciled, upon reaſonable terms: and might have been ever after a firm and uſefull friend and ally of the Roman Empire. A. D. 410.

But however that may be, we find, that in the begining of the year 408. Alarich made an attempt upon Rome itſelf, as we were informed by (*b*) Zoſimus ſome while ago: when the Senate agreed to pay Alarich the ſum of four thouſand pounds in gold: though it was not approved of by all. In the ſame year, in the month of Auguſt, Stilicho was put to death. And before the end of the year Alarich came before Rome, and beſieged it again, ſome of the ſtipulated conditions, as is ſuppoſed, not having been performed. At which time, as we were alſo told before by (*i*) Zoſimus, the city being reduced to great ſtraits, they agreed to pay Alarich five thouſand pounds of gold, and thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver, four thouſand ſilk

(*e*) O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia ſeclis!
O meritum nomen felicibus apta triumphis!
Virtutis fatale ſolum, memorabile buſtum
Barbariae!
Claudian. Carm. 26. *de Bello Get. p.* 635... 638.

(*f*) Taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis ſuis ſaepe victo, ſaepe concluſo, ſemperque dimiſſo. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 37. *in.* Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem pro pace optima et quibuſcumque ſedibus ſuppliciter ac ſimpliciter orantem, occulto foedere fovens, publice autem et belli et pacis copia negata, ad terendam terrendamque Rempublicam reſervavit. *Oroſ l.* 7. *cap.* 38. *ſub. init.*

(*g*) *Vide Baſnag. aun.* 403. *num. ii.*

(*b*) *Above, at p.* 270. 272.

(*i*) . . *at* 273. 274.

A. D. 410. ſilk garments, three thouſand ſkins of purple dye, and three thouſand pounds of pepper. But theſe, or ſome other conditions of peace, not having been duly performed, Alarich came before Rome again, the ſecond, or the third time, and beſieged it, and took it, in the month of Auguſt 410. as is ſuppoſed. This calamity, however, was attended with ſome favourable circumſtances, owing to the generoſity of Alarich, and his profeſſion, as a Chriſtian. For as Oroſius *(k)* ſays, when he gave his ſoldiers leave to plunder and make a prey of the city, he commanded them, to ſpare the lives of men, as much as poſſible. He likewiſe gave ſtrict orders, that no injurie ſhould be done to thoſe who fled to Chriſtian Churches, and eſpecially to the churches of the Apoſtles Peter and Paul: which were particularly mentioned by him, becauſe they were the largeſt. So likewiſe ſays *(l)* Auguſtin. Which orders were obſerved by the ſoldiery. And hereby the lives of ſome Pagans alſo were preſerved. For all who fled to thoſe privileged places, were ſafe. So writes Oroſius and Auguſtin, who were contemporaries.

It was indeed a great calamity. But, as Oroſius ſays, Alarich, of his own accord, left the city after three *(m)* days. And, as he thinks, Rome had ſuffered as much before ſeveral times, particularly when the city was invaded by the Gauls, and when it was ſet on fire by the Emperour Nero. Auguſtin ſays the ſame. Marcellinus,

(k) Adeſt Alaricus, trepidam Romam obſidet, turbat, irrumpit. Dato tamen praecepto, [prius] ut ſi qui in ſancta loca, praecipueque in ſanctorum Apoſtolorum Petri et Pauli baſilicas confugiſſent, hos in primis inviolatos ſecuroſque ſinerent. Tum deinde, in quantum poſſent praedae inhiantes, a ſanguine temperarent. *Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 39. in.*

(l) Teſtantur hoc Martyrum loca, et baſilicae Apoſtolorum, quae in iſta vaſtatione Urbis ad ſe convenientes ſuos et alienos receperunt. . . . Sic evaſerunt multi, qui nunc Chriſtianis temporibus detrahunt, et mala quae illa civitas pertulit, Chriſto imputant. *Aug. De Civ. Dei. l. 1. cap. 1.*

Quicquid ergo Vaſtationis, trucidationis, depraedationis, concremationis, afflictionis, in iſta receptiſſima Romana clade commiſſum eſt, fecit hoc conſuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum eſt, quod inuſitata rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut ampliſſimae baſilicae implendae populi cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miſerantibus hoſtibus abducerentur . . . hoc Chriſti nomini, hoc Chriſtiano tempori tribuendum, quiſquis non videt, caecus: quiſquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus: quiſquis laudanti reluctatur, inſanus eſt. *Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. i. cap. vii.*

(*m*) Tertia die barbari, quam ingreſſi fuerant Urbem, ſponte diſcedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum aedium incendio, ſed

nus, in his Chronicle, ſays, that (*n*) Alarich left Rome on the ſixth day after he had taken it. A. D. 410.

When Alarich left Rome, he ravaged Campania, and other places of Italie, going toward Sicilie, and thence intending, as is ſuppoſed, to invade Africa. Philoſtorge ſays, that (*o*) Alarich died in Campania. But Olympiodorus ſays, he went as far as (*p*) Rhegium: which is more probable. However, they both agree in ſaying, that Alarich died by (*q*) diſtemper.

This event was reckoned very opprobrious to the Roman name. And many reflections were caſt upon the Chriſtians by the Gentils: who imputed this diſaſter to the progreſſe of the Chriſtian religion, and the neglect of the ancient rites, in the uſe of which the Roman Empire had long flouriſhed. Thoſe reflections were the occaſion (*r*) of Auguſtin's writing his work of the City of God. They were alſo the occaſion (*s*) of Oroſius's writing his ſeven books of *Hiſtorie againſt the Pagans*: often called his (*t*) *Hormiſta*, or Mundi Chronicon. Of which word, to mention it now by the by, I never ſaw a good account, though ſome good critics have attempted it. I have long been of opinion, that *Hormiſta* is a corruption of theſe two words, *Orbis Geſta*, a very proper title for Oroſius's work.

But

ſed ne tanto quidem, quantum ſeptingenteſimo conditionis ejus anno, caſus effecerat. Nam ſi exhibitam Neronis Imperatoris ſui ſpectaculis inflammationem recenſeam, proculdubio nulla comparatione aequiparabitur ſecundum id, quod excitaverat laſcivia principis, hoc quod nunc intulerat ſra victoris. Neque vero Gallorum meminiſſe in hujuſmodi collatione debeo &c. *Oroſ. l. 7. cap. 39. p. 575.*

(*n*) Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invaſit, partemque ejus cremavit incendio, ſextoque die quam ingreſſus fuerat depraedata urbe egreſſus eſt. *Marcell. Chr. p. 38.*

(*o*) .. Αλάριχος τὸ κατὰ καμπανίαν ἐλυτίζετο, κἀκεῖ νόσῳ φθείρεται. *Philoſt. p. 534. B.*

(*p*) *Ap. Phot. p. 181. ſub fin.*

(*q*) ... ὅτι Αλαρίχῳ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος, κ. λ. *Ap. Phot. p. 180.*

(*r*) Interea Roma Gothorum irruptione, agentium ſub rege Alarico, atque impetu magnae cladis everſa eſt, cujus everſionem deorum falſorum multorumque cultores, quos uſitato nomine Paganos vocamus, in Chriſtianam religionem referre conantes, ſolito acerbius et amarius Deum verum blaſphemare coeperunt. Unde ego exardeſcens zelo domus Dei, adverſus eorum blaſphemias, vel errores, libros *De civitate Dei* ſcribere inſtitui. *Aug. Retract. l. 2. cap. 13.*

(*s*) Adverſus Paganos Hiſtoriarum libri ſeptem. *Vid. ibid. lib. i. in Proaem.*

(*t*) *Hormiſtam, id eſt, mundi Chronicon.* Vide Teſtimonia de Oroſio, apud Havercamp. et alibi.

But though the taking of Rome by Alarich was the occasion of many reflections upon the Christians: and these two learned Authors did thereupon very reasonably undertake a vindication of Christianity: I suppose, this event was very prejudicial to the interests of Gentilism, and consequently conducive to the progress of the Christian Religion.

SECT. XII. *The Correspondence between Augustin and Volusian, in* 412.

A. D. 412. I NOW intend to give an account of the correspondence between *Augustin* and *Volusian* in the year 412. It is supposed, though I do not perceive it to be certain, that (a) he was uncle to the younger Melania by the mother's side. Who, or what his father was, I do not find. His mother was a pious Christian woman, who was desirous of her son's conversion to Christianity. But I do not see her name any where.

The name, Volusian, must have been common among the Romans. *Rufinus Volusianus* (b) was ordinarie Consul in the year 311. and 314. There (c) were in the same fourth centurie several eminent men of this name, and in some of the highest offices of the Empire. This Volusian was a man of great distinction. It has been supposed, that Rutilius (d) in his poem mentions him, as Proconsul of Africa. Which is not certain. However it is allowed, that (e) he was Prefect of Rome in the year 421.

I suppose, Volusian to have been now at Carthage. Augustin's letter to him is to this purpose. "He (f) allures him, that he "sincerely

(a) *Benedictin. Not. ad Augustin. ep.* 132.

(b) *Vide Pagi ann.* 314. *num.* 11.

(c) *Vid. Gothofred. Prosop.* p. 391-392.

(d) Rexerat ante pues populos pro Consule Poenos,
Aequatis Pyrrhi terror, amoque fuit.
Rutil. ver. 167. &c.

(e) *Gothofred. ibid.*

(f) De salute tua, quam et in hoc seculo, et in Christo esse cupio, sanctae matris tuae votis fum fortasse etiam ipse non

"sincerely wisheth him prosperity in this world, and that he should A. D.
"be glad to see him a Christian, agreeably to the wishes of his 412.
"pious mother, at whose request he writes to him. He earnestly
"recommends to him the studie of the sacred scriptures, and espe-
"cially the Epistles of Christ's Apostles, who often quote the wri-
"tings of the ancient Prophets: and thereby he will be led to the
"understanding of them also. If any doubts and difficulties arise
"in his mind, he might send them to him in writing: and he
"would answer them, as he is able. He thinks that to be prefer-
"able to conversing together, which may not suit the many en-
"gagements of either of them. And it may be difficult to find a
"season, when both shall be at leisure." Which may be suppo-
sed to imply, that Volusian had now some important post in the
government: but what it was, cannot be said.

Volusian in his answer to that letter treats Augustin very respect-
fully, and says, "he (g) shall be very willing to commit himself to his
"instructions. For no man ought to think himself too old to learn.
"And he thanks him for the favour of allowing him to commu-
"nicate his doubts to him. He then tells him, that in the conver-
"sations of some friends the discourses had run upon various
"topicks, and questions, according to the different tempers and
"studies of the persons present, relating to Rhetorick, Poetrie,
"Philosophie, and the various opinions of the several Philosophers,
"and their followers, with all which you are well acquainted. At
"length one of the companie, and he no mean person, but one

non impar. Unde meritis tuis reddens salutationis obsequium, hortor ut valeo, ut litterarum vere certeque sanctarum studio te curam non pigeat impendere. . . Praecipue Apostolorum linguas exhortor ut legas. Ex his enim ad cognoscendos Prophetas excitaberis, quorum testimoniis utuntur Apostoli. Si quid autem vel cum legis, vel cum cogitas, tibi oritur quaestionis, in quo dissolvendo videar necessarius, scribe ut rescribam. Magis enim hoc forte Domino adjuvante potero, quam praesens talia loqui tecum, non solum propter occupationes varias et meas et tuas, (quoniam non cum mihi vacat, occurrit ut et tibi vacet) verum etiam propter eorum irruentem praesentium, qui plerumque non apti tali negotio, magisque linguae certaminibus, quam scientiae luminibus delectantur. . . . . *Aug. Ep.* 132. *al.*

(g) Petis me, vir probitatis justitiaeque documentum, ut aliqua ex ambiguis lectionis peritae discenda perconter. Amplector gratiam muneris imperati, meque libenter in disciplinas tuas offero, veteris sententiae auctoritatem secutus, quae nullam ad perdiscendum abundare credit aetatem. . . Domine sancte, ac merito venerabilis pater, est operae pretium cog-

noscere

A. D. 412. "among many, roſe up, and ſaid: *Who is there here, who is well acquainted with the Chriſtian doctrine, and able to ſolve my doubts, and give me reaſonable ſatisfaction upon them.* At which we were all ſurprized, and quite ſilent for a while. After which he went on, and ſaid: *I cannot conceive, that the Lord and Governour of the world ſhould be lodged in the body of a virgin, and lye there ten months, and then be brought forth without prejudice to the virginity of his Mother.* To which he added divers other things, ſaying, *it was very ſtrange, that he ſhould lye hid in the body of an infant, whom the whole univerſe cannot contain. Then he grows up, and paſſeth through childhood and youth to manhood. And all this while the Governour of the world is abſent from his throne, and concerned for one ſmall body. Moreover, he ſleeps, is nouriſhed by food, and endures all the ſenſations of other mortals. Nor are there any ſufficient indications of his greatneſſe. For diſpoſſeſſing demons, healing ſick people, and raiſing dead men to life, are ſmall matters to be performed by the Deity.* Here we interrupted him, and put a ſtop to his objections, and broke up the company, thinking it better, to refer the inquiries to a more competent judge, and "fearing,

noſcere habitam inter nos proxime confabulationem. Quibuſdam amicorum conventibus aderamus. Frequentes proferebantur illic pro ingeniis ſtudiiſque ſententiae. Erat tamen ſermo rhetorica partitio. Apud agnoſcentem loquor. Nam etiam iſta paullo ante docuiſti. . . . Alii rurſus poeticam elevabant faventes. Ne hanc quidem eloquentiae partem tacitam aut inhonoram relinquis. . . . Tunc ad familiarem tuam philoſophiam ſermo deflectit, quam ipſe Ariſtotelico more tanquam ſecuticam fovere conſueveras. Quaerebamus et quid egerit praeceptor ex Lyceo: quid Academiae multiplex et continuata conclatio: quid ille diſputator ex porticu: quid Phyſicorum peritia: quid Epicureorum voluptas: quid inter omnes infinita diſputandi libido, tuncque magis ignorata veritas, poſtquam praeſumptum eſt quod poſſit agnoſci.

Dum in his confabulatio noſtra remoratur, unus e multis, Et quis, inquit, eſt ſapientia ad perfectum Chriſtianitatis imbutus, qui ambigua in quibus haereo poſſit aperire, dubioſque aſſenſus meos vera vel veriſimili credulitate firmare! Stupemus tacentes. Tunc in haec ſponte prorumpit: Miror, utrum mundi Dominus et rector intemeratae feminae corpus impleverit, pertulerit decem menſium longa illa faſtidia mater, & tamen virgo enixa in ſolemnitate pariendi, et poſt haec virginitas intacta permanſerit. His et alia ſubnectit: Intra corpuſculum vagientis infantiae latet, cui par vix putatur univerſitas, patitur puerilitatis annos, adoleſcit juventute ſolidatur: tam dira a ſedibus ſuis abeſt ille regnator, atque ad unum corpuſculum totius mundi cura tranſeatur. Deinde in ſomnos reſolvitur, cibo alitur, omnes mortalium ſentit affectus. Nec ullis competentibus ſignis tantae majeſtatis indicia clarescunt, quoniam larvalis illa purgatio, de-

" fearing, least venerable mysteries should be violated, and error, A. D.
" once innocent, should degenerate into presumption. You see, 412.
" honoured Sir, a confession of ignorance. And you may discern
" what is expected from you, and suitable to your great reputation.
" Ignorance may be tolerated in other Bishops, without detriment
" to religion. But when we come to the prelate Augustin, we
" conclude that what he does not know, is no part of the Christian
" law. May the supreme Deity ever preserve you in safety."

We must hence conclude, that Volusian was a man of great ingenuity, and learning. And whatever may be thought of his objections, it must be acknowledged, that the letter is polite. And, when Marcellinus, in a letter to be presently taken notice of, calls him *the illustrious Volusian*, he may be supposed to have a respect to his mental qualifications, as a Gentleman and Scholar, as well as to his high birth, and honourable station in the world. And indeed he tells Augustin, that (*b*) he believes he was sensible, Volusian's letter was well writ.

We are therefore now in the next place to take notice of that letter to Augustin writ by Marcellinus, a man of great eminence, who had been the Emperour's Commissioner (*) at the Conference of the Catholicks and Donatists at Carthage in the year 411. A zealous Christian, whose excellent character may be seen in (**) Augustin's letters, and (††) elsewhere.

He

debilium curae, reddita vita defunctis: haec, si et alios cogites, Deo parva sunt. Intervenimus ulterius inquirenti, solutoque conventu, ad potioris peritiae merita distulimus, ne dum incautius secreta temerantur, in culpam deflecteret error innocuus. Accepisti, vir totius gloriae capax, imperitiae confessionem: quid a partibus vestris desideretur, agnoscis. Interest famae tuae, ut quaesita noverimus. Utcumque absque detrimento cultus divini in abis sacerdotibus toleratur inscitia, at cum ad antistitem Augustinum venitur, legi deest, quidquid contigerit ignorari. Incolumem venerationem tuam divinitas summa tueatur, Domine vere sancte ac merito venerabilis, pater. *Augustin. Ep.* 135. *al.* 7.

(*b*) Sed tamen satis, sicut ipse probare dignaberis, culto accuratoque sermone, et Romanae eloquentiae nitore perspicuo, aliqua sibi exsolvi impendio postulavit. *Marcellin. ep.* 136.

(*) *Vid. Breviculum Collationis cum Donatistis, primae diei, sub. in. ap. Augustin. Tom. ix.*

(**) *Augustin Ep.* 151. *al.* 259. §. 8. *Tom.* 2.

(††) *Vid. Hieron. lib.* 3. *adv. Pelagian. T.* 4. *p.* 546.

A. D. 412. He begins with telling Auguſtin, "that (*i*) Volusian had ſhewed "to him, and to others, the letter, which he had received from "him. Marcellinus expreſſeth great ſatisfaction in Auguſtin's letter, "and in his readineſs to become an inſtructor to Volusian. He "alſo tells Auguſtin, that at the requeſt of his mother he had often "viſited Volusian, and had been viſited by him. He did his beſt "to ſolve his doubts. But he requeſts the farther and better "aſſiſtance of Auguſtin; intimating, that there were many, who "were willing enough to cheriſh his difficulties, and deſirous to "keep him ſtill with them. And he tells Auguſtin, that Volusian "would have ſaid more, if he had not been afraid to be trouble-"ſome by prolixity. The doctrine of the Lord's incarnation, upon "which Volusian had touched in his letter, was indeed a ſubject of "common diſcourſe, and was much diſliked, and cenſured by "many. Auguſtin therefore would do well to clear it up. But "there were alſo other things very proper for his conſideration. "For there were many, who falſly aſſerted, that our Saviour had "done no more than other men. And he earneſtly deſires, that "this may be carefully conſidered by Auguſtin, and that he will "fully anſwer that difficulty. For they are continually talking of "their *Apollonius*, and *Apuleius*, and other Magicians, whoſe mi-"racles, they ſay, were greater than our Saviour's. But ſuppoſing "him

(*i*) Vir illuſtris Volusianus beatitudinis tuae mihi literas legit, immo me cogente pluribus legit, quae ſcilicet omnia quae a te dicuntur, cum vere miranda ſint, uſquequaque miratus fuit. . . . Hinc enim plurimum placuit, quod hominis greſſus aliquanto titubantes boni propoſiti exhortatione ſtatuere et firmare contendis. Eſt enim nobis cum eodem quotidiana pro viribus noſtris, et pro ingenii paupertate diſputatio. Sanctae quidem matris ejus precatione compulſus cura mihi eſt eum frequentius ſalutandi gratia convenire, licet vicem in hac parte reddere etiam ipſe dignetur. Acceptis autem venerabilitatis tuae epiſtolis, homo qui a veri Dei ſtabilitate, multorum quorum in hac urbe copia eſt, perſuaſione revocatur, ita motus eſt, ut ſi, quantum ipſe confirmat, literarum prolixitatem minime formidaſſet, omne beatitudini tuae quod habere poteſt inſinuaſſet ambiguum. . . . Quae quidem quaeſtio utiquequaque detrita eſt, et eorum ſuper hac parte fatis nota calliditas, qui diſpenſationem dominicae incarnationis infamant. Sed tamen etiam ego in hac parte, quia plurimis quicquid reſcripſeris profuturum eſſe confido, precator acceſſerim, ut ad ea vigilantius reſpondere digneris, in quibus mihi amplius Dominum quam alii homines facere potuerunt, geſſiſſe mentiuntur. Apollonium ſiquidem ſuum nobis, et Apuleium, alioſque magicae artis homines in mediam proferunt, quorum majora contendunt exſtitiſſe miracula.

Ipſe

" him to receive satisfaction upon the doctrine of the incarnation, A. D.
" there are still other difficulties, of which the same illustrious per- 412.
" son desires to see some solution. For, as he says, the God of
" the New Testament is supposed to be the God also of the old
" Testament. But how could the same God reject the old sacrifi-
" ces, and institute a new way of worship. For nothing that
" has been once rightly done, can be afterwards altered. Beside
" that this would shew inconstance, which is altogether unworthie
" of the Deity. Then he said, that the doctrine of the New Tes-
" tament was inconsistent with good order among men, and the
" welfare of society. For, as is generally said, these are precepts
" of the Christian law, *Recompense to no man evil for evil*: and, *Rom. xii.*
" *whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek turn to him the other also*: 17.
" *and if any man will take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat* *Matt. v.*
" *also, and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him two.* 39.. 41.
" All which are inconsistent with the public welfare. For who
" can bear to be robbed by an enemie? And who is there, that
" must not be willing to oppose by force of arms an invader of the
" Roman territories? And more to the like purpose, which your
" reverence can easily apprehend. Insomuch, that as he intimated,
" though he was shy of enlarging, it was manifest, that great da-
" mage had accrued to the State by means of Christian princes, who
" in the main governed according to the Christian Religion."

" To

Ipse autem vir illustris, superius memoratus, multa esse dixit praesentibus aliquantis, quae huic possent jungi non immerito quaestioni, si, ut ante dixi, non ab ejus partibus epistolaris considerata brevitas fuisset. Quae tamen licet scribere noluerit, tacere non est passus. Dicebat enim, quod etsi hodie incarnationis dominicae ratio redderetur, reddi vix ad liquidum possit, cur hic Deus, qui et Veteris Testamenti Deus esse firmatur, spretis veteribus sacrificiis delectatus est novis. Nihil enim corrigi posse asserebat, nisi quod ante factum non recte probaretur, vel quod semel recte factum sit, immutari nullatenus debuisse. Recte enim facta dicebat mutari nisi injuste non posse: maxime quia ista varietas inconstantiae Deum possit arguere. Tum deinde, quod ejus praedicatio atque doctrina reipublicae moribus nulla ex parte conveniat: utpote, sicut a multis dicitur, cujus hoc constet praeceptum, ut nulli malum pro malo reddere debeamus, et percutienti aliam praebere maxillam, et pallium dare persistenti tunicam tollere, et cum eo qui nos angiare voluerit, iro debere spatio itineris duplicato. Quae omnia reipublicae moribus asserit esse contraria. Nam quis tolli sibi ab hoste aliquid patiatur, vel Romanae provinciae deprædatori non velit belli jure reponere? et cetera quae dici ad reliqua posse intelligit venerabilitas tua. Haec ergo omnia, ipsi posse adjungi

A. D. 412. "To all theſe things, as your Reverence will readily acknowledge "with me, a clear and full anſwer is wanting, and the rather, be- "cauſe what you ſhall write will come into many hands. Conſi- "dering alſo, that at the time of thoſe diſcourſes there was preſent a "perſon of great diſtinction, and a poſſeſſor of a large eſtate in the "country of Hippo, who indeed beſtowed commendations upon "your reverence, but it was in the way of ironie. And ſaid, that "whenever theſe things had been talked of, he never received ſa- "tisfaction concerning them. I muſt therefore put you in mind of "your promiſe, to conſider all theſe things, and compoſe ſome "treatiſe upon them, which, I am perſuaded, may be of ſignal "advantage to the church of Chriſt, eſpecially at this time."

I have tranſcribed theſe letters largely, I preſume my readers will make proper obſervations. We ſee here what was then the ſtate of things at Carthage. Chriſtianity was the prevailing religion. But there were alſo many Gentils. The merits of the Chriſtian doctrine were debated. The men of learning and eminence among the Gentils had their doubts and difficulties, which they openly propoſed. Nor were they unknown to men of lower rank. The vulgar alſo argued upon them, in their way. And though many were greatly prejudiced againſt the Chriſtian religion, ſome were open to conviction. They propoſed their difficulties with a view of obtaining ſatisfaction. Such an one was the illuſtrious *Voluſian*. This liberty of debate appears highly agreeable. Nor could a Chriſtian Biſhop better employ his time, than in ſolving thoſe difficulties, and clearing them up to the ſatisfaction of inquirers, of all ſorts. For this Auguſtin was as well qualified, as any man of his time. And in this ſervice he laboured with great diligence, as his large

gi poſſent quaeſtioni, in tantum ut per Chriſtianos Principes, Chriſtianam religionem maxima ex parte ſervantes, tanta (etiamſi ipſe de hac parte taceat) reipublicae mala eveniſſe manifeſtum ſit.

Unde, ſicut beatitudo tua mecum dignatur agnoſcere, ad haec omnia (quoniam multorum manibus ſine dubio tradetur ſanctitatis tuae deſiderata reſponſio) plenus debet et elucubratus ſolutionis ſplendor oſtendi: maxime quia cum iſta gererentur, eximius Hipponenſis regionis poſſeſſor et dominus praeſens aderat, qui et ſanctitatem tuam ſub ironiae adulatione laudaret, et ſibi, cum de his quaereret, minime ſatisfactum eſſe contenderet. Ego vero ad haec omnia promiſſionis non immemor ſed exactor, libros confici deprecor, Eccleſiae, hoc maxime tempore, incredibiliter profuturos. *Ap. Aug. ep.* 136.

large Work Of the City of God, and other writings, testify. And if this freedom of debate had still continued, and been openly allowed and encouraged, and the arguments for Christianity had been proposed with mildness, it would have been honourable to the Christian religion, and it's farther progresse would have been more advanced, than by any external force and violence whatever. A. D. 412.

Those letters, just mentioned, were the occasion of two more from Augustin: one to *Volusian*, in which he considers, the difficulties, proposed by him: another to *Marcellinus*, in which he answers those other objections, which had been mentioned by him.

In that to Volusian, he begins with his objections relating to the Incarnation, and tells him: "The (*k*) Christian doctrine does not "teach, that God was so united to a body, born of a virgin, as to "neglect the care and government of the universe, and contract his "concern to that body only.... When (*l*) we say, that the Word "of God, by whom all things were made, took upon him a body "born of a Virgin, and appeared therein to men; we do not suppose, that he lost his immortality, or changed his eternity, or "lessened his power, or deserted the government of the world, or "that he left the bosom of the Father, in which he always "is."

"He (*m*) was refreshed by sleep, and nourished by food, and "had the other innocent infirmities of the human nature, by which "it appeared, that he was really a man. That is indeed the truth. "But some among us, whom we call hereticks, from a mistaken

"regard

(*k*) Veniendum potius est ad rem quam requiris. Ubi primum te scire volo, non hoc habere Christianam doctrinam, quod ita sit Deus infusus carni, qua ex virgine nasceretur, ut curam gubernandae universitatis vel deseruerit vel amiserit, vel ad illud corpusculum quasi contractam materiam collectamque transtulerit. *Ad Volusian, ep.* 137. *al.* 3. *num.* 4.

(*l*) Et putamus nobis de omnipotentia Dei incredibile dici aliquid, cum dicitur Verbum Dei, per quod omnia facta sunt, sic assumsisse corpus ex virgine, et sensibus apparuisse mortalibus, ut immortalitatem suam non corruperit, ut aeternitatem non mutaverit, ut potestatem suam non minuerit, ut administrationem mundi non deseruerit, ut a sinu Patris, id est, a secreto, quo cum illo et in illo est, non recesserit. *Ibid. num.* 6

(*m*) Jam illud, quod in somnos solvitur, et cibo alitur, et omnes humanos sentit

A. D. 412. "regard to his honour, and the more to extol his power, as they "think, refuſe to acknowledge this: and by denying his humanity, "ſubvert the mercie of God, by which we are ſaved. If the Al- "mighty ſhould create a man, not formed of a woman, but ſud- "denly brought into the world, and ſet before us; Suppoſing him "not to paſs through the ſeveral ſtages of childhood and youth, "never to eat, nor ſleep; would it not be reckoned, that he was "not really a man? This would be wonderfull. But the mercie of "God would not be ſo apparent, as now it is. For in this way, "being really a man, and the divinity being united to him, he is "fitly qualified to be the Mediator between God and men."

But (n) it is farther objected, that *there were not ſufficient evidences of his greatneſſe. For diſpoſſeſſing demons, healing ſick people, and raiſing men to life, which ſome others have done, are only ſmall matters to be performed by the Deity.* "Well, ſays Auguſtin, we alſo "acknowledge, that the Prophets did ſuch things. And what can "be a greater miracle, than raiſing the dead? This was done by "Elijah, and alſo by Eliſha .... Farther Moſes, and the Prophets, "who were men of great truth, prophecied of the Lord Jeſus "Chriſt, and aſcribed great glorie to him, and ſpoke of him not "only as equal to themſelves, and ſuperior to them, in the ſame "power

ſentit affectus, hominem perſuadet hominibus, quem non conſumſit utique, ſed aſſumſit. Ecce ſic factum eſt, et tamen quidam haeret ei, perverſe mirando laudandoque ejus virtutem, naturam humanam in eo prorſus agnoſcere noluerunt, ubi eſt omnis gratiae commendatio, quâ fideles facit credentes in ſe, profundos theſauros ſapientiae et ſcientiae continens, et fidemantes induens, quas ad aeternam contemplationem veritatis incommutabilis provehat. Quid ſi Omnipotens hominem ubicumque formatum non ex materno utero exiret, ſed repentinum inferret aſpectibus? Quid ſi nullas ex parvulo in juventam mutaret aetates, nullos cibos, nullos caperet ſomnos? nonne opinionem confirmaret erroris, nec hominem verum ſuſcepiſſe, ullo modo crederetur. Et dum omnia mirabiliter facit, auferret quod miſericorditer fecit? Nunc vero ita inter Deum et homines Mediator apparuit, ut in unitate perſonae copulans utramque naturam, et ſolita ſublimaret inſolitis, et inſolita ſolitis temperaret. *Ibid. num.* 9.

(n) *Sed, nulla,* inquiunt, *competentibus ſignis claruerunt tantae majeſtatis indicia: quia larvalis illa purgatio, debilium curae, reddita vita defunctis, ſi ex aliis conſiderentur, Deo parva ſunt.* Fatemur quidem et nos talia quaedam feciſſe Prophetas. Nam in tot ſignis quid excellentius, quam mortuos reſurrexiſſe? Fecit hoc Elias, fecit hoc etiam Eliſaeus. . . Sed et ipſe Moyſes, et ceteri Prophetae veraciſſimi Dominum Chriſtum prophetaverunt, et gloriam magnam ei dederunt, hunc non tanquam

" power of working miracles, but as the Lord and God of all, and A. D.
" made man for the sake of men. And he did the same miracles 412.
" they had done. But there were some other things peculiar to
" him, his nativity of a virgin, his resurrection from the dead, and
" ascension to heaven. He who can think all this a small matter
" to be performed by the Deity, I know not what farther can be
" expected."

" But (*o*) some, perhaps, may demand other things, which
" ought not to be done. They may urge, that another world
" might be created by him. Which indeed is a great absurdity.
" But though it was not fit, that a new world should be made by
" him, he did new things in this world, already made. He was
" born of a virgin, and raised from the dead to eternal life, and is
" exalted above the heavens, which may be reckoned more than
" making a world. Here perhaps they will say, this we do not
" believe. What then shall be done to men, who despise little
" things, and will not believe greater? They believe, that dead
" men have been raised to life, because others have done it, and it
" is a small matter to be done by God. But that a man has been
" made of a virgin, and raised from the dead to eternal life above
" the heavens, they will not believe, because no other has done the
" like, and it is worthie of God.... I entreat you, be not like to
" such men."

tanquam parem sibi, nec in eadem miraculorum potentia superiorem, sed plane Dominum Deum omnium et hominem propter homines factum venturum praenuntiaverunt. Qui propterea et ipse talia facere voluit, ne esset absurdum, quae per illos fecerat, si ipse non faceret. Sed tamen et aliquid proprium facere debuit: nasci de virgine, a mortuis resurgere, in coelum adscendere. Hoc Deo qui parum putat, quid plus exspectet, ignoro. *Ibid.* §. 13.

(*o*) Arbitror enim talia flagitari, qualia gerens hominem facere non debuit. Nam in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, et omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Num homine assumto, alium mundum facere debuit, ut eum esse crederemus, per quem factus est mundus? Sed nec major mundus, nec isti aequalis in hoc mundo fieri posset. Si autem minorem faceret infra istum, similiter hoc quoque parum putaretur. Quia ergo non oportebat, ut novum faceret mundum, nova fecit in mundo. Homo enim de virgine procreatus, et a mortuis in aeternam vitam resuscitatus, potentius fortasse opus est quam mundus. Hic forte respondent, se factum hoc esse non credere. Quid ergo fiat hominibus, qui minima contemnunt, majora non credunt? Reddita vita defunctis, ideo creditur, quia fecerunt alii, et parum est Deo. Caro propria de virgine

A. D. 412. N. B.

" (*p*) have anſwered the difficulties in your letter. And yet " muſt proceed. For, permit me to ſay, Who can forbear his aſ- " ſent to truths ſo atteſted by a perpetual order and connexion of " things from the begining of time: former events confirming the " preſent, and later events confirming thoſe which are paſt and " old? By the divine wiſdom, one man is choſen from among the " Chaldeans, a man of ſteady virtue and piety, to whom the pro- " miſes of God are delivered, which were to be fulfilled in a long " ſucceſſion of ages yet to come: and in whom all the nations of " the earth were to be bleſſed. This perſon, a worſhiper of the " one true God, the creator of the univerſe, when old begat a " ſon, born of his wife, who alſo had been long barren, and was " now in years, and without hopes of bearing children. From " him proceeds a numerous people, which is greatly multiplied in " Egypt, even under grievous oppreſſion. From that ſtate of ſer- " vitude they are delivered, and by manifold ſigns and wonders, " they are brought into the promiſed land, and eſtabliſhed there, " the impious inhabitants being driven out of it, and they are made " a king-

gine creata, et a morte in aeternam vitam ſuper coelos levata, ideo non creditur, quia homo fecit, et competit Deo. . . . . Noli eis eſſe ſimilis, obſecro te. *Ibid.* §. 14.

(*p*) Diſputantur haec latius, et omnes quaeſtionum neceſſariarum ſinus perſcrutati diſcuſſique panduntur. . . . Quem non moveat ad credendum tantus ab initio ipſe rerum geſtarum ordo, et ipſa connexio temporum, praeteritis fidem de praeſentibus faciens, priora poſterioribus et recentioribus antiqua confirmans? Eligitur unus ex gente Chaldaeorum, pietate fidelisſima praeditus, cui promiſſa divina poſt tantam ſeculorum ſeriem novisſimis temporibus complenda praedantur, atque in ejus ſemine omnes gentes habituras benedictionem praenuntiantur. Hic unum Deum verum coeli terraeque univerſitatis creatorem, gignit filium ſenex, de conjuge, quam ſpe pariendi penitus deſtitutam ſterilitas aetaſque jam fecerat. Propagatur ex illo numeroſisſimus populus, multiplicatus in Aegypto, quo illam ſtirpem ex orientalibus partibus, promiſſis effectibuſque crebreſcens diſpoſitio divina tranſmiſerat. Educitur ex Aegypti ſervitute gens valida, horrendis ſignis atque miraculis, pulſisque impiis gentibus in terram promiſſionis perducta et conſtituta, regno etiam ſublimatur. Deinde praevaleſcente peccato, ſacrilegis auſibus Deum verum, qui eis tanta beneficia conferebat, ſaepiſſime offendens, variisque flagellata cladibus, et proſperitatibus conſolata, uſque ad Chriſti incarnationem declarationemque perducitur. Quem Chriſtum, Dei Verbum, Dei Filium, Deum in carne venturum, moriturum, reſurrecturum, in coelum aſcenſurum, praepollentiſſimo ſuo nomine, in omnibus gentibus dicatos ſibi populos habiturum: inque illo remiſſionem peccatorum, ſalutemque aeternam futuram eſſe credentibus, omnia gentis illius promiſſa, omnes prophetae, ſacerdotia, ſacrificia, templum et cuncta omnino ſacramenta ſonuerunt. *num.* 15.

" a kingdom. After that transgressions prevailing among them, A. D.
" and God being offended, they suffer many calamities, and having 412.
" humbled themselves they are delivered, and after a great variety
" of events they are upheld to the coming of Christ.

" Well, (*q*) in due time Christ came, and in his birth, his
" life, his words, his works, his sufferings, his death, resur-
" rection and ascension, all the predictions of the Prophets are
" fulfilled. He sends down the Holy Spirit, and fills the faithfull
" met together in one house, expecting the promised gift. Being
" filled with the Holy Spirit, they on a sudden speak in the lan-
" guage of all nations, boldly confute errour, preach the saving
" truth, exhort to repentance of all past offenses, and assure of
" forgiveness, through the divine favour. Signs and miracles ac-
" company the preaching of this doctrine of true religion and vir-
" tue. Great opposition is raised against them. They endure the
" evils that had been foretold, they trust in the promises that had
" been made, and they continue to teach the precepts which had
" been delivered to them. Being few in number, they are dis-
" persed over the whole world, and with amazing success they
" convert the people, are multiplied among enemies, encrease by
" persecutions, and under the pressures of afflictions they are spread
" to the utmost ends of the earth. By the most unskillfull, by
" the most contemptible, by a very few, the greatest wits, and the
" most learned men are enlightened, ennobled, multiplied: men
" of the greatest abilities, and the most celebrated for learning and
" eloquence

(*q*) Venit et Christus, complentur in ejus ortu, vita, dictis, factis, passionibus, morte, resurrectione, adscensione, omnia praeconia Prophetarum. Mittit Spiritum Sanctum, implet fideles una in domo congregatos, et hoc ipsum promissum orando atque desiderando exspectantes. Impleti autem Spiritu sancto, loquuntur repente linguis omnium gentium, arguunt fidenter errores, praedicant saluberrimam veritatem, exhortantur ad poenitentiam praeteritae culpabilis vitae, indulgentiam de divina gratia pollicentur. Praedicationem pietatis veraeque religionis signa congruentia et miracula consequuntur. Excitatur adversus eos saeva infidelitas, tolerant praedicta, sperant promissa, docent praecepta. Numero exigui per mundum disseminantur, populos facilitate mirabili convertunt, inter inimicos augentur, persecutionibus crescunt, per afflictionum angustias usque in terrarum extrema dilatantur. Ex imperitissimis, ex abjectissimis, ex paucissimis illuminantur, nobilitantur, multiplicantur, praeclarissima ingenia, cultissima eloquia: mirabilesque peritias acutorum, facundorum atque doctorum subjugant Christo,

A. D. 412. " eloquence are ſubdued, and brought under the diſcipline of " Chriſt, and induced to preach the way of piety, and ſalvation to " others. . . . Still the Church endures the perſecutions of infidel " people. But ſhe overcomes by ſuffering, and by profeſſing the " uncorrupted truth amidſt the unrelenting cruelty of oppoſers. " The truth having been revealed, which had been concealed un- " der prophetic myſteries, thoſe ſacrifices, by which it had been " prefigured, have ceaſed, the temple itſelf being deſtroyed, where " they were to be offered. And the Jewiſh nation, which has " been caſt off for their unbelief, and removed from their own " country, are diſperſed all over the world, that they might carry " every where the volumes of the ſacred Scriptures, and ſo the " teſtimonie of prophecie, in which Chriſt and the Church are " foretold, being produced by our adverſaries, there might not be " any the leſt ſuſpicion, that they had been forged by us to ſerve a " purpoſe. And in them their unbelief alſo is foretold. The " temples and images of demons, and their ſacrilegious rites are " gradually, and one after another, overturned agreeably to the " predictions of the Prophets. Hereſies contrarie to the name of " Chriſt, but under his name, ſpring up, as they have been fore- " told. All theſe things, as we read them foretold, we ſee ful- " filled, and by all theſe ſo many and ſo great things already come " to paſs, the expectation of what is ſtill to come, is confirmed. " What mind deſirous of immortality, and convinced of the " ſhortneſs of the preſent life, can reſiſt the light and evidence of " this divine authority!

" Indeed,

Chriſto, et ad praedicandum viam pietatis ſalutiſque convertunt. . . . Atque inter haec omnia contra Eccleſiam Chriſti impiatum gentium infidelitas fremit. Evincit illa patiendo, et inconcuſſam fidem inter obſiſtentium ſaevitiam profitendo. Revelatae veritatis, quae diu promiſſis myſticis velabatur, ſacrificio ſuccedente, illa ſacrificia, quibus hoc figurabatur, templi ipſius everſione tolluntur. Reproba per infidelitatem gens ipſa Judaeorum a ſedibus exſtirpata, per mundum uſquequaque diſpergitur, ut ubique portet codices ſancto, ac ſic prophetiae teſtimonium, qua Chriſtus et Eccleſia praenunciata eſt, ne ad tempus a nobis fictum exiſtimaretur, ab ipſis adverſariis proferatur: ubi etiam ipſos praedictum eſt non fuiſſe credituros. Templa et ſimulachra daemonum, ritusque ſacrilegi paullatim atque alternatim ſecundum praedicta prophetica ſubvertuntur. Haereſes adverſus nomen Chriſti, ſub velamento tamen nominis Chriſti ad exercendam

" Indeed, (*r*) I must say, that in the Christian doctrine is every A. D.
" thing valuable, and in the highest perfection. What discourses, 412.
" what writings of any philosophers, what laws of any republicks,
" have any rules comparable to those two precepts, on which Christ
" says, depend all the Law and the Prophets, *Thou shalt love the Lord*
" *thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,*
" *and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself!* Here also the welfare
" of the Publick is consulted. For a city cannot be founded and
" established, but by the ground and bond of faith, and by con-
" cord: when the common good is chosen, the chiefest and truest
" of which is God, and in him men love sincerely themselves and
" one another, and for his sake, to whom alone it is known, in
" what manner they love.

" The (*s*) stile of the Scripture is such, as is suited to all sorts of
" persons, and to the things delivered. Bad tempers are corrected,
" weak minds are cherished, and the greatest wits are entertained.
" He only can be an enemie to this teaching, who knows not what
" is wholsome, or in his sickness loaths the proper medicine."

" Augustin (*t*) then concludes his letter to Volusian, in a most
" affectionate

cendam doctrinam sanctae religionis, sicut praenuntiatae sunt, pullulant. Haec omnia sicut leguntur praedicta, ita cernuntur impleta, atque ex his jam tot et tantis quae restant, exspectantur implenda. Quae tandem mens avida aeternitatis, vitaeque praesentis brevitate permota, contra hujus divinae auctoritatis lumen cultumque contendat? *num.* 16.

(*r*) Quae disputationis, quae literae quorum libet philosophorum, quae leges quarum libet civitatum, duobus praeceptis, ex quibus Christus dicit totam Legem Prophetasque pendere, ullo modo sint comparandae, *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua: et diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum!* Hic physica, quoniam omnes omnium naturarum causae in Deo creatore sunt. Hic ethica, quoniam *Vita Bona et Honesta* non aliunde formatur, quam cum ea quae diligenda sunt, quemadmodum diligenda sunt, diliguntur, hoc est Deus et proximus. Hic etiam laudabilis rei publicae salus. Neque enim conditur et custoditur optime civitas, nisi fundamento et vinculo fidei, firmaeque concordiae: cum bonum commune diligitur, quod summum ac verissimum est Deus, atque in illo invicem sinceriſſime se diligunt homines, cum propter illum se diligunt, cui, quo animo diligant occultare non possunt. *Ib.* §. 17.

(*s*) Modus autem ipse dicendi, quo sancta Scriptura contexitur, quam omnibus accessibilis, quamvis pauciſſimis penetrabilis. . . . His salubriter et prava corriguntur, et parva nutriuntur, et magna oblectantur ingenia. Ille huic doctrinae inimicus est animus, qui vel errando eam nescit esse saluberrimam, vel odit aegrotando medicinam. *num.* 18.

(*t*) Incolumem felicioremque misericordissima Dei omnipotentia tueatur, Domine

A. D. 412. "affectionate manner, ſaluting him, and his pious mother, and "ſending to him ſalutations from *Poſſidius*, who was then with him, "and encouraging *Voluſian*, if he pleaſed, to write again, and ſend "him all his objections, if any difficulties yet remained."

It has been obſerved, that (*u*) this Letter is a kind of abridgement of Auguſtin's large work of the City of God. Indeed, I think it to be an excellent letter, and a good argument for the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. I perſuade my-ſelf, that many of my readers will be of the ſame opinion, and will attend to it, and receive ſatisfaction from it. For certain, we have now ſeen the genuine difficulties and objections of Heathen people at that time, and Auguſtin's ſolutions, and anſwers to them.

What (*x*) was the reſult of this correſpondence, is not known. All that can be ſaid, is, that if Voluſian was uncle to Melania, he was not converted to the Chriſtian faith, till near the time of his death, in the year 436.

There follows, as before (*y*) intimated, a Letter of Auguſtin to *Marcellinus* (*z*) in which the other difficulties mentioned by Marcellinus, are particularly conſidered, and well anſwered. But I am willing to ſuppoſe, that my readers are themſelves well able to ſolve thoſe difficulties. I therefore need not tranſcribe, nor abridge that letter, but only refer the more curious to it. Moreover the objections of that letter are partly anſwered in this letter of *Auguſtin* to *Voluſian*.

mine illuſtris et merito inſignis, ac praeſtantiſſime fili. Sanctam et in Chriſto digniſſime honorandam matrem, cujus pro te Deus preces exaudiat, pro meritis veſtris officioſiſſime ſaluto. Sanctus frater et coepiſcopus meus Poſſidius praeſtantiam veſtram multum ſalutat. *num.* 20.

(*u*) *See Tillemont. St. Auguſtin. art.* 224. *num.* 7. 13. *p.* 594.
(*x*) *Ibid. p.* 595.
(*y*) *See p.* 441.
(*z*) *Auguſtin. Ep.* 138. *Tom.* 2.

SECT.

SECT. XIII. *The Correſpondence between the People of Madaura and Auguſtin.*

IT will not, I think, be improper to ſubjoyn here in the next place *Auguſtin's* correſpondence with the people of *Madaura*. The time is not exactly known, and theſe letters are put by the Benedictins in the claſſe of ſuch letters, of which the date is uncertain. *Time uncertain.*

The people of Madaura recommended *Florentin* to Auguſtin, deſiring his aſſiſtance in an affair to be tranſacted at Hippo, where Auguſtin was. Their letter is not in being. But we ſee ſome parts of it in the anſwer, which Auguſtin wrote to them. " It (*a*) " was inſcribed, *To our father Auguſtin eternal ſalvation in the Lord.* " And the ſubſcription was: *We wiſh You, honoured Sir, that God,* " *and his Chriſt, may grant you a long and happy life amidſt your* " *Clergie.* When Auguſtin read the inſcription, he was filled with " joy, thinking they had already embraced the Chriſtian Religion: " or at leſt that they were deſirous to be brought to it by his means. " But what followed in the letter damped all his hopes. Howe- " ver, he inquired of the bearer of the letter, if they were not al- " ready Chriſtians, or deſirous to be ſo. When he told me, that " you were not at all changed, it gave me great concern to think, " that when you ſee the whole world ſubject to Chriſt, you ſhould " not

(*a*) Num 2. Quod enim ſcripſiſtis, *Patri Auguſtino in Domino aeternam ſalutem*, cum legerem, tanta ſpe ſubito erectus ſum, ut crederem vos ad ipſum Dominum, et ad ipſam aeternam ſalutem, aut jam eſſe converſos, aut per noſtrum miniſterium deſiderare converti. Sed ubi legi cetera, refriguit animus meus. Quaeſivi tamen ab epiſtolae portatore, utrum jam vel eſſetis Chriſtiani, vel eſſe cuperetis. Cujus reſponſione poſtea quam comperi, nequaquam vos eſſe mutatos, gravius dolui, quod Chriſti nomen, cui jam totum orbem ſubjectum eſſe conſpicitis, non ſolum a vobis repellendum, ſed etiam in nobis irridendum eſſe credidiſtis. Et ſi eſſet hinc aliqua de interpretatione veſtrae ſententiae dubitatio, ſubſcriptione epiſtolae tolleretur, ubi aperte poſuiſtis, *optamus te Domine in Deo et Chriſto ejus, per multos annos ſemper in clero tuo gaudere.* Quibus omnibus perlectis atque diſcuſſis, quid mihi aliud occurrere potuit, aut cuilibet homini poteſt, niſi aut veridico aut fallaci

Time uncertain.

" not only reject him, but alſo deride his name in me. For when " I read thoſe things in your letter, what could I, or any other " man think, but that you had writ ſincerely, or deceitfully. If " ſincerely, what ſhould hinder you from being Chriſtians? If de- " ceitfully, how could you expect, that I ſhould undertake your " buſineſſe, when you inſulted the name of Chriſt in me?

" However, Auguſtin fails not to lay hold of this opportunity to " recommend the Chriſtian Religion to them. At the ſame time " awakening their conſideration, by telling them, that their con- " demnation would be aggravated, if his arguments and exhorta- " tions ſhould be without effect. He then goes on in his argu- " ment. Which, perhaps, my readers will obſerve to have a re- " ſemblance with that in his letter to *Voluſian* before tranſcribed.

" Be perſuaded then, my friends, to attend. In the ſacred Scrip- " tures may be found recorded all thoſe things concerning true " religion, which our anceſtors have delivered down to us, as " tranſacted in former times, relating to the human race: and like- " wiſe all thoſe things, which we now ſee, and which we deli- " ver down to poſterity. And all things are now done, as they " were foretold to be done. Certainly you ſee the people of the " Jews removed from their own countrey, and ſcattered, and dwel- " ling in almoſt every part of the earth. And the riſe and en- " creaſe of that people, and then the loſſe of their kingdom, and " their diſperſion, as they were foretold, they have been exactly " ſo

fallaci ſcribentium animo haec eſſe conſcripta? Sed ſi veridico animo iſta ſcribitis, quis vobis ad hanc veritatem intercluſit viam? . . . . ſi autem fallaciter atque irridenter haec ſcribitis, itane tandem mihi negotia veſtra curanda imponitis, ut nomen ejus, per quem aliquid poſſum, audeatis non veneratione debita adtollere, ſed inſultatione adulatoria ventilare?

3. Sciatis me, cariſſimi, cum ineffabili pro vobis tremore cordis haec dicere. Novi enim quanto graviorem et perniciſiorem cauſſam, ſitis habituri apud Deum, ſi fruſtra vobis haec dixero. Omnia quae praeteritis temporibus erga humanum genus majores noſtri geſta eſſe meminerunt, nobiſque tradiderunt: omnia etiam quae nos videmus, et poſteris tradimus, quae tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quaerendam et tenendam, divina ſcriptura non tacuit: ſed ita omnino cuncta tranſeunt, ut tranſitura eſſe praedicta ſunt. Videtis certe populum Judaeorum avulſum a ſedibus ſuis, per omnes fere terras diſſeminatum, atque diffuſum. Et origo ejus populi, et incrementa, et regni amiſſio, et per cuncta diſperſio, ſicut praedicata ſunt, ita facta ſunt. Videtis certe ex ipſo

" ſo done. You likewiſe ſee the word and law of God, which *Time uncertain.*
" was taught by Chriſt, who was wonderfully ſprung from
" them, this law, I ſay, you ſee to be received, and maintained
" by all nations. All theſe things we read foretold, as we now ſee
" them done. You likewiſe ſee others glorying indeed in the Chri-
" ſtian name, but are really withered branches, who have departed
" from the doctrine delivered by tradition from the Apoſtles, whom
" we call hereticks and ſchiſmaticks. Theſe alſo were foreſeen,
" foretold, and recorded before hand. You alſo plainly ſee the
" temples of images in part fallen, and lying in ruins, partly de-
" ſtroyed, partly ſhut up, partly converted to other uſes: and the
" images themſelves, either broken to pieces, or burnt, or ſhut up
" in the temples, or deſtroyed: and the powers of this world,
" which formerly perſecuted Chriſtian people out of reſpect to ima-
" ges, now conquered and ſubdued, not by rebellious, but by dy-
" ing Chriſtians: who now have turned their power, and the
" edge of the laws againſt images, for which they had killed Chri-
" ſtians: and the Emperours themſelves bowing their crowned
" heads, and humbly praying at the tomb of Peter, a fiſherman."

" All theſe things the divine ſcriptures, which are now in the
" hands of all men, foretold long agoe. And we the more firmly be-
" lieve theſe things, and the more cordially rejoice in their fulfilment,
" becauſe we find them ſo recorded and foretold in the holy ſcrip-

 " tures,

ipſo populo verbum Dei legemque prodeuntem per Chriſtum, qui ex ipſis mirabiliter natus eſt, omnium gentium fidem occupaſſe et tenuiſſe. Ita haec omnia praenuntiata legimus, ut videmus. Videtis certe multos praeciſos a radice Chriſtianae ſocietatis, quae per ſedes Apoſtolorum et ſucceſſiones epiſcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur, de ſola figura originis, ſub Chriſtiano nomine, quaſi areſcentia ſarmenta gloriari, quae haereſes et ſchiſmata nominamus: praeviſa, praedicta, ſcripta ſunt omnia. Videtis certe ſimulachrorum templa, partim ſine reparatione collapſa, partim diruta, partim clauſa, partim in uſus alios commutata: ipſaque ſimulcachra vel confringi, vel incendi, vel includi, vel deſtrui: atque ipſas hujus ſeculi poteſtates, quae aliquando pro ſimulachris populum Chriſtianum perſequebuntur, victas et domitas, non a repugnantibus, ſed a morientibus Chriſtianis, et contra eadem ſimulachra, pro quibus Chriſtianos occiderunt, impetus ſuos legeſque vertiſte et imperii nobiliſſimi eminentiſſimum culmen ad ſepulchrum piſcatoris Petri ſubmiſſo diademate ſupplicare.

4. Haec omnia ſcripturae divinae, quae in manus omnium jam venerunt, ante longiſſima tempora futura eſſe teſtatae ſunt. Haec omnia tanto robuſtiore fide laetamur fieri, quanto majore auctoritate praedicata eſſe in ſanctis literis invenimus.

Num

Time uncertain.

"tures, which are in great authority. And I pray, ſhall not the "Divine judgement upon all men, good and bad, and that alone, "which is alſo foretold as future in the ſame ſcriptures, ſhall not "that come to paſs? Yes it will come, as all the other things have "come."

Auguſtin goes on to ſay: "Chriſt (*b*) had no worldly kingdom, "nor worldly riches, nor other worldly ſplendour. It was Chriſt "crucified, who was preached all over the earth. A few believed "then, and now all people in general. For when Chriſt crucified "was preached, the lame were made to walk, the dumb to ſpeak, "the deaf to hear, the blind to ſee, and the dead were raiſed. So "God was glorified, and the pride of man ſubdued."

"Awake (*c*) then at length, ye people of Madaura, my bre"thren, and my parents. God has given me this opportunity of "writing to you, which I could not but chearfully embrace. Ac"cording to the beſt of my abilities, I have aſſiſted my brother "*Florentin*, by whom you wrote to me, in the buſineſſe, which he "had to tranſact here. Nor was there any great difficulty in it. "For Florentin has many friends at Hippo."

"And now, my honoured, and beloved brethren, may the one "true God convert you to himſelf, and deliver you from the vani"ty of this world."

That

Num quidnam, obſecro vos, numquidnam ſolum judicium Dei, quod inter fideles atque infideles futurum eſſe in eiſdem literis legimus, cum illa omnia, ſicut praedicta ſunt, venerunt, numquidnam ſolum judicium Dei venturum non eſſe putabimus? Immo veniet, ſicut illa omnia venerunt.

(*b*) 6. Itaque non Chriſtus regno terreno decoratus, nec Chriſtus terrenis opibus dives, nec Chriſtus ulla terrena felicitate praefulgens: ſed Chriſtus crucifixus, per totum terrarum orbem praedicatur. Quod riſerunt prius populi ſuperborum, et adhuc rident reliquiae. Crediderunt autem prius pauci, nunc populi: quia tunc ad fidem paucorum, et contra irriſionem populorum, cum Chriſtus crucifixus praediceretur, claudi ambulabant, muti loquebantur, ſurdi audiebant, caeci videbant, mortui reſurgebant. Sic tandem animadvertit terrena ſuperbia, nihil in ipſis terrenis eſſe potentius humilitate divina.

(*c*) 7. Expergiſcimini aliquando, fratres mei, et parentes mei Madaurenſes. Hanc occaſionem ſcribendi vobis Deus mihi obtulit. Quantum potui quidem in negotio fratris Florentini, per quem literas miſiſtis, ſicut Deus voluit, adfui et adjuvi. Sed tale negotium erat, quod etiam ſine operâ meâ facile peragi poſſet. Prope omnes enim domus ipſius homines, qui apud Hipponem ſunt, noverunt Florentinum, et multum ejus orbitatem dolent. . . . Deus unus et verus vos ab omni hujus ſeculi vanitate liberatos convertat ad ſe, Domini praedicabiles, et dilectiſſimi fratres. *Ep.* 232. *al.* 42. *Tom.* 2.

That is a large part of Auguſtin's letter to the people of Madaura. It ſhews the truly Chriſtian zeal of this Biſhop. And it is writ with good temper. He calls the people of Madaura, his *brethren and parents*, and Florentin *his brother*, though he was a Gentil.

It is ſuppoſed, that (*d*) Auguſtin, ſo calls the people of Madaura, becauſe he had ſtudied literature there in his youth.

SECT. XIV. *The Correſpondence between Auguſtin. and Longinian.*

Time uncertain.

WHAT follows next is the correſpondence between *Auguſtin* and *Longinian*. " Auguſtin (*a*) had before ſome con-
" verſation with him, by which he perceived Longinian to be a
" man of good underſtanding, and well-diſpoſed. He therefore
" now invites him to write to him, and let him know his thoughts
" concerning God, and Chriſt, and the beſt way of attaining to
" happineſſe."

To that letter Longinian wrote an anſwer, treating Auguſtin in a very reſpectfull manner. He (*b*) calls him the beſt of the Romans. " He declares, that (*c*) *he had never known or heard of more than one,*
" *who had ſo diligently applied himſelf to the knowledge of the true*
" *God,*

(*d*) *So the Benedictins in a note upon the place, and Tillemont S. Auguſtin. art.* 105. *p.* 771.

(*a*) Proinde quia videor inſpexiſſe tamquam in ſpeculo ſermocinationis mecum tuae nihil te eſſe malle quam virum bonum; Deum, quo nihil eſt melius, et unde humanus animus haurit ut bonus ſit, quonam modo colendum credas, audeo percontari. Nam quod eum colendum credas, jam teneo. Quaero etiam, quid de Chriſto ſentias. Quod enim eum non parvi pendas, adverti. Sed utrum eâ et ſolâ viâ, quae ab illo demonſtrata eſt ad vitam beatam perveniri poſſe, exiſtimes, et aliqua ex cauſſa non eam negligas ire, ſed differas: an et aliam vel alias ad tam opimam et prae omnibus appetendam poſſeſſionem vias eſſe arbitreris, et aliquam earum jam te ingredi credas, noſſe cupio, ut opinor, non impudenter. *Aug. Ep.* 233. *al.* 20.

(*b*) Romanorum vir vere optime. *Ep.* 234. *al.* 21. §. 1.

(*c*) Siquidem adhuc poſt hominum memoriam . . . adhuc audierim, legerim, viderim neminem, aut certe poſt unum, nullum, quod Deo teſſe, bono periculo certoque dixerim, niſi te, Deum conniti ſemper agnoſcere, et poſſe puritate animi, corporiſque projecta gravedine ſectari facillime, et ſpe perfectae conſcientiae non dubia credulitate tenere. *Ib. num.* 1.

Time uncertain.

" *God, or was ſo likely to attain to Him, and to true happineſſe, by* " *the purity of his heart, and a diſengagement from all worldly impe-* " *diments.*"

" By way of anſwer to the queſtions, which had been put to " him, Longinian ſays, he *(d) would ſpeak his opinion, ſo far as he* " *had been able learn from pious antiquity. The beſt way of going to* " *God, is that, in which a good man goes to the one true God, the in-* " *comprehenſible, ineffable, unchangeable creator of the univerſe, even* " *by good words, and good works, accompanied and aſſiſted by the pow-* " *ers of God, whom you call angels. In this way, and when purified* " *by expiations according to the pious directions of the ancients, and* " *practiſing abſtemiouſneſſe and ſelf-denial in body and mind, good men* " *have eaſie acceſſe to God.*"

" *As for Chriſt, in whom you believe, and the Spirit of God, through* " *whom you, my honoured father, hope to go to the ſupreme, bleſſed, true* " *God, and Father of all, I dare not, nor am I able, to expreſs what* " *I think. And indeed it is very difficult to define what a man does* " *not underſtand. But I have the higheſt reſpect for your vir-* " *tues.*"

With that letter Auguſtin ſeems to be well pleaſed, and writes an anſwer to it, which is to this effect. " I (*e*) cannot diſlike your " caution in not denying, or affirming any thing concerning Chriſt. " It is a modeſt reſerve, not unbecoming in a Pagan. I am " very

(*d*) Verum quod traditum ſancte atque antiquitus teneam atque cuſtodiam, ut potuero, paucis edicam. Via eſt ad Deum melior, qua vir bonus, piis, puris, juſtis, caſtis, veris dictis factiſque ſine ulla temporum mutatorum cantata jactatione probatus, et deorum comitatu vallatus, Dei utique poteſtatibus emeritus, id eſt, ejus unius et univerſi et incomprehenſibilis et ineffabilis infatigabiliſque Creatoris impletus virtutibus, quos, ut verum eſt, angelos dicitis, vel quid alterum poſt Deum vel cum Deo, aut in Deo, aut in Deum intentione animi mentiſque ire feſtinat. Via eſt, inquam, qua purgati antiquorum ſacrorum piis praeceptis expiationibuſque puriſſimis, et abſtemiis obſervationibus decocti, animo et corpore conſtantes deproperant. *num. ii.*

3. De Chriſto autem tuae jam credulitatis carnali, et Spiritu Dei, per quem in illum ſummum, beatum, verum, et patrem omnium ire ſecurus es, Domine pater percolende, non audeo, nec valeo quid ſentiam exprimere: quia quod neſcio difficillimum credo definire. Ut autem me cultorem tuarum virtutum dignatus es. . . . *num. iii.*

(*e*) Unde jam video exortum et exorſum inter nos magnae hac de re magna diſputationis quaſi ſementem: Hoc eſt quod volebam prius, deinde quod adhuc volo, Deus adjuvabit. . . Proinde quod de Chriſto nihil tibi negandum vel affirmandum putaſti, hoc

" very willing to afford you the aſſiſtance, which you deſire. But *Time un-*
" I muſt entreat the ſolution of ſome queſtions. You ſay, *that* *certain.*
" *when good men are purified by expiations according to the pious di-*
" *rections of the ancients, they have eaſie acceſſe to God.* In which
" words, as ſeems to me, you ſay, that in order to go to God, it is
" not ſufficient, that by pious, juſt, pure, chaſte, true words and
" works, a good man approve himſelf to the gods, in whoſe com-
" panie he may go to God the ſupreme creator of all, unleſs he
" be purified according to the pious directions of the ancients.
" Wherefore I deſire to know of you, what there is, which needs
" to be purified by ſacred rites, in him, who by piety, juſtice, pu-
" rity, and ſincerity, has approved himſelf to the gods, and by
" them to him who is the one God of gods. For if he is ſtill to
" be purified by ſacred rites and expiations, he is not clean. And
" if he is not clean, he does not live piouſly, juſtly, purely, chaſtly.
" For what need can he have to be purified by ſacred expiations,
" who is already clean? This is wanting to be cleared up, before
" we proceed."

By all which Auguſtin ſeems to intimate, that ſincerely good and virtuous men are pure, and clean, and acceptable to God, and need no other purifications or expiations whatever.

That is the ſum of this correſpondence. There are no other letters between Auguſtin and Longinian. Who Longinian was, we do not know exactly. I do not ſee that he was prieſt or pontif, as ſome

hoc in Pagani animo temperamentum non invitus acceperim. . . . Sed prius opus eſt eliquare quodammodo, perſpicuam ſumere ſententiam tuam de antiquis ſacris. . . . Quae verba ex epiſtola tua recognoſces, cum addidiſti, et aiſti: *Via eſt, inquam, quâ purgati antiquorum ſacrorum piis praeceptis, expiationibuſque puriſſimis, et abſtemiis obſervationibus decocti, anima et corpore conſtantes deproperant. Ep.* 235. *al.* 22. *num.* 1.

2. In his verbis ſentio, ni fallor, videri tibi non ſufficere ad viam quâ itur ad Deum, uti vir bonus piis, juſtis, puris, caſtis, veris dictis factiſque promereatur deos, quorum comitatu vallatus in illum ſummum Deum omnium Creatorem ire feſtinet, niſi etiam ſacrorum antiquorum piis praeceptis expiationibus purgetur. Quamobrem velim ſcire, quid arbitreris eſſe per ſacra purgandum, in eo, qui pie, juſte, pure, veraciter vivendo promeretur Deos, et per eos unum illum deorum Deum. Si enim adhuc ſacris purgandus eſt, utique mundus non eſt. Et ſi mundus non eſt, pie, juſte, pure, caſteque non vivit. Si enim ita vivit, jam mundus eſt. Porro jam mundum atque purum, quid opus eſt, ſacris expiando purgari? &c. *Ibid. num.* 2.

ſome have (*f*) imagined. But he was a learned man. In the contents of the Epiſtle, as repreſented by the Benedictins, he is called *a Pagan Philoſopher*. Says Tillemont, "We (*g*) know not what was the iſſue of this conference. Poſſidius mentions no more than two letters to *Longinian*, againſt paganiſm. There was one of this name in the time of Honorius, who was Prefect of Italie, and was killed in the year 408. as a friend of Stilicho. I ſee no difficulty in allowing, that this is the ſame perſon."

SECT. XV. *Obſervations of Oroſius and Auguſtin upon the treatment given to the Gentils by Chriſtian Magiſtrates.*

OROSIUS, who finiſhed his Hiſtorie in the year (*a*) of Chriſt 417. or thereabout, ſpeaks to this purpoſe, near the concluſion of it. "Conſtantin (*b*) ſays he, was the firſt Chriſtian Emperour, excepting Philip, who was a Chriſtian for a very few years only, and, as ſeems to me, for this purpoſe, that the thouſandth year of Rome might be conſecrated to Chriſt, rather than to idols. From Conſtantin to this time, all the Emperours have been Chriſtians, excepting Julian, who loſt his life, when he was meditating, as it has been ſaid, evil things. [*that is againſt the Chriſtians, and intending their extirpation.*] This has been their flow, but ſure ruin. For which reaſon they are continually complaining,

(*f*) Le Saint ayant eu un entretien avec Longinien, qui étoit payen, et apparemment pontife du paganiſme. *Tillem. Auguſtin. art* cv. *T.* 13. *p.* 271.

(*g*) *Tillem. ib. p.* 272

(*a*) *See Tillemont St. Auguſtin. art.* 266. *Mem. Tom. xiv.*

(*b*) Igitur mortuo, ut dixi, Conſtantio in Britannis, Conſtantinus Imperator eſt creatus, primus Imperatorum Chriſtianus, excepto Philippo, qui Chriſtianus annis admodum pauciſſimis, ad hoc tantum conſtitutus fuiſſe mihi viſus eſt, ut Milleſimus Romae annus Chriſto potius quam idolis dicaretur. A Conſtantino autem omnes Chriſtiani Imperatores uſque in hodiernum diem creati ſunt, excepto Juliano, quem impia, ut aiunt, machinantem, exitiabilis vita deſeruit. Haec eſt lenta illa paganorum poena, ſed certa. Hinc fani inſaniunt, hinc non vulnerati compunguntur, hinc ridentes gemunt, hinc viventes deficiunt, hinc ſecreto excruciantur, quos nemo perſequitur: hinc jam pauciſſimi remanſerunt, qui numquam aliquo perſequente puniti ſunt. *Oroſ. lib.* 7. *cap.* 28. *p.* 537.

" plaining, and though not hurt, they ſmart, and though they live " much at eaſe, they gradually decline: ſo that now there remain " very few of them, though they have never been perſecuted by " any."

Oroſius was not unacquainted with the Imperial laws concerning the Gentils, and their worſhip. And yet he ſpeaks, as if they *had never been perſecuted.* I think, it may be hence argued, that few Gentils had ſuffered in their perſons, by thoſe laws. So, as before quoted by us, he ſaid, " that (*c*) Conſtantin by edict ordered the " Temples of the Pagans to be ſhut up, but without putting any " of them to death."

Auguſtin was contemporarie with Oroſius, but ſurvived him. Let us now obſerve ſome things, which we meet with in his writings.

In his firſt book againſt *Parmenian*, a Donatiſt Biſhop, he puts him in mind, " that *(d)* there were Imperial laws, not only againſt " hereticks, but alſo againſt Pagans, and that their images had been " ordered by late laws to be thrown down, and broken to pieces, " and that their ſacrifices had been forbid upon pain of death." So writes Auguſtin, and with too evident tokens of approbation. That book is ſuppoſed to have been writ in the year of Chriſt 400.

In his letter to *Vincentius* he ſays, that many had been induced to forſake Gentiliſm by the terrour of the Imperial laws. His words are theſe: " The (*e*) Pagans may reflect upon us for the laws, which " Chriſtian Emperours have enacted againſt the worſhipers of Idols. " Nevertheleſs many of them have been converted, and ſtill are " daily converted to the one living and true God." That letter is ſuppoſed to have been writ about the year 408.

In a ſermon to the people, he deſcants upon the words of Pſalm. cxli. 6. which he reads thus, agreeably to the verſion of the ſeventy:

(*c*) *See before. p.* 337.

(*d*) . . . Nec ſolum haereticis quoquo modo, Chriſtiano nomine dealbatis, ſed etiam ipſis Paganis. Nam utique et ipſi falſa religione ſunt impii: quorum ſimulachra everti atque conſtringi juſſa ſunt recentioribus legibus, inhiberi etiam ſacrificia terrore capitali. *Contr. Epiſt. Parmen. lib. i. cap. ix. Tom.* 9.

(*e*) Pagani vero magis nos blaſphemare poſſunt de legibus, quas contra idolorum cultores Chriſtiani Imperatores tulerunt: et tamen ex eis multi correcti, et ad Deum vivum verumque converſi ſunt, et quotidie convertuntur. *Ad Vincent. Rogatiſt. Ep.* 93. *al.* 48. *num.* 26. *Tom. ii.*

ty: *They ſhall hear my words, becauſe they have prevailed.* He there compares the timidity and unſteadineſs of Gentil people with the reſolution and fortitude of the Martyrs, who were exalted above the fear of death. "How *(f)* then *did they prevail?* who of the Pa-
" gans has been found ſacrificing, ſince ſacrifices have been prohi-
" bited by the laws, and did not deny it? Who of them has been
" found worſhiping an idol, and did not cry out: *I have done no*
" *ſuch thing*, dreading to be convicted! On the other hand, the
" diſciples of Chriſt by his words, and by his example in dying
" and riſing again, have been raiſed above the fear of death. The
" words of the Lord therefore have prevailed, becauſe they were
" preached by thoſe who were void of fear. They were not afraid
" of exile, loſſe of goods, death itſelf, nor even the death of the
" croſſe, than which nothing is more terrible."

All this may be true. For I do not ſuppoſe, that Gentil people, by their principles, were ſo well qualified to be Martyrs, as the Chriſtians were. Nevertheleſs I cannot but think it pity, that they were brought to this trial by Chriſtians. And it muſt ſeem ungenerous to triumph over them for their weakneſſe. However, I now alledge this paſſage, only to ſhew what was the ſtate of things at that time. And with it I put an end to the collections of this kind.

(f) Audiunt verba mea, quoniam praevaluerunt. Unde praevaluerunt? Quis eorum comprehenſus eſt in ſacrificio, cum his legibus iſta prohiberentur, et non negavit? Quis eorum comprehenſus eſt adorare idolum, et non clamavit, Non feci, et timuit ne convinceretur. Unde autem praevaluerunt verba Domini? . . . Et quid eſt factum de tot mortibus Martyrum, niſi ut ipſa verba praevalerent, et tanquam irrigata terra ſanguine teſtium Chriſti, pullularet ubique ſeges Eccleſiae? . . . *Unde praevaluerunt?* Jam diximus, cum praedicantur a non timentibus. Quid non timentibus? Nec exilia, nec damna, nec mortem, nec crucem. Non enim nec mortem ſolam, ſed nec crucem, qua morte nihil videbatur exſecrabilius. *Enarr. in Pſ. cxl. al. cxli. n.* 20. *Tom.* 4.

SECT.

SECT. XVI. *Concluding Obſervations upon the State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours.*

WE are now to make remarks upon the accounts, which we have ſeen of the ſtate of Gentiliſm in the times of Chriſtian Emperours.

1 *Conſtantin, and divers other Chriſtian Emperours, acted contrarie to the edict, which was publiſhed by Him and Licinius in the year* 313.

I ſuppoſe, my readers to be well acquainted with that edict, which was tranſcribed by us (*a*) formerly at length, in it's proper place and time. Moreover the ſubſtance of it was rehearſed by us again, not long agoe, in this (*b*) volume.

Several of the Imperial laws, above recited, concerning the Gentil people, and their worſhip, plainly break in upon the liberty there granted. All people were not now allowed to chooſe and obſerve that way of worſhip, which they approved of. The way of worſhip, choſen by the Gentils, was *forbidden and reſtrained.* The ſhutting up, or demoliſhing their temples, and the removing, and breaking to pieces their images, were alſo inconſiſtent with that edict of general toleration.

Le Clerc, in his account of Pagi's Critique upon Baronius, which was publiſhed compleat in four volumes, at Geneva, in 1705. ſpeaking of affairs in the reign of Honorius, near the end of the fourth, and the begining of the fifth centurie, expreſſeth himſelf after this manner. " Thus (*c*) it was, that the Chriſtians continued to re-
" turn to the Pagans what they had ſuffered from them during the
" firſt three centuries, inſtead of gaining them by patience and
" mildneſſe: which they had ſo much recommended, when they
" were the weakeſt. This conduct was proper to make the Pagans
" more obſtinate, by teaching them, that the Chriſtians affected to
" ſpeak of humanity and moderation from intereſt only, and not
" from a principle of religion, as they pretended. At leſt it is cer-

(*a*) *Vol.* 3. *p.* 313. *&c.* (*b*) *See here, p.* 333.
(*c*) *Bib. choiſie. Tom. viii. p.* 276. *&c.*

"tain, that thereby they loſt the right to complain of the man-
"ner, in which the Pagans had treated them in times paſt, or to
"boaſt of the mildneſs of their religion, which they effectually
"diſparaged by thoſe perſecutions. The laws againſt the Pagans
"may be ſeen in the Theodoſian Code, at the title, *De Paganis, ſacrifciis, et templis.*"

"We ought not to imagine, that the penalties laid by Chriſtians
"upon the Pagans were light. If *(d)* a ſacrifice was offered in a
"private place, with the knowledge of the proprietor, the place
"was confiſcated: if not, they were to pay a fine of twenty pounds
"of gold, and as much, if it had been done in a temple. And
"in ſome caſes, the penalty of death was appointed. We may
"look into the Oration of Libanius for the Temples. Where that
"Orator ſuſtains the ſame character before Theodoſius, as the Chri-
"ſtians had formerly done before the Pagan Emperours. I muſt
"acknowledge, that this phenomenon, if I may ſo call it, gives
"me pain. For I could wiſh, that they who defended the truth,
"had preſerved to themſelves the honour of being the only perſons,
"that were perſecuted for religion."

So writes Le Clere. Some other like things were ſaid by us formerly, in the chapter of Conſtantin: where *(e)* alſo we took the liberty to conſider the treatment given in that reign to men of different denominations: Catholicks, Hereticks, and Gentils.

2. *There were as yet no laws of Chriſtian Emperours, reſtraining freedom of ſpeech in Gentil people, or the freedom of writing and conference in things of religion.*

Such laws have been made ſince. But I ſee nothing of that kind in any of the Imperial laws or edicts above recited. Porphyrie's books againſt the Chriſtian Religion, as we are *(f)* informed, were ordered to be deſtroyed. But I do not recollect any laws of Chriſtian Princes, in thoſe early times, reſtraining freedom of ſpeech in Gentil people, or freedom of writing and conference concerning things of religion. Auguſtin *(g)* has informed us of a pretended oracle about the year 398. foretelling the period of the Chriſtian Religion. But

(d) Le Clerc there refers to the laws of Theodoſius in 392. which was recited by us ſome while ago, at p. 348.

(e) Credib. vol. vii. p. 423.

(f) See vol. 2. p. 263. and vol. 3. p. 129.

(g) See here, p. 419.

he does not ſay, that the publiſhers of it were called to an account, or puniſhed for it. And we are aſſured from his letters to Gentils, and from their letters to him, that all did then freely debate the merits, and the evidences of the Chriſtian doctrine. And he encouraged, and invited men to propoſe to him their difficulties and objections. We alſo know, that *(h) Proclus*, in the fifth centurie, wrote againſt the Chriſtians. But we do not know, that he was puniſhed for ſo doing.

3. *There were then no laws or edicts of Chriſtian Princes, requiring men to frequent the religious aſſemblies of Chriſtians, or to embrace and profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, upon the pain of any inconvenience, or ſuffering, either in their perſons, or their properties.*

We have not yet met with any ſuch laws. And, very probably, there were none. Libanius is a good witneſſe, that there was no ſuch law in his time. For in his Oration to Theodoſius he ſays: "*You (i) might have enacted ſuch a law as this: Let all preſent themſelves at the places where I worſhip, and joyn in the rites there performed. And whoever tranſgreſſeth this law, let him be put to death.* *It was eaſie*, ſays he, *for you to publiſh ſuch a law. But you have not done it. Nor have you in this matter laid a yoke upon the ſouls of men.*

4. *I think, it muſt be ſuppoſed, and allowed, that the laws againſt Gentiliſm, above recited by me, were not rigorouſly executed.*

There muſt have been many inſtances of connivance and forbearance in Chriſtian people, and in Chriſtian Magiſtrates of every rank, ſupreme and ſubordinate. For, as we have evidently ſeen, many, who were zealous for Gentiliſm, lived very quietly, and comfortably.

The writers alleged by me, in the former part of this volume, were all zealous Gentils, who lived in the times of Chriſtian Emperours, excepting *Julian*, who was himſelf an Emperour. And I have occaſionally writ the hiſtorie of divers other learned men, ſome of them authors of voluminous works: *Anatolius*, *Oribaſius*, *Olympius*, *Helladius*, *Ammonius*. And one view, which I have had in enlarging ſo much as I have done in their hiſtorie, and in an account of their works, has been, that I might the more convincingly ſhew the lenity of the Chriſtian government, under which they lived. And there are ſome others, hitherto omitted, which for the ſame reaſon, I am much diſpoſed to bring in here.

Aelius

(*h*) *See p.* 286. (*i*) *See before, p.* 156.

Aelius Donatus (k) flouriſhed in the time of Conſtantius, and taught Rhetorick, and polite literature at Rome, with applauſe *(l)* in the year 356. and afterwards. About which time Jerome, who (*m*) has ſeveral times mentioned him, as his maſter, ſtudied Grammar under him. Jerome (*n*) ſpeaks of his commentaries upon Terence and Virgil. And in his own commentarie upon the firſt chapter of the book of Eccleſiaſtes ver. 9. he (*o*) quotes a verſe out of Terence's Comedies, and then an obſervation of his maſter Donatus upon it. Which obſervation, however, does not now appear in the notes of Donatus upon Terence. Perhaps it never was there, but Jerome *(p)* heard it from Donatus at his lectures.

Servius (q) is one of the learned men, who have a part in the converſations of Macrobius's Saturnalia, about the year 400. He (*r*) is ſuppoſed to have then but newly begun to teach polite literature at Rome. He is called a Grammarian, and is deſcribed to be a man of great learning, and amiable modeſtie. He daily read lectures upon Virgil to the Roman youth. And is the perſon, who is introduced in thoſe converſations to make critical obſervations upon that Poet.

His commentarie upon Virgil is ſtill exſtant. But it is not compleat. And perhaps may be only extracts out of his commentarie, rather than the entire work.

In

(*k*) Aelius Donatus temporibus Conſtantii Imperatoris in pretio fuit. *G. J. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. l. 3. cap. ii.*

(*l*) Victorinus Rhetor, et Donatus Grammaticus meus, Romae inſignes habentur. *Chron. p. 184.*

(*m*) Dum adhuc eſſem puer, et in Grammaticae ludo exercerer, &c. *In Abac. cap. iii. T. 3. p. 1636. Vide et in Ezech cap. xi. T. 3. p. 979.*

(*n*) Puto, quod puer legeris Aſperi in Virgilium et Salluſtium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos ejus, et in Terentii Comoedias Praeceptoris mei Donati, aeque in Virgilium, et aliorum in alios. *Adv. Ruſin. l. i. Tom. 4. p. 307.*

(*o*) Huic quid ſimile ſententiae Comicus ait: *Nihil eſt dictum, quod non ſit dictum prius.* Unde Praeceptor meus Donatus, quum iſtum verſiculum exponeret, *Pereant*, inquit, *qui ante nos noſtra dixerunt. Hieron. in Eccl. Tom. 2. p. 720.*

(*p*) *Vide Martianay in loc.*

(*q*) Hos Servius inter Grammaticos doctorem recens profeſſus, juxta doctrinam mirabilis, et amabilis verecundiae, terram intuens, ac velut latenti ſimilis, ſequebatur. *Macrob. Sat. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 194.*

(*r*) Sed nunc dicat volo Servius, quae in Virgilio notaverit ab ipſo figurata . . . Quotidie enim Romanae indoli enarrando eundem vatem neceſſe eſt habeat hujus annotationis ſcientiam promptiorem. *Sat. l. 6. c. 6. p. 556. Vid. et cap. 7. p. 560.*

In his comment upon the 80. verſe of the third both of Virgil's Eneid is a remarkable obſervation. " In (*s*) the time of our anceſ-" tors, Kings were always reckoned Prieſts and Pontifs. Hence " it has come to paſs, that to this very day, we call the Emperours " Pontiffs."

For this obſervation I am indebted to Pagi. He is arguing, that (*t*) the Chriſtian Emperours did not take to themſelves the title of *Pontifex Maximus.* Nevertheleſs, as he ſays, it was often given them by the Gentils, in their Inſcriptions, and otherwiſe. And he inſtanceth in *Servius*, who, as he obſerves, was a Gentil, and flouriſhed in the times of Arcadius and Honorius. And agreeably to him others alſo ſay, that (*u*) *Servius* flouriſhed about the year 412.

Here, then, is another Gentil, who lived near the end of the fourth, and in the begining of the fifth centurie: who taught Grammar at Rome, and was applauded, and encouraged, after the times of moſt of the Imperial laws againſt the Gentils, which have been above recited by me.

And from the extracts, formerly made in the chapters of *Proclus*, *Marinus*, *Damaſcius*, *Simplicius*, it appears, that in the fifth and ſixth centuries the chairs of Rhetorick and Philoſophie at *Athens* were generally filled by Profeſſors, who were zealous for Gentiliſm. Jonſius (*x*) has a liſt of them.

There were likewiſe ſchools of philoſophie at *Alexandria*, and other

(*s*) Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phaebique Sacerdos.

Sane majorum haec erat conſuetudo, ut Rex eſſet etiam Sacerdos et Pontifex. Unde hodieque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices. (*m*)

Serv. ad Aenid. l. 3. ver. 80.

(*t*) Magna quidem, quae ex vetuſtis Inſcriptionibus deſumitur fides et auctoritas. Sed, ut recte notat Gothofredus citatus, duo hic notanda ſunt. Primo quidem non Imperatores ipſos hunc ſibi titulum in illis vindicare, verum a Gentilibus tributum ibi exhiberi: quo ſenſu Servius, qui Gentilis erat, quique Arcadii et Honorii temporibus floruit, in tertio Aeneidos, p 268. ſcripſit: Unde hodieque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices. *Pagi. ann.* 312. *num. xxii.*

(*u*) A. 412. Servius Honoratus claruit, qui in virgilium commentatus eſt. *B. Fabr. Indic. Hiſtor. Chronol.*

(*x*) Ecce Philoſophorum Athenienſium ſucceſſionem. *Jonſ. de Scriptoribus Hiſt. Philoſophicae p.* 301. 302.

other places, where the Profeſſors were Gentils. *Hierocles* (a) taught philoſophie at Alexandria as low as the midle of the fifth centurie. The philoſopher *Hypatia* (b) loſt her life at Alexandria, near the begining of that centurie; but it was not by order of the magiſtrates, nor by virtue of any Imperial laws: but was owing to a mob, ſtirred up by an eccleſiaſtic of the lower order: though, perhaps, not without ſome encouragement from the Biſhop. *Ammonius*, and *Helladius*, learned Grammarians, who taught the polite arts at Alexandria, till the year 391, when the temple of Serapis was demoliſhed, afterwards taught the ſame publicly at Conſtantinople.

Says Mr. Moſheim (c) ſpeaking of the ſtate of things in the ſixth centurie: "Though it had been enacted by the Imperial laws, "that none who did not abjure the worſhip of the Gods, ſhould "be admitted into any public office: yet there were many men of "learning and gravity, who ſtill adhered to the ancient religion. "*Tribonian* himſelf, the illuſtrious compiler of the civil law, is "thought by ſome to have been averſe to the Chriſtian Religion. "The ſame is ſuppoſed by many to have been the caſe of the ce-"lebrated hiſtorian *Procopius*. It is ſtill more evident, that *Aga-"thias*, a Pleader of cauſes at Smyrna, and alſo a writer of hiſto-"rie, was a worſhiper of the Gods. So it often happens in life. "The rigour of the laws falls upon ſuch only, as have no rank, "nor riches, nor favour with great men, to ſecure them."

"And (d) which is ſtill more wonderfull, the Platonic Philoſo-"phers, whom all men know to be enemies to the Chriſtian doc-"trine, were allowed publicly to teach the youth in Greece and "Egypt the tenets of their ſect, though altogether oppoſite to our "principles. Theſe men indeed affected a great deal of modeſtie, "that their notions of the gods might not appear too different from "the Chriſtian doctrine: as we ſee in *Chalcidius*, and *Alexander of "Lycopolis*. Nevertheleſs there were ſome of them, who had the "aſſurance to aſperſe the Chriſtian Religion. *Damaſcius*, in the Life "of his maſter Iſidorus, caſts many ignominious aſperſions upon the "Chri-

(a) *See here, in this volume, p. 282.*
(b) *See here, p. 307. &c.*
(c) *Inſtitut. H. E. ſec. vi. P. i. cap. ii. p. 235. 236.*
(d) Illud magis mirandum eſt.... *Ibid.*

" Christians. *Simplicius*, in his Illustrations of the Aristotelian " Philosophie, may be perceived sometimes to reflect upon our doc- " trines. The eighteen Epicheiremata of Proclus against the Chri- " stians were in every body's hands, and therefore were confuted " by John Philoponus. Those (*e*) men would not have enjoyed all " this liberty, if there had not been many among the magistrates, " who were Christians rather in appearance, than in reality."

Upon all which I must make some remarks. 1. It is very true, as Mr. Mosheim says, that the Platonic Philosophers were allowed to teach the tenets of their sect in Greece and Egypt. 2. Mr. Mosheim seems to think that a reproach upon the Christian magistrates: whereas I cannot but think it honourable to them, and to the Christian Religion. 3. *Procopius* and *Agathias* were not Gentils, but Christians, as has been shewn by me in the chapter of *Simplicius*. 4. Moreover, though *Agathias* was a Pleader of causes, it is not known, that he pleaded at Smyrna. 5. All the rest, here mentioned, *Chalcidius*, *Alexander of Lycopolis*, *Damascius*, *Simplicius*, *Proclus*, as I suppose, were Gentils, and as such have been alleged among my witnesses, except *Tribonian*, of whom I have as yet said nothing.

He had a main hand in composing Justinian's Code (*f*) published in the year of Christ 533. His (*g*) character is doubtfull. He is in Suidas, who says, " that (*h*) he was a Gentil, and impious, altogether averse to the Christian Religion. However, he was a man of great abilities: but covetous." This I let pass. For I have nothing to say, to clear up the character of *Tribonian*. Nor is it material.

Beside the learned men and Philosophers, who enjoyed a great deal of liberty in the times of Christian Emperours, there were many Gentils admitted into civil offices of great trust and profit. Libanius,

(*e*) Tantum his hominibus licentiae haud concessum fuisset, nisi inter magistratus multi specie potius, quam re, Christiani fuissent. *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Vide Fabric. Bib. Gr. T.* 12 *p.* 353. 356. *Bib. Lat. T. i. p.* 835.

(*g*) De Triboniano ambigua fama est. *Baſnag ann.* 529. *n. ii. Pid. & Spanhem. H Christian. p.* 1155.

(*h*) Οὗτος ὁ Τριβωνιανὸς ἄλλην ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ἄθεος, ἀλλότριος κατὰ πάντα τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως· κέκλαγε δὲ. κ. λ. *Suid.*

banius, (*i*) in his Oration for the Temples, owns, that Theodosius had conferred the highest offices upon some who were Gentils. Prudentius (*k*) in his first book against Symmachus, celebrates the moderation of Theodosius, and intimates, that he preferred indifferently Gentils and Christians to places of trust and honour. Young Symmachus was Proconsul of Africa in 415. and Prefect of the City in 419. Orestes was Prefect of Alexandria in the begining of the fifth centurie. And indeed, as (*m*) Spanheim observes, many Gentils still enjoyed some of the highest offices, both civil and militarie. In the year 408. a law was enacted by Honorius, excluding all but catholick Christians from militarie posts. But, as we are assured by (*n*) Zosimus, he repealed that law, or dispensed with it, for the sake of *Generidus*, an honourable and worthie man, though a Pagan, and a Barbarian.

I mention these things, as proofs of the moderation of Christian magistrates, which cannot be gainsayed.

5. *Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ gave not any directions to his disciples to propagate his religion by external force and violence.*

The Gospel, or the Religion of Jesus Christ, is the doctrine of universal virtue and piety toward God and men, in heart and life, with the assurance of rewards and punishments to all, according to their conduct here; of which he is himself appointed the arbiter and dis-

(*i*) *See before, p.* 157.

(*k*) Denique pro meritis terrestribus aequa rependens
Munera sacricolis summos impertit honores.
Dux bonus, et certare sinit cum laude suorum.
Nec pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi
Ire viros prohibet: quoniam coelestia numquam
Terrenis solitum per iter gradientibus obstant.
Ipse magistratum tibi Consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit, auratumque togae donavit amictum,
Cujus Religio tibi displicet; ô pereuntum
Assertor Divûm.
Prudent. contr. Symm. lib. i. ver. 617. . . . 626.

(*m*) Orestes, Alexandriae Praefectus, tempore Cyrilli Alexandrini . . . Alii innumeri vel militari, vel Palatina potestate instructi, quales adhuc Praef. Praet. Vicarii, Proconsules, Magistri militum, officiorum, &c. *Spanhem. p.* 1050.

(*n*) *See before, p.* 276.

diſpenſer: with the promiſe of the forgiveneſſe of all ſins upon ſincere repentance: without annexing any temporal rewards (beſide inward peace and comfort) to thoſe who ſhould embrace his doctrine, or worldly pains and penalties to ſuch as reject it.

Indeed, it is altogether incredible, and even impoſſible, that the founder of a religion, who was himſelf crucified, and then raiſed from the dead, and exalted to heaven, in confirmation of the truth of his doctrine, and as an example of fidelity to God, patience, reſignation, and fortitude, and to raiſe the thoughts of his diſciples and followers to things heavenly and divine: I ſay, it is impoſſible, that ſuch a teacher of religion ſhould give any directions to his Apoſtles and Miniſters, to propagate his religion by force and violence.

Julian (*o*) chargeth the Chriſtians *with having killed ſome, who perſiſted in the ancient religion, and not only them, but alſo others, equally deceived with themſelves, who were in ſome reſpects in different ſentiments*, meaning hereticks. But then he adds: *Theſe are your own inventions. For Jeſus has no where directed you to do ſuch things: nor yet Paul.* We may therefore take this for a clear point. Nor need I to ſay any thing more to prove it.

Nevertheleſs I beg leave to inſert here ſome obſervations of the excellent Prelate, who now adorns the See of Canterbury, which are upon both natural, and revealed religion. "Moved (*p*) by this re-
"cital of the dreadfull evils, which religious intolerance hath com-
"mitted, and attempted; ſome perhaps may accuſe religion itſelf,
"as hurtfull to ſociety. And undoubtedly falſe notions of it may
"be detrimental, and ſometimes even pernicious. But ſo may falſe
"notions of parental affection, conjugal tenderneſs, gratitude, and
"every motive to action. Yet this was never thought an argument
"againſt the principles themſelves. And if any thing be fitted to
"do good, and no harm on earth, true religion certainly is. Na-
"tural Religion is univerſally acknowledged to be mild and humane.
"Chriſtianity indeed ſome have done their utmoſt to pervert. But
"let either the bittereſt zealot, or the moſt bigoted infidel, ſhew,
"if they can, one inſtance, in which the goſpel gives the leaſt
"pretenſe for pious cruelty. Every where it breaths mildneſs, pa-

(*o*) *See before*, p. 83. (*p*) *A Sermon preached on the fifth of November.* 1758. p. 354. 355.

"tience, for because it enjoins Chriſtians, of ever ſo different opi-
"nions, to receive one another in mutual charity: and even thoſe
"who are no Chriſtians, it permits us not to judge hardly, much
"leſs to uſe them unmercifully. If then ſome, who profeſs this
"faith, will act in defiance to it, let them bear their condemnation.
"But to charge their guilt upon Chriſtianity, would be like cen-
"ſuring the legal conſtitution of any government, becauſe they
"who rebel againſt it, behave unjuſtifiably. For indeed the ſpirit
"of perſecution is rebellion againſt Chriſt, under a pretenſe of a
2 *Theſſ.* ii. 3. 4. "commiſſion from him. It is *the man of ſin, ſitting as God in the*
"*temple of God.* And where it is not deſigned impiety, it is the
"groſſeſt ignorance, both of the attributes of our Maker, and the
"precepts of our Redeemer, as the words of the text declare:
John xvi. 3. "*Theſe things will they do unto you, becauſe they have not known the*
"*Father, nor me.*"

6. *All wiſe and underſtanding men, of every ſect and religion, recommend moderation, and condemn force and compulſion in things of religion.* This is true both of Chriſtians and Gentiles.

Says Tertullian, in his book to Scapula: "It (*q*) is not the part of
"religion to force religion, which muſt be taken up freely, not
"upon compulſion."

And Lactantius: "Such (*r*) is the nature of religion, that it can
"be upheld by reaſon and perſuaſion only, not by power and au-
"thority, that it may be free and voluntarie." "Truth (*s*) and
"compulſion, religion and cruelty, are incompatible, and can have
"no fellowſhip with each other." And (*t*) a great deal more to the like purpoſe. And ſays Athanaſius: "Truth (*u*) is not to be pro-
"pagated by ſwords, and darts, nor a militarie power, but by rea-
"ſon and argument. But where is reaſon, when there is the dread
of

(*q*) Nec religionis eſt cogere religionem, quae ſponte ſuſcipi debet, non vi. *Ad Scap. cap.* 2.

(*r*) Non eſt opus vi, et injuria, quia religio cogi non poteſt. Verbis, potius quam verberibus, res agenda eſt, ut ſit voluntaria. *Inſt. l.* 5. *cap.* 19. *p.* 518. &c.

(*s*) Longe diverſa ſunt carnificina et pietas. Nec poteſt aut veritas cum vi, aut juſtitia cum crudelitate conjungi. *Ibid. p.* 519.

(*t*) *See the Credib. vol. vii. p.* 125. ... 132. *and here, p.* 162.

(*u*) Οὐ γὰρ ξίφεσιν, ἢ βέλεσιν, οὐδὲ διὰ στρατιωτῶν ἡ ἀλήθεια καταγγέλλεται, ἀλλὰ πεθοῖ καὶ συμβουλίᾳ. Ποῖα δὲ πεθὼ, ἔνθα βασιλέως φόβος; ἢ ποία συμβουλία, ἐν ᾗ ἀντιλέγων τὸ τέλος ἐξομισμὸν ἔχει καὶ θάνατον. *Hiſt. Arian. ad Monach. cap.* 33. *p.* 363.

"of an Emperour?". "And what room is there for argument and "choice, when he who refuseth to assent, is threatened with ba- "nishment, or death?" Again: "It (*t*) is the property of religion, "not to compell, but to persuade, as I said just now. Our Lord "himself does not use violence, but leaveth men to the freedom of "their own choice. Speaking to all, he says: *If any will come af-* *Matt. xvi* "*ter me.* And to the Disciples: *Will ye also go away?*" *24.* *John vi.* *67.*

And we can proceed still farther. For to Christian writers we can add Christian Emperours, who were of the same sentiment: particularly, *Constantin*, whose edict (*u*) in 313. gives full liberty to all men to act according to the best of their judgement in things of religion. And if his future conduct cannot be reconciled with his edict, we must say, that some circumstances of affairs induced him to act contrarie to his better sentiments, and juster determination. *Jovian*, upon his accession after the death of Julian, published an edict (*x*) of universal toleration, for which he was applauded by Themistius. His successor, *Valentinian*, was of the same sentiment, and was a great example of moderation to all men: as we learn from (*y*) Ammianus Marcellinus, and (*z*) otherwise.

The same has been the sentiment of many learned Gentils. Among these must be mentioned in the first place the Emperour *Julian*, whose avowed principle, and open declaration it was, that (*a*) all men should worship God in their own way, without any molestation from him. And, if at any time he bore hard upon the Christians, as such, it must have been contrarie to his professed judgement and opinion. *Themistius* argued strongly for allowing to all men liberty to worship God according to their own sentiments: first in (*b*) his Consular Oration to Jovian, and again, afterwards, in (*c*) an Oration to Valens. *Libanius* (*d*) often pleads the cause of religious liberty. *Ammianus Marcellinus* was in the same sentiment, as is apparent from (*e*) his condemning the law of Julian, wherein he

(*t*) Θεοσεβείας μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον, μὴ ἀναγκάζειν, ἀλλὰ πείθειν, ἅπερ ἔπαμεν, κ. λ. *Ibid. n.* 67. *p.* 384. *C.*

(*u*) *See vol.* 3. *p.* 313. . . . 316. *and here, p.* 333.

(*x*) *See here, p.* 118. 119.

(*y*) *See before, p.* 186.

(*z*) *See p.* 344.

(*a*) *See p.* 38. *and* 108.

(*b*) *P.* 119. *&c.*

(*c*) *p.* 123. *&c.*

(*d*) *p.* 133. 134. 148. *and* 157.

(*e*) *See before, p.* 178.

he forbid the Chriſtians to teach Grammar and Rhetorick, and from his commending (*f*) the Emperour Valentinian for not interpoſing his authority in things of religion.

7. We cannot juſtify the laws and edicts of Chriſtian Emperours, which prohibited the practiſe of the religious rites of Gentiliſm upon heavie pains and penalties, ſuch as confiſcation of goods, baniſhment, or death, or excluſion from civil and militarie offices.

This muſt be a neceſſarie corollarie and inference from the two foregoing obſervations. For, if Jeſus Chriſt gave no orders to propagate his religion by external force and violence: And if all wiſe and underſtanding men of every ſect, condemn compulſion in things of religion: it muſt evidently follow, that they who practiſe ſuch methods in things of religion are not to be juſtified.

Nevertheleſs, poſſibly, ſome pleas may be here offered, which may deſerve conſideration. For, *firſt*, it may be ſaid, that Gentil people were not, and could not be good ſubjects to Chriſtian Emperours. *Secondly*, their practiſe of divination was of dangerous conſequence.

Firſt, it may be pleaded, that Gentil people were not good ſubjects of Chriſtian Emperours.

To which ſeveral things may be anſwered. For, if they were guilty of any actions contrarie to the peace of ſociety, or inconſiſtent with allegiance to the ſupreme magiſtrate, or any other magiſtrates, they were juſtly liable to puniſhment by the laws of the Empire, and of every other civil government whatever. But farther, great allowances were due to their prejudices. For the ſuperſtitions of Gentiliſm had long been the religion of Rome, and of all mankind in general. And they ſhould have been treated with great mildneſſe and gentleneſſe, patience and long-ſuffering. The beſt reaſons and arguments were to be propoſed to them. And they ſhould have been repeated again and again. By which means errour would have been gradually ſubdued, and overcome, and rooted out. There never was before, and never will be again, ſuch ſubjects, as the primitive Chriſtians, who prayed for their perſecutors. The Chriſtians themſelves, after having enjoyed a ſhort ſunſhine in the times of Conſtantin, and his ſons, were not ſo meek and

(*f*) *See p.* 186.

and patient under Julian, as they had been before. Once more, and finally, the Gentils were good ſubjects to the Chriſtian Emperours. Otherwiſe ſo many of them would not have been employed in the higheſt offices of truſt and honour. I ſay, from principle, or intereſt, for love, or fear, they generally were good ſubjects. But if they had been protected, and indulged in the practiſe of their rites, they would have been more chearfull and hearty in their allegiance and ſubjection to Chriſtian Emperours, and other Chriſtian Magiſtrates.

Secondly, it may be pleaded, that all Gentil people in general were fond of divination, which muſt have been of dangerous conſequences. For they thereby endeavored to pry into futurity; and aimed to know before-hand the ſucceſſion of princes, and other events.

To which I anſwer, that Chriſtian Miniſters, and other underſtanding Chriſtians, might by reaſons and arguments ſhew the folly and abſurdity of that practiſe. And Chriſtian Magiſtrates might juſtly lay it under reſtraints, and might either aboliſh it, and abſolutly forbid it by law, or reduce it into ſuch order, and put it under ſuch regulations, as were expedient for the public ſafety. We formerly alledged ſome ſuch laws of Conſtantin, to which the reader is now referred, if he *(g)* pleaſeth.

Upon the whole, then, we do not juſtify all the laws and edicts of Chriſtian Emperours before recited. And we are of opinion, that Gentil people might, and ought to have been protected in the exerciſe of the rites and ceremonies of their religion: provided nothing was done contrarie to good manners, or inconſiſtent with the peace of ſociety, and allegiance to magiſtrates. But we do not ſay, that Chriſtian Magiſtrates were obliged to encourage Gentiliſm. Far from it. Upon this point we have already ſaid what is ſufficient, in the third ſection of this article: where it was ſhewn, that *(h)* Chriſtian Emperours were under no obligation to continue the allowances, which had been hitherto made out of the public treaſurie, for maintaining the Gentil Prieſthood, or their ſacrifices. When thoſe allowances were withdrawn, Gentiliſm would ſink of itſelf. And the reaſons and arguments of uuderſtanding Chriſtians, calmly

(g) *See before, p.* 244. 245. *and* 334.

(h) *See before, p.* 244. . . . 247.

ly propoſed, would compleat the downfall and overthrow of the ancient ſuperſtitions, and much better, than any methods of external force and compulſion. And if there had been ſtill ſome remains of the ancient ſuperſtitions of Greece and Rome, it could have been of no bad conſequence. For Chriſtianity to this very day has it's adverſaries. And, perhaps, always will have. And by them Chriſtians are tried, and improved.

8. *The Chriſtian Religion is able to uphold, and recommend itſelf, without worldly encouragements, and without the aid of external force and compulſion.*

It is manifeſt, that it is able ſo to do, becauſe it ſpread, and was propagated in the world, for a good while, without ſuch aids and ſupports, and under external diſcouragements of every kind. And it muſt be always able ſo to do. The ground and reaſon of this is, that it is in itſelf reaſonable, and excellent, and approves itſelf to the unbiaſſed reaſon and judgement of mankind. And it's high original, as a divine revelation, has been atteſted by works of divine power, performed by Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles after him, whom he entruſted with the preaching of his religion. The miracles performed by them, (not now to inſiſt upon any other conſiderations,) are a good proof, that they had a divine commiſſion.

9. Once more, and laſtly, *having now ſeen in ancient Jewiſh and Heathen writers ſo many teſtimonies to the accompliſhment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and to the books of the New Teſtament, and to the facts of the Evangelical Hiſtorie, and therein to the truth of the Chriſtian Religion: muſt we not be hereby induced, not only cordially to embrace it, but likewiſe to recommend it to others, according to the beſt of our ability?*

The religion of Jeſus was intended to be univerſal. It has in it no reſtrictive precepts, or ordinances, limiting it to any one place, or people. And as our Lord himſelf ſaid in his converſe with the woman of Samaria: *The hour cometh, when ye ſhall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jeruſalem, worſhip the Father.... But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worſhipers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit, and in truth.* And after his reſurrection, renewing his commiſſion to his Apoſtles, he tells them, *that repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached in his name, among all nations, begining at Jeruſalem.* St. Peter, when delivered from Jewiſh prejudices, ſays: *Of a truth I perceive, that God is no reſpecter of perſons,*

John iv. 21..23.

Luke xxiv 47. and ſee Matt. xxviii. 19. 20.

ſons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſſe, is accepted of him. And ſaith St. John: *We have ſeen, and do teſtify, that the Father ſent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.* 1 *John iv.* 14.

The goſpel, then, is deſigned for all. And it is a great bleſſing upon many accounts, which need not be here enumerated. St. Paul therefore ſays: *It is a faithfull ſaying, and worthie of all acceptation, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners.* 1 *Tim. i.* 15.

If we are diſpoſed to communicate this bleſſing, and recommend the Chriſtian Religion to others, there are two or three obſervations, which may be mentioned here, as deſerving our regard.

1.) *Let us take care to form right conceptions of it, and underſtand it, as it is in truth.*

For otherwiſe, poſſibly, we may lead men into errour, and pervert, inſtead of improving them. And if we miſrepreſent the Chriſtian doctrine, we may expoſe it, and obſtruct the progreſſe of it, and occaſion invincible prejudices in the minds of ſome, who are well diſpoſed. Would it not be a melancholic caſe, if ever we ſhould meet with a *Malabarian Braman*, or other Indian Prieſt, hitherto unacquainted with revelation, ſpeaking more juſtly of the powers of the human nature, and of the divine perfections, than a Chriſtian Miſſionarie?

The Chriſtian Religion can be learned with certainty from the books of the New Teſtament only: which are the authentic records of the doctrine taught by Chriſt, and his Apoſtles. And there are in it ſome texts eſpecially, which, if attended to, will at once aſſure us of it's great deſign. Such as theſe, and divers others. *A Scribe came to our Lord, and aſked him, which is the firſt commandment of all. And Jeſus anſwered him: The firſt of all the commandments is: Hear, o Iſrael, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy ſtrength. This is the firſt commandment. And the ſecond is like, namely this: Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy-ſelf. There is no other commandment greater than theſe. The Scribe ſaid unto him: Well, maſter, thou haſt ſaid the truth. For there is one God, and there is none other but he. And to love him with all the heart, and with all the ſoul . . . and to love his neighbour as himſelf, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and ſacrifices. And when Jeſus ſaw, that he anſwered diſcreetly, he ſaid unto him: Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.* And ſays St. Paul: *The grace of . . .* *Mark xii.* 28. 34. *Tit. ii.* 11. 15.

of God, which bringeth salvation, has appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works. By all which we learn, that the Christian Religion is not a speculative science, but a plain, and strict, and comprehensive rule of life.

Agreeably hereto says *Eusebius of Caesarea: What (i) else does the name of Christian denote, but a man, who by the knowledge and doctrine of Jesus Christ is brought to the practise of sobriety, righteousness, patience, fortitude, and the religious worship of the one and only God over all?* Nor can it be taken amiss, if I here refer to the Philosopher, *Alexander of Lycopolis*, my second witness in this volume, who also appears to have had just apprehensions concerning *the Christian philosophy, as (k) intended by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate reasonings, to promote virtue among all men, and even the lower ranks, and common people.*

2.) *We ought to live according to the rules of our holy religion, and endeavour to excell in mutual love, and every other virtue.*

This is incumbent upon both the teachers, and the professors of the Christian Religion. And it will be the most effectual recommendation of it to others. Says our Lord: *He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. . . .* Again: *A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another: as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.* And says the Apostle Paul: *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity.*

John xiii. 21. Ver. 34. 35. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

3.) *I cannot but think, it may be of use to promote learning, and knowledge.*

When Jesus Christ came, and when his Apostles preached the Gospel, it was an age of learning and politeness. Arts and sciences flourished greatly. And the Greek learning was spread all over the Roman

(i) *Euseb. H. E. l. i. cap. 4. p. 15. & 16. And see the Credib. vol. viii. p. 71.*
(k) *See here, p. 18.*

Roman Empire, of which Judea was a part. Men muſt be rational, and civilized, before they can be Chriſtians. Knowledge has a happy tendence to enlarge the mind, and encourage generous ſentiments. Hereby we may hope to deliver men from ſuperſtition, bigotrie, and perſecution, which have been ſome of the greateſt blemiſhes in the human conduct. As arts and ſciences are now in a flouriſhing condition, in a great part of the world, we may hope, it will have a kindly influence, and contribute to the advancement of Chriſtianity in it's genuine purity and perfection. Not *(l)* many years ſince was publiſhed, by a pious and learned author, though he concealed his name, a ſmall tract, entitled, *Five ſeveral Schemes of Chriſtian Religion:* the laſt of which is ſummarily repreſented by him in theſe terms: "In the next period of time, we hope, "Chriſtianity will be Piety and Virtue, with an improvement from "the Greek and Roman Moraliſts, corrected and perfected by the "Goſpel."

And here I put an end to my long work, hoping, and praying, that it may be of ſome uſe to promote good learning, and true religion.

(l) In the year 1738. *The Tract has been aſcribed to Dr. Jeffery, Archdeacon of Norwich.*

An Alphabetical

TABLE

OF

PRINCIPAL MATTERS in the FOURTH VOLUME.

A

Gatbias: his Hiſtorie of Juſtinian, and his character. 312. 313.

Alaricb: his hiſtorie, ſo far as writ by Zoſimus. 270. ... 274. See *Rome*.

Alexander of Lycopolis, in Egypt: his time, and character. 8. his teſtimonie to the ſcriptures, and to the Chriſtian doctrine, or philoſophie. 11.

The Altar of Victorie: an account of it. 372. and ſee *Senate*.

Ambroſe, Bp. of Milan: his confutation of Symmachus's petition. 386. &c.

Ammonianus, a learned Grammarian. 305.

Ammonius: a learned Grammarian at Alexandria, and afterwards at Conſtantinople, maſter of Socrates. 407. and 412.

Anatolius: Prefect of Illyricum, in the time of Conſtantius, a zealous Gentil, and an Author, and much commended by Eunapius, and Libanius. 200. ... 204.

Mark Antonin: a reaſon aſſigned, why he was ſo ſuperſtitious, and ſo averſe to Chriſtianity. 413.

Arbogaſtes: an account of him. 214.

Arians: free remarks upon their conduct in the time of Conſtantius. 174. 175.

Alba-

Athanasius: Julian's great enmity to him 98... 100. condemns perſecution. 468.

Auguſtin: his account of the treatment given to Heathen people by Chriſtian magiſtrates. 457. 458. the occaſion of his writing his large work of the City of God. 433.

B

Chriſtian Baptiſm: how miſrepreſented by Julian. 88... 91. by Zoſimus. 247. 248.

Bemarchius: his hiſtorie of Conſtantin, which was favourable to him. 17.

R. Bentley: his remarks upon Julian's ridicule of Chriſtian baptiſm. 90. his remarks upon Zoſimus. 280.

C

Calama in Numidia: a diſturbance there in 408. occaſioned by Gentil worſhip. 424.

The Abp. of Canterbury: His ſermons quoted with reſpect. 467.

Chalcidius: his time, work, and character. 3. his teſtimonie to the appearance of an extraordinarie ſtar at the time of our Saviour's nativity. 6.

Chriſtians: a teſtimonie to their good manners in Julian. 101. 102.

Chryſanthius, High-prieſt of Lydia in the time of Julian: his moderation. 199. 200. how he acted, when ſent for by Julian, to come to Court. 370.

Chryſoſtom: his differences with the Empreſſe, as related by Zoſimus. 267... 270.

Claudian: his time, and works, 212. his teſtimonie to the victorie of Theodoſius over Eugenius, in 394. p. 218.

J. Le Clerc: his obſervations upon the treatment given to the Gentils by Chriſtian magiſtrates. 459.

The Goddeſſe Coeleſtis: her temple at Carthage demoliſhed in 399. p. 421.

Conſtantin: his hiſtorie writ by Praxagoras and Bemarchius, both Heathen authors, and favourable to him. 15. and 17. the account of his converſion in Zoſimus, and the ſeveral blemiſhes in his reign, and reflexions upon him, conſidered. 241... 247. and 165... 168. concerning his building Conſtantinople. 249... 254. his edict for a general toleration rehearſed. 333.

Cyril of Alexandria: his anſwer to Julian's work againſt the Chriſtians. 44... 47. and 71.

Cyril of Jeruſalem; what he ſaid, when there was much diſcourſe, in the time of Julian, about rebuilding the temple. 54. and 55. in the notes.

D

D

Damasus: how he succeded in the contention for the bishoprick of Rome. 182. 183.

Damascius: his time, and work. 297. extracts out of his work in Photius. 298. in Suidas. 395.

A Divination of Heathen people in the time of Valens. 353.

Aelius Donatus, the Grammarian: when he flourished, and taught at Rome. 462.

E

Eugenius, set up for Emperour by Arbogastes: his historie, and character. 214.

Eunapius: his time, and works. 191. Extracts from his historie of the Roman Emperours. 192. from his Lives of the Sophists. 193.

F

Rufus Festus: Proconsul of Asia in the time of Valens, and author of a Breviarie of the Roman Historie. 363. 364.

Fravitta, or Frajutus: a Barbarian and Gentil, and yet a great General, and faithfull to the Romans. 265. . . 267.

G

Gainas, the Goth: an account of him. 265.

Generidus, in high offices: a Barbarian, and Gentil, yet faithfull to the Romans in the time of Honorius. 276.

Gentilism; established by edicts in the time of Julian. 38. 39. the state of Gentilism under Christian Emperours. 332. &c.

George, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria: murdered by the people there: an account of it in Ammianus. 179. 180. Julian, upon that occasion, sent a letter of reproof to the Alexandrians. 97. and he desired, that George's librarie should be procured for him. 97. 98.

Gratian: whether he refused the title of Pontifex Maximus. 259. 260. when he ordered the Altar of Victorie to be removed out of the Senate-house. 373.

H

Heliodorus, author of the Ethiopicks: 130.

Helladius: a learned Grammarian at Alexandria, afterwards at Constantinople. 407. 412.

Hellenism: the meaning of that word. 101.

Hercules: his image, and temple, destroyed by the Christians at Suffecta in Africa, in the year 399. p. 423.

Hierocles, of Alexandria: his time, historie, works, with remarks. 282. . . 285.

Himerius, Sophist, and Professor of Rhe-

Rhetorick at Athens: under whom ſtudied Baſil, and Gregorie Nazianzen. 111. . . 114.

Hypatia: her great merit, and the manner of her death. 307 . . 311.

I

IMperial laws concerning Gentil people, and their worſhip. 332.

The Emperour Julian: his time, and character, and behaviour toward the Chriſtians. 18. . . 44. whom he forbid to teach rhetorick. 41. 94. 95. 178. called the Chriſtians Galileans. 41. 42. when he renounced Chriſtianity, and embraced Helleniſm. 36. 99. how he diſſembled his real ſentiments for a good while. 176. 177. his regard for the Jewiſh people, and his deſign to rebuild the temple at Jeruſalem. 47. . . 71. extracts out of his work againſt the Chriſtians. 71. . . 92. the ſum of thoſe extracts. 93. 94. and 328. 329. extracts out of his Orations, and Epiſtles. 94. . . 110. vindicated from ſome charges. 30. . . 34. his character in Eutropius. 168. makes frequent profeſſion of moderation, and yet was a perſecutor. 38. 39. 40. 42. 43. 95. 96. 106. . . 110. his character by Cave, p. 44. in the notes.

Juſtus: Prefect of Aſia, a zealous Gentil, his hiſtorie from Eunapius. 205.

L

LIbanius, Sophiſt of Antioch: his time, works, and character. 127. averſe to Chriſtianity, yet friendly to ſome Chriſtians. 129. 130. extracts out of his Epiſtles. 130. out of his other works. 133. recommends moderation in things of religion. 133. . . 135. and 146. his Oration for the Temples, to Theodoſius. in 390. with remarks. 135. . . 163.

Liberius, Biſhop of Rome: how treated by Conſtantius. 173.

Longinian: the correſpondence between him and Auguſtin. 453.

M

MAcrobius: his time, and works. 222. his religious profeſſion, and that he was a Heathen. 223. his teſtimonie to the ſlaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem. 224.

Madaura: The correſpondence between the people of that place and Auguſtin. 449.

Mamortinus: his Panegyrick upon Julian. 29.

Ammianus Marcellinus: his time, and work, and character. 129. extracts from his hiſtorie. 171. his character of Conſtantius. 174. of Julian. 175. . . 178. of Valentinian. 186. of the Chriſtian Religion. 174. his ac-

account of Julian's design to build the temple at Jerusalem. 53. his credulity. 62.

Marcellus, Bp. of Apaméa in Syria: his remarkable zeal in demolishing Heathen Temples. 414. . . 419.

Marinus: successor of Proclus, in the chair of philosophie at Athens, in 485. and author of the Life of Proclus. 289. 290. his native country. 391.

Maximus of Madaura: the correspondence between him and Augustin, with remarks. 399.

Maximus, the Philosopher, and favourite of Julian: his historie, and character. 369. . . 372.

Miracles: accounts of them in church-historie not always to be relyed upon. 67. . . 71. .

Monks: mentioned with great dislike by Julian. 103. 104. by Libanius. 141. 143. 154. by Eunapius. 197. 210. 409. and by Rutilius. 228. . . 230.

J. L. Mosheim: his observations upon the storie of the crosse appearing to Constantin. 63. upon the treatment given by Constantin to Gentil people. 337. upon the conduct of Christian magistrates afterwards. 464. upon Dr. Warburton's Julian. 57. note *(d)*.

N

Nectarius: an honourable Gentil, who interceded for the people of Calama, when they had transgressed the Imperial laws. 426.

Nestorius, high-priest of Greece: how he saved Athens, by worshiping Achilles, with Minerva. 278.

Nevitta, made Consul by Julian, in 362. his character. 28.

O

Olympiodorus, author of a Roman historie: his time, work, and extracts from it, and his character. 232. . . 235.

Olympius, some time prime minister to Honorius: his character from Zosimus. 270.

Olympius, a learned and zealous Gentil at Alexandria. 406. 410. 411.

Oracle: a fictitious Heathen Oracle in 398. foretelling the period of the Christian Religion. 419.

Oribasius, Physician to Julian: his historie, and works. 206. . . 209.

Orosius: his account of the treatment given to Gentil people by Christian Magistrates. 337. and 456. 457.

P

Persecution, or force and compulsion in things of Religion, condemned by our blessed Saviour. 466. 467. by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 467. by Tertullian, Lactantius, Athanasius, Constantin, Jovian, Valentinian, Julian, The-

Themiſtius, Libanius, Ammianus Marcellinus. 468. 469.

Praetextatus, a Roman of great diſtinction: how he jeſted with Damaſus, Biſhop of Rome. 184. an oration in his praiſe by Himerius. 112. commended by Ammianus. 183. See likewiſe 257. and 397.

Praxagoras: his hiſtorie of Conſtantin, and great character of him. 15.

Proaereſius: a Chriſtian, and a Sophiſt, Profeſſor of Rhetorick at Athens. 198. 199. 203.

Proclus: preſident of the ſchool of philoſophie at Athens, author of a treatiſe againſt the Chriſtians, and many other works. 286.

Procopius, writer of the hiſtorie of Juſtinian, and a Chriſtian. 313. 314.

Prudentius: his books againſt Symmachus quoted ſeveral times. 389. . . 392. his character of Julian. 43. 44.

R

Radagaiſus, a Gothic Prince: his remarkable overthrow in 405. p. 427.

Rome: beſieged, taken, and ſacked by Alarich the Goth in 410. p. 430.

Rutilius: his time, and character, and poem, with extracts from it. 228. . . 231.

S

SCRIPTURE.

Matt. xxviii. 19. explained. 92. John i. explained. 78. and 80. Julian's teſtimonie to the books of the N. T. 73. . . 94. and 328. 329.

The Senate of Rome: how they adhered to the ancient rites, according to Zoſimus. 262. their petition to the younger Valentinian, that the Altar of Victorie might be reſtored. 372. the number of Chriſtians in the Senate at that time. 393. . . 395.

Serapis: the demolition of his temple at Alexandria, in 391. p. 404.

Serena, wife of Stilicho: how reflected upon by Zoſimus. 272.

Servius, the Grammarian: when he flouriſhed, and taught at Rome. 462.

Simplicius: his time, and works, and his journey with divers Philoſophers into Perſia, and return thence. 312. . . 319.

Sopater, a philoſopher in the time of Conſtantin: his hiſtorie, and works, from Eunapius. 194. from Zoſimus. 255. . . 257.

Strategius: how employed, and rewarded by Conſtantin, and Conſtantius. 171. 172.

Stilicho: his preferments, and death, 270. 271.

Symmachus: his preferments, works, and character. 397... 399. and see also 373. and 377.

Synesius, Bp. of Ptolemais: a great admirer of Hypatia. 309. 310.

Syrianus: President in the school of philosophie at Athens, and predecessor of Proclus. 286. 291. 295.

T

Themistius, Philosopher, and Senator: his time, writings, and character. 115. extracts out of his oration to Jovian, commending that Emperour for his moderation in things of religion. 118. out of his oration to Valens, to the like purpose. 122. his character, again. 125. how he quotes Scripture. 127.

Theodorus, about whom heathen people had a consultation in the time of Valens. 361.

Theodosius, the first: how reflected upon by Zosimus. 258.

Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria: his character in Zosimus. 267. from others. 413.

Tribonian: his eminence, but his Christianity doubtfull. 464. 465.

V

Valentinian: his moderation in things of religion commended by Ammianus. 186. See likewise 344.

Vegetius: his account of the militarie oath in his time. 190.

Vestal Virgins: their number, office, and privileges. 390... 392.

Volusian: his correspondence with Augustin in the year 412. p. 434.

W

Dr. Warburton, Lord Bishop of Glocester: quoted with respect. 57. 58. 68. 69.

J. Ward: his advice to the Author concerning Libanius's Oration for the temples. 137. his remarks upon that Oration 141. note (r) 154. note (b).

Z

Zosimus: his time, and work. 236... 239. extracts from it. 239... 280. general remarks upon those extracts. 281. Dr. Bentley's remarks upon his work. 280. his account of Constantin's conversion. 241... 243.

The End of the Fourth Volume.